

JAMES LEGGE

THE
CHINESE
CLASSICS

VOLUME V

THE CH'UN TS'EW
WITH
THE TSO CHUEN



HONG KONG

THE CHINESE CLASSICS

THE CH'UN TS'EW

with

THE TSO CHUEN

春秋
傳

THE CHINESE CLASSICS

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VOLUME V

The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen
(two parts) 春秋 左傳

Reprinted from the last editions of the Oxford University Press. A number of errata listed by James Legge have been corrected in the text. Added at the front of each volume are Concordance Tables to later translations in English, French and German and to the SHIH-SAN-CHING CHU-SHU FU CHIAO-K'AN-CHI 十三經注疏附校勘記, Shanghai 1935.

Volume I contains a portrait of Dr James Legge with a BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE by Dr L. T. Ride, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong. Volume II contains NOTES ON MENCIUS by Dr Arthur Waley, originally published in ASIA MAJOR, NS.I, i, 1949.

THE CHINESE CLASSICS

*with a translation, critical and exegetical
notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes*

by

JAMES LEGGE

IN FIVE VOLUMES

V

THE CH'UN TS'EW

with

THE TSO CHUEN

*Second edition, with minor text corrections
and a Concordance Table*



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1960

SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS AND TSO CHUAN

CONCORDANCE TABLE TO

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720	二	年	2nd Year		8		13		1718
719	三	年	3rd Year		10		16		1722
718	四	年	4th Year		14		24		1724
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710	元	年	1st Year		35		65		1739
709	二	年	2nd Year		37		67		1740
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707	四	年	4th Year		43		80		1747
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705	六	年	6th Year		46		85		1749
704	七	年	7th Year		50		94		1753
703	八	年	8th Year		51		95		1754
702	九	年	9th Year		52		99		1754
701	十	年	10th Year		54		101		1755
700	十	一 年	11th Year		55		104		1755
699	十	二 年	12th Year		57		108		1756
698	十	三 年	13th Year		60		111		1756
697	十	四 年	14th Year		61		115		1757
696	十	五 年	15th Year		63		116		1757
695	十	六 年	16th Year		65		119		1758
694	十	七 年	17th Year		67		122		1758
693	十	八 年	18th Year		69		125		1759
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690	三	年	3rd Year		75		131		1763
689	四	年	4th Year		76		133		1763
688	五	年	5th Year		77		136		1764
687	六	年	6th Year		78		136		1764
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680	十	三		90		157		1770
679	十	四		91		158		1771
678	十	五		93		163		1771
677	十	六		94		164		1771
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672	二	十		100		175		1774
671	二	十		101		177		1774
670	二	十		104		182		1778
669	二	十		106		185		1779
668	二	十		108		187		1779
667	二	十		110		189		1780
666	二	十		111		190		1780
665	二	十		113		193		1781
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663	三	十		117		200		1782
662	三	十		118		202		1783
661	三	十		119		203		1783
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660	元	年		123		209		1786
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657	二	年		135		233		1791
656	三	年		137		237		1791
655	四	年		138		239		1792
654	五	年		142		247		1794
653	六	年		146		258		1798
652	七	年		147		260		1798
651	八	年		150		266		1799
650	九	年		152		269		1799
649	十	年		155		277		1801
648	十	一		157		282		1802
647	十	二		158		284		1802
646	十	三		160		286		1802
645	十	四		161		289		1802
644	十	五		163		292		1805
643	十	六		170		310		1808
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638	二	十		179		326		1811
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636	二	十		184		337		1814
635	二	十		188		349		1816
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633	二	十		196		374		1821
632	二	十		199		379		1822
631	二	十		202		385		1823
630	二	十		213		411		1830
629	三	十		214		413		1830
628	三	十		217		420		1831
627	三	十		220		423		1832
626	三	十		221		427		1832
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624	二	年		230		448		1837
623	三	年		235		457		1839
622	四	年		237		462		1840
621	五	年		240		466		1842
620	六	年		241		468		1843
619	七	年		245		477		1845
618	八	年		250		489		1846
617	九	年		252		492		1847
616	十	年		255		496		1848
615	十	一		257		500		1850
614	十	二		258		504		1851
613	十	三		262		510		1852
612	十	四		264		516		1853
611	十	五		268		523		1854
610	十	六		272		532		1858
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607	元	年		284		559		1865
606	二	年		287		563		1866
605	三	年		291		574		1868
604	四	年		294		581		1869
603	五	年		297		588		1872
602	六	年		298		589		1872
601	七	年		299		591		1873
600	八	年		300		593		1873
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595	十	三	年		322		643		1885
594	十	四	年		323		644		1885
593	十	五	年		325		649		1886
592	十	六	年		329		660		1888
591	十	七	年		331		663		1889
590	十	八	年		333		668		1889
	成	公	DUKE CHING	I	336-410	II	1-178	II	1892-1927
589	元	年	1st Year		336		1		1892
588	二	年	2nd Year		338		3		1892
587	三	年	3rd Year		349		35		1900
586	四	年	4th Year		353		44		1901
585	五	年	5th Year		355		47		1901
584	六	年	6th Year		358		52		1902
583	七	年	7th Year		361		60		1903
582	八	年	8th Year		364		65		1904
581	九	年	9th Year		368		73		1905
580	十	年	10th Year		372		82		1906
579	十	一	年		374		87		1909
578	十	二	年		377		92		1910
577	十	三	年		379		98		1911
576	十	四	年		383		110		1913
575	十	五	年		385		114		1913
574	十	六	年		389		123		1916
573	十	七	年		400		152		1921
572	十	八	年		406		167		1922
	襄	公	DUKE SEANG	II	411-567	II	179-585	II	1928-2018
571	元	年	1st Year		411		179		1928
570	二	年	2nd Year		414		182		1928
569	三	年	3rd Year		417		188		1929
568	四	年	4th Year		421		197		1931
567	五	年	5th Year		425		208		1936
566	六	年	6th Year		427		214		1937
565	七	年	7th Year		429		217		1937
564	八	年	8th Year		432		224		1939
563	九	年	9th Year		436		233		1940
562	十	年	10th Year		442		249		1946
561	十	一	年		449		267		1949
560	十	二	年		454		278		1951
559	十	三	年		456		282		1954
558	十	四	年		459		290		1955
557	十	五	年		467		314		1959
556	十	六	年		470		320		1962
555	十	七	年		473		326		1963
554	十	八	年		475		332		1964
553	十	九	年		479		343		1967

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552	二	十	年		484		355		1969
551	二	十	一		487		360		1970
550	二	十	二		492		374		1974
549	二	十	三		496		385		1975
548	二	十	四		504		407		1978
547	二	十	五		509		419		1982
546	二	十	六		518		443		1988
545	二	十	七		528		474		1994
544	二	十	八		536		498		1998
543	二	十	九		543		520		2004
542	三	十	年		551		541		2011
541	三	十	一		559		562		2014
	昭	公	DUKE CH'AOU	II	568-741	III	1-482	II	2019-2130
540	元	年	1st Year		568		1		2019
539	二	年	2nd Year		582		43		2029
538	三	年	3rd Year		585		51		2030
537	四	年	4th Year		591		70		2032
536	五	年	5th Year		600		96		2040
535	六	年	6th Year		607		116		2043
534	七	年	7th Year		611		127		2047
533	八	年	8th Year		620		152		2051
532	九	年	9th Year		623		162		2056
531	十	年	10th Year		627		170		2058
530	十	一	年		630		180		2059
529	十	二	年		635		191		2061
528	十	三	年		642		209		2068
527	十	四	年		653		243		2075
526	十	五	年		656		250		2077
525	十	六	年		660		260		2078
524	十	七	年		665		273		2082
523	十	八	年		669		284		2085
522	十	九	年		672		294		2087
521	二	十	年		676		303		2090
520	二	十	一		685		331		2097
519	二	十	二		690		344		2099
518	二	十	三		695		355		2100
517	二	十	四		700		369		2105
516	二	十	五		703		376		2106
515	二	十	六		712		401		2112
514	二	十	七		719		421		2115
513	二	十	八		724		434		2117
512	二	十	九		728		447		2122
511	三	十	年		732		458		2125
510	三	十	一		735		465		2126
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507	二	年	2nd Year		746		491		2132
506	三	年	3rd Year		747		493		2132
505	四	年	4th Year		748		497		2133
504	五	年	5th Year		758		519		2139
503	六	年	6th Year		761		527		2140
502	七	年	7th Year		764		533		2141
501	八	年	8th Year		765		536		2141
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499	十	年	10th Year		774		557		2147
498	十	一	11th Year		779		569		2149
497	十	二	12th Year		780		570		2149
497	十	三	13th Year		782		573		2149
496	十	四	14th Year		785		581		2150
495	十	五	15th Year		789		589		2151
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493	二	年	2nd Year		796		603		2155
493	三	年	3rd Year		800		613		2157
492	四	年	4th Year		803		618		2158
491	五	年	5th Year		805		623		2159
490	六	年	6th Year		807		627		2161
489	七	年	7th Year		811		638		2162
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487	九	年	9th Year		818		655		2164
486	十	年	10th Year		819		659		2165
485	十	一	11th Year		821		662		2165
484	十	二	12th Year		827		677		2170
483	十	三	13th Year		830		684		2171
482	十	四	14th Year		833		691		2172
481	十	五	14th Year		840		706		2174
480	十	六	16th Year		843		716		2177
479	十	七	17th Year		848		730		2178
478	十	八	18th Year		851		740		2180
477	十	九	19th Year		852		741		2180
476	二	十	20th Year		852		742		2180
475	二	十	21st Year		853		746		2180
474	二	十	22nd Year		854		747		2181
473	二	十	23rd Year		854		748		2181
472	二	十	24th Year		855		750		2181
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463	四	年	4th Year		863		773		2183

¹ Couvreur, S., 春秋左傳 *Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Chouan*. Texte chinois avec traduction française. Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique de Ho Kien fou, 1914, 3 vols. in-8, 1 f. n. ch. + 661, 585, 328 pp. Cathasia, Paris—Leiden, facsimile reissue in 3 vols. 680, 592, 836 p.

² 十三經注疏附校勘記 Photographic reproduction of the Yüan 1817 woodblock edition 景印阮刻; in 2 vols. (24 + 2782 p.), Shanghai 1935.

NOTE

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THE CHINESE CLASSICS.

VOL. V.

THE CH'UN TS'EW, WITH THE TSO CHUEN.

THE
CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH
A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES,
PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY
JAMES LEGGE, D.D., LL.D.,
OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

爲逆志以害不
得志以辭辭以
之。是意害不文

Mencius, V. Pt. I. iv. 2.

VOL. V.—PART I,

CONTAINING

DUKES YIN, HWAN, CHWANG, MIN, HE, WAN, SEUEN AND CH'ING;
AND THE PROLEGOMENA.

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HONGKONG:

PRINTED AT THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S
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PREFACE.

The author is glad to be able to publish his fifth volume in less than twelve months after the publication of the fourth. There remain now only the Le Ke and the Yih King to be translated and annotated, and then the task which he undertook will be fully accomplished. As he must return to England in the course of next year, he cannot say when the publication of those two Works may be looked for. He will certainly not allow anything to interfere with the completion of his labours upon them; but the Le Ke is so very voluminous, and the Yih King is so entirely *sui generis*, that this will yet require some years. It will then have to be considered whether he can get them printed in England, or must return once more to Hongkong for that purpose. Moreover, the publication of them must depend in a good measure on the sale which the volumes already issued may continue to have.

The present volume contains not only the Ch'un Ts'ew of Confucius, but also the Commentary on it by Tso K'ew-ming. Had the author been content to publish merely the text of the Classic, with a translation of it, the volume would have been of small compass. But without the narratives of Tso the annals of the Sage would have given a most meagre and unsatisfactory account of the period covered by them. He did not therefore shrink from the great additional labour required to translate the whole of Tso's Work; and he believes it will be acknowledged that he has thereby rendered an important service to students of Chinese literature and to his readers generally. From the narratives of Tso there may be gathered as full and interesting an account of the history of China, from B.C. 721 to about 460, as we have of any of the nations of Europe during the Middle Ages.

The translation of the Ch'un Ts'ew itself may be made by an ordinary Chinese scholar *currente calamo*; but it is not so with the translation of the Tso Chuen. And the author had not the benefit of the labours of previous translators with either of them. In preparing his former volumes, he did his work in the first place without reference to those who had traversed the same fields before him, but he afterwards found it occasionally of advantage to compare his versions with those of others. This he has not been able to do in the present case. If any Sinologue be at times inclined to differ from him in the rendering of a passage of Tso, the author would ask him to suspend his judgment for a little. Prolonged study may perhaps show him that the meaning has seldom been mistaken. To have introduced notes vindicating his renderings, where the meaning was not immediately evident, would have greatly increased the size of the volume, already sufficiently large. His object has always been to translate faithfully, without resorting to paraphrase, which he considers a slovenly and unscholarly practice; yet he hopes that his versions are not in language that can be represented as uncouth, or unpleasant to read.

He has received the same assistance as in the case of the fourth volume in reading most of the proofs. And his obligations to the Rev. Mr. Chalmers have been even greater than before. Not only did he prepare the indexes of Subjects and Proper Names, but the author is indebted to him for the valuable maps of China in the Ch'un Ts'ew period, for the chronological table of the lunar months during it, and for various assistance on other points.

HONGKONG, September 26th, 1872.

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ERRATA.

I. IN THE CHINESE TEXT OF THE CH'UN TS'EW.

Page	Column		Page	Column	
* 8,	5,	for 裂繻 read 履綸.	*163,	4,	after 孫 dele comma.
* "	6; et al., "	姬 " 姬.	*221,	5,	dele 師.
* "	7,	" 帛 " 伯.	*291,	2,	for 改卜, 牛 read 改卜牛,
* 22,	5,	after 齊 dele comma.	*471,	7,	" 廊 read 成.
* 46,	4,	for 成 read 廊.	*742,	2,	" 春王, read 春王.
* 135,	8, et al., "	不雨 read 不雨.			

More than one half of the above are merely errors as regards the text of the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ew, and have arisen from the compositors gathering the characters from copies in which the text of Tso-she was altogether adhered to. In the same way is to be explained the occasional occurrence of 於 for 于 in the text, and of 于 for 於 in the Chuen.

II. IN THE CHINESE TEXT OF THE CHUEN.

Page	Column		Page	Column	
* 20,	11,	for 蘊 read 蘊.	*418,	8,	for 諂 read 諂.
* 29,	2,	" 夏五 should begin a column.	*451,	8,	" 臧 " 藏.
* "	5,	" 庚午 do. do.	*645,	7,	" 漬 " 漬.
* 128,	9,	before 立 insert 季.	*646,	7,	" 微 " 微.
* 135,	8,	dele o beside 屈.	*679,	4,	" 微 " 微.
* 143,	15,	for 絜 read 潔.	*721,	12,	" 其矣 " 矣其.
* 204,	9,	" 已 " 已.	*776,	11,	" 取 " 敢.
* 259,	1,	" 卒廊 " 卒廊.	*815,	10,	" 滋 " 滋.
* 380,	8,	" 螫 " 蝥.	*822,	15,	" 梁 " 梁.
			*823,	10,	" 檣 " 檣.

III. CHINESE CHARACTERS IN THE NOTES.

Page	Column	Line		Page	Column	Line	
* 4,	1,	8,	for 公 read 王.	*305,	1,	5,	insert 寬 after 克.
30,	2,	82,	insert Kung and Kuh have 載 for 戴.	335,	1,	12,	" Kung has 呂 for 旅.
"	"	40,	" Kung has 盛 for 廊.	*427,	2,	14,	for 勝 read 滕.
59,	2,	8,	" Kung has 郊 " 虛.	*455,	1,	3,	" 郤 " 郤.
77,	1,	6,	" Kung and Kuh have 饗 for 享.	595,	1,	7,	insert Kung and Kuh have 雪 for 電.
219,	2,	67,	" Kuh has 於 for 于.	*688,	2,	72,	for 白 read 伯.
* 237,	2,	30,	for 求 read 救.	*791,	2,	35,	" 少 " 小.
287,	2,	8,	insert Kung has 柳 for 崇.	*806,	1,	4,	" 花 " 莖.
291,	1,	10,	" Kung has 夷獐 for 夷梟.	829,	1,	18,	insert Kung has 運 for 鄖.

IV. CHINESE CHARACTERS IN INDEX III.

Page	Col.	Li.		Page	Col.	Li.	
* 889,	1,	32,33,	for 柏丘 read 杵白.	*898,	2,	47,	for 來 read 夾.

* Corrected

V. IN THE PROLEGOMENA.

Page	Line	Notes	Page	Line	Notes
* 8,	7,	after 魯 insert 之.	*126,	1,	for 險 read 陝.
* 12,	12,	for 無水 read 無冰.			
* 21,	11,	,, 徇 read 狗.	* 64,	Col. 2, L. 2,	for 決 read 決.
* 25,	2,	,, 價 ,, 賈.	* 68,	1, 8,	籍 ,, 藉.
* 25,	4,	,, 左學 read 左氏學.	* 79,	,, 1, ,, 18,	after 再 insert 拜.

VI. IN THE TRANSLATION.

I. iv. 4,	for invaked read invaded.	IX. xvi. 7,	for Ts'e read Tsin.
II. ii. 6; vii. 3,	,, T'ang, ,, T'ang.	,, xxii.,	,, thirty-second ,, twenty-second.
III. xxvii. 1; et al.,	,, Ke (杞) ,, K'e.	X. ii. 4,	,, K'e-sun ,, Ke-sun.
V. ix. 2,	,, Tsaou ,, Ts'au.	,, vii. 8,	,, Ling ,, S'ang.
,, xxix. 4,	for great fall a ,, great fall.	,, xiii. 4,	,, T'ing-K'ew ,, P'ing-k'ew.
VI. ii. 1. l. 2,	,, he ,, the	,, xix. 2,	,, She ,, Che.
VIII. ii. 9,	,, Kung-ts'e ,, Kung-tsze.	,, xx. 4,	,, Ch'ing ,, Ch'in.
	Nearly all the above errors might be corrected from Index III.	XI. xiv. 15,	,, Shoo ,, Choo.

VII. IN THE NOTES.

Page	Column	Line	Notes	Page	Column	Line	Notes
15,	1,	1;	et al., for Ke read K'e. The account of K'e's capital in the par. is also wrong; but this and some other geographical mistakes in the notes can be corrected from Index III.	119,	2,	12,	for 5 read 6.
23,	2,	30,	for 5 read 4.	125,	1,	16,	,, Koo-loh ,, Loh-koo.
42,	1,	40,	dele dis..	199,	1,	31,	,, dis. of Kwei-chow read Kwei Chow.
50,	1,	13,	for a marquisate read an earldom.	214,	1,	15,	,, 2 read 3.
,,	2,	2,	for earldom read marquisate.	217,	2,	15,	,, 3 ,, 4.
61,	2,	35,	,, 8 ,, 3.	304,	2,	10,	,, 3 of last read 2 of 7th.
90,	2,	20,	,, Yen-chow ,, T'ae-gan.	305,	1,	4,	after K'ih insert K'wan.
112,	1,	47,	,, Yuen-chung read Yuen Chung.	357,	1,	47,	for 3 read 4.
				,,	,,	51,	,, Par. 4 ,, Par. 3.
				,,	,,	57,	,, 5 ,, 4.
				372,	2,	6,	,, 12 ,, 13.
				404,	1,	8,	,, Jin-shin ,, Jin-yin.
				581,	2,	30,	,, charists ,, chariots.
				650,	2,	62,	,, 9 ,, 90.

VIII. IN THE PROLEGOMENA.

Page	Line	Notes	Page	Line	Notes
2,	1, note,	for Pt. i. read Pt. ii.	43,	22,	after 9th dele comma.
15,	8,	after thing insert a comma.	44,	37,	,, Ch'ing ,,].
21,	17,	for sufficient read sufficient.	45,	22,	,, remonstrances ,, comma.
23,	30,	after period dele ² .	79,	17, col. 1,	for appoint read appoint.
23,	5, note,	carry 2 趙襄子 over to page 24.	88,	9, note,	,, Mouments ,, Monuments.
24,	10,	for title read title ² .	112,	8,	,, Ch'nn ,, Ch'un.
25,	4,	,, King ,, king.	118,	15,	after States insert a comma.
			122,	20,	before commerce insert of.

* Corrected

PROLEGOMENA.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE AND VALUE OF THE CH'UN TS'EW.

APPENDIXES.—

I. SPECIMENS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF KUNG-YANG AND KUH-LEANG.

II. A LETTER QUESTIONING THE CONFUCIAN AUTHORSHIP OF THE CHUN TS'EW BY YUEN MEI OF THE PRESENT DYNASTY.

SECTION I.

DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE EXPECTATIONS RAISED BY THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THE CH'UN TS'EW.

1. In the prolegomena to vol. I., on page 1, I have said that of the five King or classical works, the authorship, or compilation rather, of which is loosely attributed to Confucius, 'the Ch'un Ts'ew Was the Ch'un Ts'ew made by Confucius? is the only one which can rightly be described as of his own making.' If I had been as familiar with the Ch'un Ts'ew in 1861 as I am now, instead of appearing, as in that judgment, to allow that it is an original Work of the sage, I should have contented myself with saying that of it alone has the making been claimed for him. The question as to what he really did in the matter of this Classic is one of great perplexity.

2. The earliest authority who speaks on the subject is Mencius. No better could be desired; and the glowing account which he gives of the Work excites our liveliest expectations. Mencius' account of the Ch'un Ts'ew. His language puts it beyond doubt that in his time, not far removed from that of Confucius, there was a book current in China, called the Ch'un Ts'ew, and accepted without question by him and others as having been made by the sage.

"The world," he says, 'was fallen into decay, and right principles had dwindled away. Perverse discourses and oppressive deeds were again waxen rife. Cases were occurring of ministers who murdered their rulers, and of sons who murdered their fathers. Confucius was afraid, and MADE THE CH'UN TS'EW.'¹ He describes the work as of equal value with Yu's regulation of the waters of the deluge, and the duke of Chow's establishing his dynasty amid the desolations and disorder which had been wrought by the later sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang. 'Confucius completed the Ch'un Ts'ew, and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.'² Going more particularly into the nature of the Work, and fortifying himself with the words of the Master, Mencius says, 'The subjects of the Ch'un Ts'ew are Hwan of Ts'e and Wăn of Tsin, and its style is the historical. Confucius said, "Its righteous decisions I ventured to make."³ And again, 'What the Ch'un Ts'ew contains are matters proper to the son of Heaven. On this account Confucius said, "Yes! It is the Ch'un Ts'ew which will make men know me; and it is the Ch'un Ts'ew which will make men condemn me."⁴ The words of Mencius, that 'Confucius made the Ch'un Ts'ew,' became thereafter part of the stock phraseology of Chinese scholars. If the Work itself had not been recovered under the Han dynasty, after the efforts of the tyrant of Ts'in to destroy the ancient monuments of literature, we should have regretted its loss, thinking of it as a history from the *stylus* of the sage of China in which had been condensed the grandest utterances of his wisdom and the severest lessons of his virtue.

3. The making of a history, indeed, is different from the making of a poem, the development of a philosophy, and other literary

1 Mencius, III. Pt. i. IX. 7, 8:—世衰道微邪說暴行有作臣弑其君者有之子弑其父者有之孔子懼而作春秋。 2 *Ib.*, 11:—昔者禹抑洪水而天下平周公兼夷狄驅猛獸而百姓寧孔子成春秋而亂臣賊子懼。 3 Men., IV. Pt. ii. XXI.

8:—其事則齊桓晉文其文則史孔子曰其義則丘竊取之。 We must suppose that Hwan of Ts'e and Wăn of Tsin are here adduced as two of the most remarkable personages in the Ch'un Ts'ew, and that the first clause is not intended to convey the idea that the Work was all about them. I have mused often and long over the other parts of the paragraph. 其文則史 might be translated:—'The text is from the historiographers.' But where then would there be any room for 'the righteous decisions' of Confucius himself? I must hold to the version I have given of the observation quoted from the sage, and it seems to require the translation of the previous clause as I have published it. Julien has:—*Ejus stylus, tunc historicus. Confucius aiebat, Hæc equitas, tunc ego Khieou privatim sumpsit illam.*' 4 III. Pt. i. IX. 8:—春秋天子之事也是故孔子曰知我者其惟春秋乎罪我者其惟春秋乎。

achievements in which we expect large results of original thought.

What we are to expect in a history. In those we look for new combinations of the phænomena of human character, and new speculations on the divine order of the universe,—'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.' But from the historian all that we are entitled to require is a faithful record of facts. If he would win our special approval, he must weave his facts into an interesting narrative, trace their connexion with one another, and by unfolding the motives of the actors teach lessons that may have their fruit in guiding and directing the course of events in future generations. The making of history should be signalized by the vigour and elegance of the composition, and by the correct discrimination, impartiality, and comprehensiveness of the author's judgments.

When, with these ideas of what a history should be, we look into the Ch'un Ts'ew, we experience immediately an intense feeling of

Our disappointment in reading with } disappointment. Instead of a history
such expectations the Ch'un Ts'ew. } of events woven artistically together,
we find a congeries of the briefest possible intimations of matters in which the court and State of Loo were more or less concerned, extending over 242 years, without the slightest tincture of literary ability in the composition, or the slightest indication of judicial opinion on the part of the writer. The paragraphs are always brief. Each one is designed to commemorate a fact; but whether that fact be a display of virtue calculated to command our admiration, or a deed of atrocity fitted to awaken our disgust, it can hardly be said that there is anything in the language to convey to us the shadow of an idea of the author's feeling about it. The notices, for we cannot call them narratives, are absolutely unimpassioned. A base murder and a shining act of heroism are chronicled just as the eclipses of the sun are chronicled. So and so took place;—that is all. No details are given; no judgment is expressed. The reader may be conscious of an emotion of delight or of indignation according to the opinion which he forms of the event mentioned, especially when he has obtained a fuller account of it from some other quarter; but there is nothing in the text to excite the one feeling or the other. Whether the statements found in the Ch'un Ts'ew be all reliable, and given according to the truth of the facts, is a point of the utmost importance, which will be duly considered by and by. I am at present only concerned to affirm that the Work is not at all of the nature which we should suppose from our

previous conception of it as a history by a great man, and from the accounts given of it by Confucius himself and by Mencius.¹

4. If I have given in these remarks a correct, though brief, idea of what the Ch'un Ts'ew is, we know not what to make of the state-

The saying of Confucius that he had made the righteous decisions in the Ch'un Ts'ew. } ment of Confucius quoted by Mencius, that he had himself ventured to make the righteous decisions contained in it. Whether the book which we now have be that which Confucius is said to have made, or another, we examine it in vain for any 'righteous decisions,' for any decisions indeed of any kind, on the events which are indicated in it. This difficulty is a Gordian knot which I do not see any way of untying, and I have often wished that I could cut it by denying the genuineness of the present Ch'un Ts'ew altogether.¹ But, as will by and by appear, the evidence which connects and identifies the existing Work with that *made*, whatever be the sense in which we are to take that term, by the sage, cannot be rebutted. The simplest way of disposing of the matter is to set the testimony of

1 It is amusing to read the following account of the Ch'un Ts'ew given by the writer of the treatise 'On the Antiquity of the Chinese,' on pp. 47, 48 of the 1st vol. of the 'Memoires Concernant les Chinois:—

'Le Tchun-tsieu est un livre écrit de génie. Notre Socrate y manie l'Histoire en homme d'Etat, en Citoyen, en Philosophe, en Savant, et en Moraliste. Son laconisme naïf et sublime le force à serrer sa narration, pour présenter les faits tout nuds et détachés, pour ainsi dire, de la chaîne des événements; mais ils sont dessinés, colorés, ombrés et peints avec tant de force et de feu, qu'on sent d'abord pourquoi et jusqu'où ils sont dignes de louanges ou de blâme. Nous ne connaissons point de livre en Europe, où l'on voit si bien le commencement, le progrès, le dénouement, et le remède des révolutions dans l'Etat et dans les mœurs; les vrais signes de roideur ou de mollesse, de tyrannie ou de discrédit, de modération simulée ou d'inconséquence dans le Gouvernement; les différences du talent, du génie, de l'expérience, de la profondeur des vues, de la bonté du coup-d'œil, et des ressources d'un esprit fécond dans les Princes et dans leur ministres, l'imposant d'une administration bruyante et le faux d'une politique pateline, les souterrains de la trahison et les manœuvres de la négociation, les premières étincelles d'une révolte qui commence et les derniers éclats d'une ligue épuisée; la manière enfin dont le Chang-ti (Dieu) dirige le cours des événements, pour élever ou renverser les Trônes, et punir ou récompenser tour-à-tour les Sujets par leurs Princes et les Princes par leurs Sujets. Le Tchun-tsieu, envisagé sous ce point de vue, est le modèle de toutes les Histoires. Confucius a un style qui ne va qu'à lui. Il semble que chaque caractère ait été fait pour l'endroit où il le place. Plus il est avare de mots, plus ceux qu'il emploie sont clairs et expressifs.'

The above is certainly of a piece with the estimate of the ancient odes of China which I quoted from the same article in the prolegomena to vol. IV., pp. 114, 115. Dr. Williams (Middle Kingdom, vol. I., p. 512) gives a more fair account of the Ch'un Ts'ew, but even he thinks that it contains much good matter of which we find no trace:—'It is but little better than a dry detail of facts, enlivened by few incidents, but containing many of those practical observations which distinguish the writings of the sage.' Anyone who looks into the body of this volume will see that the text consists of nothing but a dry detail of facts or incidents, without a single practical observation, Confucian or non-Confucian.

1 There have been Chinese scholars who have taken up this position. Wang Taou, in a monograph on the subject, places Ma T'wan-lin among them; but this is more than Ma's words, quoted in the third section, will sustain. With more reason he gives the name of Hoh King (郝敬) of the Ming dynasty, who contends that the Ch'un Ts'ew of Confucius was not transmitted, and that we have only fragments of it in Tso-she. Wang also says that according to Tung Chung-shoo and Sze-ma Ts'ên the text consisted of several myriads of characters, in several thousand paragraphs, whereas Chang Gan of the T'ang dynasty found in it only 18000 characters. But there can be no doubt the present text is substantially the same as that known in the Han dynasty. See Appendix II.

Mencius on one side, though that method of proceeding can hardly be vindicated on critical grounds.

There can be no doubt, however, that the expression in Mencius about 'the righteous decisions' has had a most powerful and pernicious influence over the interpretation of the Classic. Chaou K'e, the earliest commentator on Mencius, explains the passage as intimating that the sage in making the Ch'un Ts'ew exercised his prerogative as 'the unsceptred king.' A subject merely, and without any order from his ruler, he yet made the Work on his own private authority; and his saying that he *ventured* to give his own judgments on things in it was simply an expression of his humility.² Chaou gives the same explanation of those words of Mencius, that 'what the Ch'un Ts'ew contains are matters proper to the son of Heaven.' 'Confucius,' says the commentator, 'made the Ch'un Ts'ew by means of the Historical Records of Loo, setting forth his laws as an unsceptred king, which are what Mencius calls "the matters of the Son of Heaven."'³

Hundreds of critics, from Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang downwards, have tried to interpret the Classic on the principle of finding in almost every paragraph some 'righteous decision;' and in my notes I have in a hundred places pointed out the absurdities in which such a method lands us. The same peculiarity of the style, such as the omission of a clan-name, becomes in one passage the sign of censure and in another the sign of praise.⁴ The whole Book is a

2 孔子自謂竊取之,以爲素王也,孔子人臣,不受君命,私作之,故言竊,亦聖人之謙辭爾。3 孔子懼王道滅,故作春秋,因魯史記,設素王之法,謂天子之事也。

4 It may be well here to give the discussion of one notable case, the occasional omission of the *teran king*.—taken from Chaou Yih's 陔餘叢考,卷二:—

'Every year should commence with "In the spring, in the king's first month," or if there was nothing to be recorded under the first month, "In the spring, in the king's second month," or "In the spring, in the king's third month;" the object being thereby to do honour to the king. In the 9th and 11th years, however, of duke Yin, we have only "In the spring," and in all the years of duke Hwan but four the expression 'the king's' is omitted. Too Yu holds that in those years the king had not issued the calendar; but seeing the prime intent of the Ch'un Ts'ew was to honour the king, is it likely that for such an omission the classic would have denied the year to be the king's? Moreover, such omission was most likely to occur when the court was in confusion, as in the troubles occasioned by the princes T'uy, Tae, and Chaou; and yet we find the years of those times all with the regular formula. How unlikely that the calendar should have been given out in seasons of disorder, and neglected when all was tranquil in the times of Yin and Hwan! Too's explanation is inadmissible.

'Ch'ing E-ch'uen says, "Duke Hwan succeeded to Loo by the murder of his predecessor, and in his first year the author wrote 'the king's,' thereby by a royal law indicating his crime. The same expression in the second year in the same way indicates the crime of Tuh of Sung in murdering his ruler. Its omission in the third year shows that Hwan had no [fear of the] king before his eyes." But this is very inconsistent. If we say that the omission of "the king's" shows that Hwan had no fear of the king, surely it ought to have been omitted in his first year, when he was guilty of such a crime. If we say that its occurrence in the first year is to indicate his crime,

collection of riddles, to which there are as many answers as there are guessers. It is hardly possible for a Chinese to cast off from his mind the influence of this 'praise-and-censure' theory in studying the Classic. He has learned it when a child by committing to memory at school the lines of the 'Primer of Three Characters,'⁵ and it has been obtruded upon him in most of his subsequent reading. Even a foreigner finds himself occasionally casting about for some such way of accounting for the ever varying forms of expression, unwilling to believe that the changes have been made at random. I proceed in another section to give a fuller idea of the nature of the Work, and to consider what were its sources, and whether we have reason to think that Confucius, in availing himself of them, made additions of his own or retrenchments.

are we to infer that wherever it occurs it indicates the crime of the ruler? What had Loo to do with Tuh of Sung's murdering his ruler? Is it reasonable that Loo's historiographers should have constructed their annals to punish him?

'Ho Hëw says,—“In [Hwan's] 10th year we find ‘the king’s,’ because ten is the completion of numbers, and we find it in his 18th year, because that was the last of his rule.” According to this we ought to find “the king’s” only in the year of a ruler's accession, in his tenth year, and the year of his death; but the practice in the Ch'un Ts'ëw is quite different from this. Ho Hëw's remark is unintelligible.

'It may be said that since the Chow commencement of the year was not universally followed during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, some States reckoning by the 1st month of Yin and others by that of Hëa, although Loo generally held to the ritual of Chow, yet its irregularities in the matter of intercalation show that it did not keep to the first month of Chow. Perhaps the historiographers did so sometimes, and then Confucius wrote “the king's first month,” by way of distinction, while he left the cases in which they made the year begin differently unmarked by such a note,—thereby condemning them.' This last is poor Chaou Yih's own explanation of the phenomenon, not a whit better than the devices of others which he condemns! It shows the correctness of my remark that it is next to impossible for a Chinese scholar to shake off the trammels of the creed in which he has been educated.

5 詩既亡,春秋作,寓褒貶,別善惡;—see the 三字經, II. 79, 80.

SECTION II.

THE SOURCES OF THE CH'UN TS'EW, AND ITS NATURE. DID CONFUCIUS ALLOW HIMSELF ANY LIBERTY OF ADDITION OR RETRENCHMENT IN THE USE OF HIS AUTHORITIES?

1. What were Confucius' authorities for the events which he has chronicled in the Ch'un Ts'ëw? In proceeding to an inquiry into the Sources of the Work, it will be well to give at the commencement an explanation of its name.

The two characters, translated literally, simply mean Spring and Autumn. 'Anciently,' says Maou K'e-ling, 'the historiographers, in

Meaning of the name,—the Ch'un Ts'ëw. recording events, did so with the specification of the day, the month, the season, and the year, to which each event belonged; and to the whole they gave the name of *annals*. It was proper that under every year there should be written the names of the four seasons, and the entire record of a year went by the name of *Spring and Autumn*, two of the seasons, being a compendious expression for all the four.'¹ 'Spring and Autumn' is thus equivalent to—Annals, digested under the seasons of every year. An inspection of the Work will prove that this is the proper meaning of its title. Even if there were nothing to be recorded under any season, it was still necessary to make a record of the season and of the first month in it. Entries like that in the 6th year of duke Yin,—‘It was autumn, the 7th month,’ where the next paragraph begins with ‘In winter,’ are frequent. If now and then a year occurs in which we do not find every season specified, we may be sure the omission is owing to the loss of a character or of a paragraph in the course of time. Chaou K'e explains the title in the same way,² and so does Too Yu in the preface to his edition of the Tso Chuen.³ Other accounts of the name are only creations of fancy, and have arisen from a misconception of the nature of the Work. Thus Dr. Williams says, ‘The spring and autumn annals are so called, because “their commendations are life-giving like spring, and their censures are life-withering like autumn.”⁴ The Han scholars gave forth this, and other accounts of a similar kind, led away by their notions as to the nature of the Work on which I have touched in the preceding section. Not even, as I have said, in the Work itself do we find such censures and commendations; and much less are they trumpeted in the title of it.

¹ 古凡史官記事,必先立年,月,日,時,而後書事于其下,謂之記年,故每歲所書四時必備,然而祇名春秋者,春可以該夏,秋可以該冬也;—春秋毛氏傳, the Introductory chapter.

² 春秋以始舉四時,記萬事之名;—on Men. III. Pt. ii. XXI. 3.

³ 記事者,以事繫日,以日繫月,以月繫時,以時繫年,……故史之所記,必表年以首事,年有四時,故錯舉以爲所記之名也. On this passage K'ung Ying-tah quotes the following words from Ch'ing K'ang-shing:—春秋猶言四時也; and then he adds himself, 是舉春秋足包四時之義也.

⁴ The Middle Kingdom, vol. I., p. 512. See to the same effect Du Halde's 'Description de l'Empire de la Chine, et de la Tartarie Chinoise,' vol. II. p. 318.

2. That we are not to seek for any deep or mystical meaning in the title is still more evident from the fact that the name was in use before it was given to the compilation of Confucius. The first narrative of the Tso Chuen under the second year of duke Ch'aou, when Confucius was only eleven years old, shows that this was the case in Loo. Then the principal minister of Tsin, being on a visit to the court of Loo, examined the documents in the charge of the grand-historiographer, and 'saw,' we are told, 'the Yih with its diagrams and the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo.'¹

But the records, or a class of the records, of every State in the kingdom of Chow appear to have been called by this name of Spring and Autumn. In the 'Narratives of the States,' the appointment of Shuh-hëang to be tutor to the heir-apparent of the State of Tsin is grounded on 'his acquaintance with the Ch'un Ts'ew.'² I take the name there as equivalent to history in general,—the historical summaries made in the various States of the kingdom. Shuh-hëang's appointment was made in B.C. 568, about twenty years before Confucius was born. In the same Narratives, at a still earlier date, it is laid down as a rule for the heir-apparent of the State of Ts'oo, that he should be taught the Ch'un Ts'ew.³ According to Mencius, the annals of Loo went by the name of the Ch'un Ts'ew, while those of Tsin were called the Shing, and those of Ts'oo the T'aou-wuh.⁴ All these, however, he says, were books of the same character; and though the annals of different States might have other and particular names given to them, it seems clear that they might all be designated Ch'un Ts'ew. Thus we have a statement in Mih Teih that he 'had seen the Ch'un-ts'ew histories of a hundred States';⁵ and elsewhere we find him speaking of the Ch'un Ts'ew of Chow, the Ch'un Ts'ew of Yen, the Ch'un Ts'ew of Sung, and the Ch'un Ts'ew of Ts'e.⁶

1 觀書於太史氏,見易象與魯春秋. In my translation of this passage on p. 583, I have omitted inadvertently to render the 見易象, and the whole might be taken as if 'the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo' were not one of the documents in the keeping of the historiographer. 2 羊舌肸習於春秋,乃使傅太子彪;—see the 國語,晉語,七, at the end. 3 教之春秋;—See the 國語,楚語,上, art 1. The prince to be taught was the son of king Chwang, who died B. C. 590. 4 Men IV. Pt. ii. XXI. 2. 晉之乘,楚之檮杌,魯之春秋,一也. 5 吾見百國春秋史. See the 墨子佚文, appended to the 15th Book of his Works. 6 In his 明鬼,下.

4. The Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo supplied, it seems to me, the materials for the sage's Work;—if, indeed, he did any thing more than

The Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo supplied the copy out what was ready to his hand. materials for the existing Ch'un Ts'ew. } Ho Hëw, the famous Han editor of Kung-yang's commentary on it, in his introductory notes to the first year of duke Yin, quotes from a Min Yin to the effect that Confucius, having received the command of Heaven to make his Ch'un Ts'ew, sent Tsze-hëa and others of his disciples, fourteen men in all, to seek for the historical records of Chow, and that they got the precious books of 120 States, from which he proceeded to make his chronicle.¹ This, however, is one of the wild statements which we find in many writers of the Han and Tsin dynasties. There is nothing in the Work to make it necessary to suppose that any other records were consulted but those of Loo. This is the view almost universally entertained by the scholars and critics of China itself, as in the statement given from Chaou K'e on p. 5. The omission, moreover, of many events which are narrated in the Chuen of Tso-she makes it certain to my mind that Confucius confined himself to the tablets of his native State. Whether any of his disciples were associated with him in the labour of compilation we cannot tell. Pan Koo, in the chapter on the Literary History of the early Han dynasty, says that Tso K'ew-ming was so.² How this was will be considered when I come to speak of Tso's commentary. Sze-ma Ts'een's account would rather incline us to think that the whole was done by Confucius alone, for he says that when the Work was completed and shown to the disciples of Tsze-hëa, they could not improve it in a single character.³

5. The Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo then was the source of the Ch'un Ts'ew of Confucius. The chronicles or annals which went by this

1 閔因敘云,昔孔子受端門之命,制春秋之義,使子夏等十四人,求周史記得百二十國寶書. 2 以魯周公之國,禮文備物,史官有法,故與左丘明觀其史記;—see note to Lëw Hin's catalogue of the tablets of the Ch'un Ts'ew and Works on it, 漢書三十,藝文志第十. Yen P'ang-tsoo, another scholar of the early Han dynasty, gives rather a different form to Tso's association with Confucius in the Work,—that they went together to Chow to examine the Books in the keeping of the historiographers at the royal court:—嚴彭祖曰,孔子將修春秋,與左丘明乘如周,觀書於周史. Quoted by K'ung Ying-tah on Too Yu's Preface to the Tso Chuen. 3 至於爲春秋,筆則筆,削則削,子夏之徒不能贊一辭;—see the 史記世家,卷十七,孔子世家.

The nature of the Ch'un Ts'ew of the States. } name were the work of the historiographers or recorders, who, we know, were attached to the royal court and to the courts of the various feudal princes. I have spoken of those officers in the prolegomena to vol. III. p. 11, and in those to vol. IV., pp. 24-26. Pan Koo in the same chapter from which I have made a quotation from him in the preceding paragraph, says that the historiographers of the Left recorded words, that is, Speeches, Charges, &c., and those of the Right recorded affairs; that the words formed the Shoo, and the affairs the Ch'un Ts'ew.¹

But if we are to judge of what the Ch'un Ts'ew of the States were from what the one Ch'un Ts'ew preserved to us is, the statement that they contained the records of events cannot be admitted without considerable modification. There can have been no details in them, but only the briefest possible compends of the events, or references to them.

That there were the records of events, kept in the offices of historiography, must be freely admitted, and it will appear, when I come to speak of the commentary of Tso K'ew-ming, that to them we are mainly indebted for the narratives which impart so much interest to his Work. But the entries in the various Ch'un Ts'ew were not made from them,—not made from them fairly and honestly as when one tries to give in a very few words the substance of a narrative which is before him. Those entries related to events in the State itself, at the royal court, and in other States with which it maintained friendly relations. Communications about remarkable and ominous occurrences in one State, and about important transactions, were sent from it to others, and the receiving State entered them in its Ch'un Ts'ew in the terms in which they were made out, without regard to whether they conveyed a correct account of the facts or not. Then the great events in a State itself,—those connected with the ruling House and the principal families or clans in it, its relations with other States, and natural phenomena supposed to affect the general wellbeing, also found a place. Sometimes these things were recorded under the special direction of the ruler; at other times we must suppose that the historiographers committed them to their tablets as a part of their official duty. How far truth, an exact conformity of the record with the circumstances, was observed in these entries about the internal affairs of a State, is a point on which it is not competent for me at this point of the inquiry to pronounce an opinion.

¹ 左史記言右史記事事爲春秋言爲尚書

6. In the prolegomena to vol. IV. p. 25, referring to the brief account which we have in the official Book of Chow of the duties of the historiographers of the Exterior at the royal court, I have made it appear that they had charge of the Histories of all the States,¹ rendering the character *che* by 'Histories.' M. Biot, in his translation of the Official Book, has done the same; but Maou K'e-ling contends that those *che* were the Ch'un Ts'ew of the different States, or the brief notices of which they were made up.² I have failed, however, to find elsewhere any evidence to support his view;³ and when he goes on to argue that three copies of those notices were always made,—one to be kept in the State itself, one for the royal court, and one to be sent to the historiographers of the various feudal courts with which the State was in the habit of exchanging such notifications,—the single passage to which he refers by no means bears out the conclusion which he draws from it;⁴ and indeed, as many copies must have been made as there were States to which the notice was to be sent. In other respects the account which he gives of those notices is so instructive that I subjoin a summary of it.

They were merely, he says, 'slips of subjects,' and not 'summaries' or synopses,—containing barely the mention of the subject to which each of them referred.⁵ It was necessary there should be nothing in them inconsistent with, or contradictory to, the fuller narratives,

¹ 外史掌四方之志 ² 志解作誌又解作誌謂標誌其名而列作題目以告於四方……所爲志即春秋經也.

³ Compare the use of 志 in Mencius, III. Pt. i. II. 3, and Pt. ii. I. 1., and in the Tso Chuen on VI. ii. 1; vi. 3; VII. xii. 2; VIII. iv. 7; et al. ⁴ From the 國語魯語, 上, Art. 7,—at the end.

⁵ Acc. to Maou, the contents of the ancient Ch'un Ts'ew might all be arranged under twenty-two heads:—1st, the changing of the first year of a ruler (改元); 2d, the new ruler's solemn accession (即位); 3d, the birth of a son to the ruler (生子; as in II. vi. 5); 4th, the appointment of a ruler in another State (立君; as in I. iv. 7); 5th, court and complimentary visits (朝聘, in the various forms of 朝; 來朝; 聘; 來聘; 歸脤; 錫命); 6th, covenants and meetings (盟會, in the various forms—會; 盟; 來盟; 淮盟; 不盟; 逃盟; 遇; 胥命; 平; 成); 7th, incursions and invasions, (侵伐, in the various forms—侵; 伐; 克; 入; 圍; 襲; 取; 戍; 救; 帥師; 乞師; 取師; 棄師; 戰; 次; 追; 降; 敗; 敗績; 潰; 獲; 師還; 歸俘; 獻捷); 8th, the removal and extinction of States (遷滅, in the various forms—遷; 滅; 殲; 墮; 亡); 9th, marriages (昏覲, in the various forms—納幣; 逆女; 逆婦; 求婦; 歸; 送; 致女; 來勝; 婦至; 覲); 10th, entertainments and condolences

but they themselves gave no indication of the beginning or end of the events to which they referred, or of the various circumstances which marked their course. For instance, suppose the subject was going from Loo to the court of Tsin.—In VIII. xviii. 4, we are told that 'the duke went to Tsin,' the occasion of his doing so being to congratulate the new marquis of Tsin on his accession; whereas, in IX. iii. 2, we have a notice in the same characters about the child-marquis Sëang, his going to Tsin being to present himself to that court on his own accession to Loo. Suppose, again, the subject to be a meeting between the rulers of Loo and Ts'e.—In III. xiii. 4, we are told that it is said that 'duke Chwang had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant in Ko,' the object being to make peace between the two States after the battle of Shing-k'ëw; whereas, in xxiii. 10, we have the notice of a meeting and covenant between the same princes in Hoo, having reference to an alliance by marriage which they had agreed upon.

After further illustrating the nature of the notices, Maou observes correctly, that to look in them for slight turns of expression, such as the mention of an individual's rank, or of his clan-name, or the specification of the day when an event occurred without the month, and to find in the presence or absence of these particulars the

(享唁); 11th, deaths and burials (喪葬, in the various forms of 崩; 薨; 卒; 葬; 會葬; 歸喪; 奔喪; 贈; 賻; 含; 槨; 求金; 錫命); 12th, sacrifices (祭祀, in the various forms of 烝; 嘗; 禘; 郊; 社; 望; 雩; 作主; 有事; 大事; 朝廟; 告朔; 視朔; 繹; 從祀; 獻; 萬); 13th, huntings (蒐狩, in the various forms of 蒐; 狩; 觀; 焚; 觀社; 大閱); 14th, building (興作, in the various forms of 立宮; 築臺; 作門觀; 丹楹; 刻桷; 屋壤; 毀臺; 新廡; 築城; 城郭; 浚渠; 築囿); 15th, military arrangements (甲兵, in the forms of 治甲兵; 作丘甲; 作三軍; 舍中軍); 16th, military taxation (田賦, in the forms of 稅畝; 用田賦; 求車; 假田; 取田; 歸田); 17th, good years and bad (豐凶, in the forms of 有年; 饑; 告糴; 無麥苗; 無麥禾); 18th, ominous occurrences (災祥, in the forms of 日食; 螟; 螽; 蜚; 雨雪; 雷電; 震; 雹; 星隕; 大水; 無水; 災; 火; 蠶; 蜚; 多麋; 雉; 不雨; 沙鹿崩; 山崩; 旱; 地震; 星孛; 六鵠退飛; 隕霜殺菽; 隕霜不殺草; 鸛鵒來巢; 獲麟); 19th, leaving one's city or State (出國, in the forms of 如; 孫; 出奔; 出; 大去); 20th, entering a city or State (入國, in the forms of 至; 入; 納; 歸; 來歸; 復歸; 來; 來奔; 逃歸); 21st, ruffians and murders (盜弑, in the forms of 盜殺; 盜; 弑; 殺); 22d, punishments (刑戮, in the forms of 殺; 刺; 戕; 放; 執; 歸; 用; 釋; 畀; 肆眚). This analysis of the Ch'un Ts'ëw is ingenious; but it is all based on the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Confucius. Some of the subjects may be called in question, as, e.g., the 3d. In the 12 books of the Spring and Autumn only one such birth is chronicled.

expression of praise or blame, is no better than the gropings of a man in a dream. In this I fully agree with him, but as he has said that the 'slip-notices of the Ch'un Ts'ëw' should not be inconsistent with the facts in a detailed narrative of the events to which they refer, he seems to push the point as to the colourlessness of the notices to an extreme, when he adds the following illustration of it on the authority of a brother of his own:—"The deaths of princes and great officers recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ëw took place in various ways; but they all appear under the same form—"died." Thus in V. xxiv. 5 it is said that "E-woo, marquis of Tsin, died," the fact being that he was slain; in X. viii. 2 it is said that "Neih, marquis of Ch'in, died," the fact being that he strangled himself; in II. v. 1 it is said that "Paou, marquis of Ch'in, died," the fact being that he went mad and died; in XI. xiv. 6 it is said that "Kwang, viscount of Woo, died," the fact being that he did so of wounds received in battle; in XI. iii. 2 it is said that "Ch'uen, viscount of Woo, died," the fact being that he burned himself to death; in III. xxxii. 3 it is said that "the Kung-tsze Ya died," the fact being that he was compelled to take poison; in X. iv. 8 it is said that "Shuh-sun P'au died," the fact being that he was starved to death; in X. xxv. 7 it is said that "Shuh-sun Shay died," the fact being that he did so in answer to his own prayers; and in X. xxix. 3, it is said that "Shuh E died," the fact being that he did so without any illness. The one word "died," is used in such a variety of cases, and it is only one who knows profoundly the style of the text who can explain the comprehensive meaning of the term.⁵ But there is no meaning in the term beyond that of dying, and the conclusion of the mind is that the death indicated by it was a natural one. It is not history in any proper sense of the term which is given in such an indiscriminating style.

7. The reader has now a sufficiently accurate idea of what all the annals that went under the name of Ch'un Ts'ëw were, of what especially the Ch'un Ts'ëw still existing and with which we have to do is. It only remains for me in this section to inquire whether we

Did Confucius in compiling his Ch'un Ts'ëw } have reason to believe that Con-
add to or take from his authorities? } fucius made any changes in the

style of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo.

On this point, as on so many others connected with the Work, we have not sufficient evidence to pronounce a very decided opinion. We are without a single word about it from Confucius himself, or from any of his immediate disciples; and from later scholars and

critics we have the most conflicting utterances regarding it. I have quoted a few words on p. 9, from Sze-ma Ts'ên's account of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, but I now give the whole of it:—"The master said, "No! No! The superior man is distressed lest his name should not be honourably mentioned after death. My principles do not make way in the world;—how shall I make myself known to future ages?" On this, from the records of the historians he made the Ch'un Ts'ëw, commencing with duke Yin, coming down to the 14th year of duke Gae, and thus embracing the times of twelve marquises. He kept close in it to [the annals of] Loo, showed his affection for Chow, and purposely made the three dynasties move before the reader.¹ His style was condensed, but his scope was extensive. Thus the rulers of Woo and Ts'oo assumed to themselves the title of king; but in the Ch'un Ts'ëw they are censured by being only styled viscounts. Thus also the son of Heaven was really summoned [by the marquis of Tsin] to attend the meeting at Tsên-t'oo (V. xxviii. 8), but the Ch'un Ts'ëw conceals the fact, and says (par. 16) that "the king by Heaven's grace held a court of inspection in Ho-yang." Such instances serve to illustrate the idea of the master in the censures and elisions which he employed to rectify the ways of those times, his aim being that, when future kings should study the work, its meaning should be appreciated, and all rebellious ministers and villainous sons under the sky become afraid.² When Confucius was in office, his language in listening to litigations was what others would have employed, and not peculiar to him; but in making the Ch'un Ts'ëw, he wrote what he wrote, and he retrenched what he retrenched, so that the disciples of Tsze-hëa could not improve it in a single character. When his disciples received from him the Ch'un Ts'ëw, he said, "It is by the Ch'un Ts'ëw that after ages will know me, and also by it that they will condemn me."³

¹ 據魯親周故殷運之三代。I shall be glad if any Sinologue can make out the meaning of this passage more clearly than I have done. Chang Show-tsëeh (張守節), the glossarist of Sze-ma Ts'ên under the T'ang dynasty (His preface is dated in the 8th month of A.D. 736), says on the last clause—殷中也, 又中運夏殷周之事也。

² Here again Sze-ma's style is involved, and far from clear: 推此類以繩當世貶損之義後有王者舉而開之春秋之義行則天下亂臣賊子懼焉。

³ Lëw He (Proleg. to vol. III., p. 205) has a strange note on this utterance of Confucius:—知者, 行堯舜之道者, 罪者在王公之位見貶絕者, 'The knowers would be those who practised the principles of Yaou and Shun; the condemners would be kings and dukes in office who were censured and condemned [by the sage's righteous decisions].' This is ingenious, but far-fetched.

A thousand expressions of opinion, modelled upon that of Sze-ma Ts'ên, might easily be adduced, all, it seems to me, as I have said already, prompted by an endeavour to reconcile the existing Work with the accounts of the Ch'un Ts'ëw given in Mencius. As we come down the course of time, we find the scholars of China less positive in the view that Confucius made any change in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo. Choo He says, 'The entries in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, that, for instance, "Such a man did such a thing" are according to the old text of the historiographers of Loo, come down to us from the *stylus* of the sage, transcribing or retrenching. Now-a-days, people, when they see the Ch'un Ts'ëw, are sure to say, "Such and such a character has its stigma for such and such a man," so that Confucius thus took it on him, according to his private views, to dispense without authority his praise or blame. But Confucius simply wrote the thing correctly as it was, and the good or evil of it was manifest of itself. If people feel that they must express themselves as I have said, we must get into our hands the old text of the historiographers of Loo, so that, comparing it with what we now have, the difference and agreement between them would be apparent. But this is now impossible.'⁴

Chaou Yih adduces two paragraphs from the 'Annals of the Bamboo Books,' which, he thinks, may be the original form of two in the Ch'un Ts'ëw. The one is—'Duke Yin of Loo and duke Chwang of Choo made a covenant at Koo-mëeh,'⁵ corresponding to I. i. 2, 'In the third month, the duke and E-foo of Choo made a covenant in Mëeh.' The other is—'Duke Hëen of Tsin united with the army of Yu, and, attacking Kwoh, extinguished Hëa-yang,'⁶ corresponding to V. ii. 3, 'An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Hëa-yang.' 'These two cases,' observes Chaou, 'show that the style of the historiographers of the States was, we may say, similar to that of the Ch'un Ts'ëw, and that Confucius on deliberation only altered a few characters to lodge in others of his own his praise or censure.'⁷ But to make these two instances exactly to the point, it would be necessary that they should occur in the annals of the State of Loo, somehow preserved to us. Besides,

⁴ See the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw, 綱領, p. 18:—春秋所書, 如某人爲某事, 云云。 ⁵ See the proleg. to vol. III., p. 160. ⁶ *Ib.*, p. 163. ⁷ 據此可見當時國史, 其文法大概本與春秋相似, 孔子特酌易數字以寓褒貶耳;—see the 陔餘叢考, 卷二, the chapter 春秋底本

the expressions 'duke Chwang' and 'duke Hëen' are retrospective, and not after the manner of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.

With regard to the entry in III. vii. 2, that 'at midnight there was a fall of stars like rain,' referring, we must believe, to a grand appearance of meteors, Kung-yang tells us that the old text of the historiographers was—'It rained stars to within a foot of the earth, when they re-ascended'? Certainly the text was not altered here by Confucius to express either praise or censure. And if Kung-yang was able thus to quote the old text, it is strange he should only have done it in this solitary instance. If it had been so different from the present, with his propensities he would not have been slow to adduce it frequently. I must doubt his correctness in this case.

After the first entry under the 14th year of duke Gae, with which according to all Chinese critics the labours of Confucius terminated, Tso-she gives no fewer than 27 paragraphs, bringing the history down to the death of the sage in Gae's 16th year. Those paragraphs were added, it is said, from the Ch'un Ts'ëw of Loo by Confucius' disciples; and I can see no difference between the style in them, and in the more than a thousand which passed under the revision of the master.

Is it a sign of my having imbibed something of the prejudice of native scholars, of which I spoke in the end of last section, that I do not like to express my opinion that Confucius did not alter a character in his authorities? Certainly he made no alterations to convey his sentiments of praise or blame;—the variations of style where there could be no change of sentiment or feeling underlying them forbid our supposing this.

SECTION III.

RECOVERY OF THE CH'UN TS'ËW DURING THE HAN DYNASTY. WAS THIS INDEED THE CH'UN TS'ËW OF CONFUCIUS?

1. Lëw Hin's catalogue of the Works in the imperial library of the early Han dynasty, prepared, as I have shown in the proleg. to vol. I., p. 4, about the commencement of our Christian era, begins,

Evidence of Lëw Hin's Catalogue of the Han imperial library on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, with two collections of the *text* of the Classic:—'The old text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw in twelve *p'ëen*'; and 'The text of the Ch'un

Ts'ëw in eleven *keuen* or Books.¹ This is followed by a list of the Chuen, or Commentaries, of Tso, Kung-yang, Kuh-lëang, Tsow, and Këah;² so that at this early time the text of the Classic was known, and there were writings of five different masters in illustration of it, the greater portion of which, the Chuen namely of Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang, remain to the present day. A dozen other Works follow, mostly by Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang or their followers, showing how the Classic and the commentators on it had already engaged the attention of scholars.

2. Were the texts mentioned in the Han catalogue derived from the commentaries of Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang, or from some other independent source? In a note to the entry about them, Yen

The texts in the Han Catalogue. Sze-koo of the T'ang dynasty says that they were taken from Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang. Many scholars confine his remark to the second collection, and it gives some countenance to this view that the commentaries of those two masters were then in *eleven* Books; but it is to be observed on the other hand that with the differences which exist in their texts they could hardly have been formed into one collection.

With regard to the first entry—'the old text in twelve *p'ëen*'—it is the general opinion that this was the text as taken from the Work of Tso. And there can be no doubt that during the Han dynasty the text and the commentary were kept separate in that Work, for Too Yu tells us that in his edition of it, early in the Tsin dynasty, he 'took the years of the text and arranged them along with the corresponding years of the commentary.'¹ Moreover, in the Han dynasty, Tso's school and that of Kung-yang were distinguished as the old or ancient and the new or modern.² To myself, however, the more natural interpretation of 'the old text' in the entry appears to be—the text in the ancient character; and if there were evidence to show that there was an edition of the text in Lëw Hin's time, independent of that derived from the three commentaries, the result would be satisfactory. Yuen³ Yuen was the first, so far as I know, to

¹ 春秋古經十二篇;經十一卷。 ² 左氏傳三十卷;公羊傳十一卷;穀梁傳十一卷;鄒氏傳十一卷;夾氏傳十一卷。

¹ 分經之年,與傳之年相附。 ² 左氏先著竹帛,故漢時謂之古學,公羊漢時乃興,故謂之今學;—see the 十三經策案,卷十七, at the beginning. ³ 阮元;—see the proleg. to vol. I., p. 133.

do this, in the present century. In the preface to his 'Examination of the text of Tso's Commentary and K'ung Ying-tah's Annotations on it,'⁴ he calls attention to the fact that among the discoveries of old tablets in the wall of Confucius' house⁵ there were those of the Ch'un Ts'ew. Pan Koo indeed omits to mention them in his appendix to Lëw Hin's catalogue of the Shoo and Works on it, where he speaks of the Shoo, the Le Ke, the Lun Yu, and the Hëaou King as having been thus found; but Heu Shin, in the preface to his dictionary, the Shwoh Wăn, published A.D. 100, adds to the tablets of these Works those of the Ch'un Ts'ew.⁶ I am willing therefore to believe that it was this copy of the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew in the ancient character which headed the catalogue of Lëw Hin; and if it were so, all question as to the genuineness of our present Classic may be considered as at an end.

3. There are many of the scholars of China, who would hesitate to concur with me in this view, and prefer to abide by the opinion of which very full expression has been given by Ma Twan-lin. He

View on the subject of Ma Twan-lin. says, 'Although there appears in the catalogue of the Han dynasty "The old Text of the Ch'un Ts'ew," yet the original text, as corrected by the master, was never discovered; and the *old texts* compiled in the Han dynasty and subsequently have all been taken from the three commentaries, and called by the name of "The correct text." But there are many differences in the texts which appear in those commentaries, and it is impossible for the student to decide between them. For instance:—in I. i. 2 Tso gives the meeting between the marquis of Loo and E-foo of Choo as having taken place in Mëeh (蔑), while Kung and Kuh give the name as 昧, so that we cannot tell which of these characters the master wrote. So Mei (郢), in III. xxviii. 4, appears in Kung and Kuh as 微, and Keueh-yin (厥憇), in X. xi. 7, appears in Kung and Kuh as 屈銀. Instances of this kind are innumerable, but they are generally in the names of places and unimportant. In I. iii. 3, however, we have in Tso-she the entry 君氏卒, which would be the notice of the death of Shing Tsze, the mother of duke Yin, whereas in Kung and Kuh we read 尹氏卒, referring to the death of a high minister of Chow; so that we cannot tell whose death it was that the master chronicled as having taken place on

4 春秋左傳注疏校勘記. 5 See proleg. vol. I, pp. 12, 13. 6 壁中書者,魯共王壞孔子宅而得禮記尚書春秋論語孝經

the day Sin-maou of the 4th month of the third year of duke Yin.¹

'And not only so. In the 21st year of duke Sëang, both Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang have an entry to the effect that Confucius was then born. But in the Ch'un Ts'ew only the births of the heir-sons of the rulers of States were entered, as in II. vi. 5. In other cases, the births even of hereditary nobles, who exercised an all-powerful sway in the government of their States, like the members of the Ke family [in Loo], did not find a place in the tablets; and though the master be the teacher of emperors and kings for myriads of ages, yet at his birth he was only the son of the commandant of the city of Tsow. The historiographers of Loo would not make a record of that event, and to say that he himself afterward entered it in the classic which he prepared, is in the highest degree absurd.

'Moreover Tso, after the capture of the *lin* in the 14th year of duke Gae, has further protracted the text to the 4th month of the 16th year, when the death of Chung-ne is recorded;—which even Tso Ching-nan considered to be not far from an act of forgery.

'Thus there are not only additions in the three commentaries to the proper text of the Ch'un Ts'ew of things which are strange and partly incredible, but the authors of them added [to the text] and suppressed [portions of it] according to their pleasure. In what they write under the 21st year of Sëang, Kung and Kuh added to the text, to do honour to the master from whom they had received it, and Tso made his addition in the 16th year of Gae, to show his grief for the death of the master;—neither addition was in the original text of the Ch'un Ts'ew. The three writers made their commentaries according to what was current in men's mouths, and what they heard with their ears, in their time, and each of them thrust in whatever addition he desired to make. Subsequent scholars again have adopted what they found in the three commentaries, one favouring this and another that, and trying to make it clear; but that they have attained to the mind of the sage in the use of his *stylus*, now writing down and now retrenching, a thousand years before them, is what I am not able to believe.'²

¹ See my note on the passage in question, where I approve of a different interpretation of the text of Kung and Kuh from that which Ma Twan-lin mentions. My Chinese text in that passage is that of Kung and Kuh, and I take this opportunity to say that the text throughout is gathered from the K'ang-he edition of the Classic. The editors generally follow Tso-she; but occasionally, as in this case, they adopt the text of Kung or Kuh. They have not told us by what principles they were guided in the formation or preference of that which they have given.

² 春秋古經雖漢藝文志有之,然夫子所修之春秋其本文世所不見而自漢以來所編古經則俱自三傳中

4. I have given the whole of Ma's remarks, because of the weight of his authority and the freedom with which he has expressed his views. The points, however, on which he insists do

Ma's conclusions seem overstrained. not make so unfavourable an impression on my mind against the integrity of our present text as they did upon his. That there was not in the Han dynasty a text of the Classic besides the texts found in the three commentaries is not so certain as he makes out. Very possibly, as I have shown in the second paragraph, a distinct text was found, as related by Heu Shin, in the year B.C. 153. But if we base the text simply on what is given in the commentaries, we must feel that we approximate very nearly to what it was when they made their appearance, to what it had been before the tyrant of Ts'in fancied that he had made an end of it. There is no evidence that anyone of them suppressed portions of the text as Ma affirms; and the additions of which he makes so much are only two, one by Kung-yang and Kuh-lêng

取則公左曰魯嘗魯子惟惟如師所理六文增而之者儒以
出學穀氏微厥魚背之是國季然不也年其損增也各復爲
經者以爲會乎懋於夫隱公君氏之始而左月見有之非爲聖
文何所昧耶於曰誤大也三穀子徒生謂於書於之也春秋又於
名折則公厥屈其義尹年夏於則生鄒子公尼傳蓋十之以三
曰衷不穀懋銀二無卒四襄書亦邑自十卒者襄六本其子之
正如公以穀乎若已關以辛卯十同書之生獲南乖一書三所者
經及子微以是然也爲卯十同書之生獲南乖一書三所者
耳然所則爲者殆此至師尹死年之於耳年之以未所左者增有之
三儀書不屈者然也爲卯十同書之生獲南乖一書三所者
傳父者知銀則不可勝數之卒卿爲孔餘子未修復誣信公其時攬右未
所盟曰夫則不勝數之卒卿爲孔餘子未修復誣信公其時攬右未
載於茂乎所知蓋訛則士何人生卿世書經經則三尊亡耳之發能
經茂乎所知蓋訛則士何人生卿世書經經則三尊亡耳之發能
文左曰書夫蓋訛則士何人生卿世書經經則三尊亡耳之發能
多有以乎曰所特亥事未子夫寧秋政之史是十本意授書受諸而
異爲築郿書者豕未子夫寧秋政之史是十本意授書受諸而
同茂郿乎者豕未子夫寧秋政之史是十本意授書受諸而

(with a variation, however, to which he does not advert), and one by Tso, for we may consider all the paragraphs that follow the account of the capture of the *lin* as one addition. They were both very natural, and I should suppose were intended originally as notes rather than additions to the text. The various readings again in the three are really not of great importance. Occurring mostly in the names of men and places,³ they need not trouble us more than different ways of spelling unusual words in different editions of an English book would do. The most important variation of another character between them is that on which Ma insists so strongly,—君氏 and 尹氏 in I. iii. 3. This is not what we may compare to an error of orthography, arising from writing the same sound in different ways;—it is evidently an error of transcription. Tso, I am of opinion, copied down 君 instead of 尹, and then tried, ingeniously but unsatisfactorily, to account in his commentary for the unusual combination of 君氏. Kung and Kuh copied 尹 correctly, but their historical knowledge was not sufficient to enable them to explain who 尹氏 was. Ma has altogether overlooked the consideration of the value attaching to the various readings as showing the independence of the three recensions. Adding to them the two of Tsow and Kēah which soon perished, we have five different texts of the Ch'un Ts'ew in existence in the second century before our era. Tso, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lêng, had each his school of adherents, who sought to exalt the views of their master above those of his rivals. It is still competent to us to pronounce upon their respective views, and weigh the claims which they have to our consideration; but the question at present is simply about their texts. Notwithstanding the differences between these, there is no doubt in my mind that they flowed from a common original,

3 The following passage from Woo Ch'ing (吳澂; A.D. 1249-1333), may be considered as decisive on this point. I adduce it in preference to others, because he touches on some other matters which will interest some of my readers.—春秋經十二篇左氏公羊穀梁各有不同昔朱子刻易書詩春秋於臨漳郡春穀秋一經止用左氏經文而曰公穀二經所以異者類多失先儒固言之意者左氏名地有容以偏狗哉

—an original which must have been compiled by Confucius from the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo. On the subsequent preservation of that text it is not necessary to enter, excepting in so far as the early history of the three commentaries is concerned. When the authority of them was once established, there was a succession of scholars who from dynasty to dynasty devoted themselves to the illustration of them, the Works of hundreds of whom are existing at the present day. It may not be possible for us to determine the exact reading, of names especially, in every paragraph, and there may be lacunæ in other paragraphs, and some paragraphs perhaps were lost before the three texts were transcribed; but the text as formed from them must in my opinion be considered, notwithstanding its various readings, as a fair reproduction of what Confucius wrote, a sufficient copy of the Work by which he felt that posterity would judge him.

I proceed in the next section to describe the three early commentaries, after which we shall be prepared to estimate the value of the Work itself.

SECTION IV.

THE THREE EARLY COMMENTARIES ON THE CH'UN TS'EW.

1. Of the three early commentaries the first which made its appearance in the Han dynasty, and incomparably the most

The commentary of Tso. important, was that of Tso, or of Tso-k'ew, for the opinions of scholars differ both as to the surname and the name of the author.¹ The account of it given by Pan Koo is—that Tso

¹ It is a common opinion, which Mr. Wylie (General Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 6) endorses without hesitation, that the 'Narratives of the States' was by the same author as the Commentary about which we are inquiring; and we have the testimony of Sze-ma Ts'ien's autobiographical letter to a friend (漢書六十二, 司馬遷傳第三十二), as to his surname being Tso-k'ew, and name Ming (左丘失明, 厥有國語; and again, 左丘明無目). Our Tso would then have the surname of Tso-k'ew. This is still held by many. Choo E-tsun particularly insists on it as a point 'exceedingly clear,' and explains the dropping of the K'ew (丘 or 邱) from a superstitious feeling not to be always repeating the name of the Master (孔邱). Pan Koo appears to have considered the simple Tso to be the surname and K'ew-ming the name; and there are many who concur with him. Others maintain that the surname was simply Tso, and that the name has been lost. So it is virtually now, for the Work is simply called the Tso Chuen. On these disputes about the surname and name, Hwang Tsih (黃澤; Yuen dynasty) says with truth:—左邱明, 或謂姓左邱, 名明, 非傳春秋者, 傳春秋者蓋姓左, 而失其名, 愚謂去古既遠, 此以爲是, 彼以爲非, 又焉有定論.

K'ew-ming was a disciple of the sage, who consulted along with him the historical records of Loo, before making his great Work; that when it was made, it was not advisable to publish it because of the praise and censure, the concealments and suppressions, which abounded in it, and that therefore he delivered it by word of mouth to the disciples, who thereupon withdrew and gave different accounts of the events referred to in it; that K'ew-ming, in order that the truth might not be lost, made his commentary, or narratives of those events, to make it clear that the master had not in his text used empty words; and finally, that it was necessary for him to keep his work concealed, to avoid the persecutions of the powerful rulers and officers whose conduct was freely and fully described in it.² Pan Koo's account is correct thus far, that we have in Tso's Work a detailed account of most of the events of which the text of Confucius gives only hints. The Ch'un Ts'ew may be loosely compared to the headings or summaries of contents which are prefixed to the chapters in many editions of our Bibles, and Tso's commentaries to the chapters themselves. But we shall find that they contain more than this.

2. Who Tso was it is not easy to say. In the Analects, V. xxiv., Confucius says, 'Fine words, an insinuating appearance, and Who Tso was. excessive respect;—Tso-k'ew Ming was ashamed of such things, and I also am ashamed of them. To conceal resentment against a person, and appear friendly with him;—Tso-k'ew Ming was ashamed of such conduct, and I also am ashamed of it.'¹ Chaou K'e says, on the authority of K'ung Gan-kwoh, that the person whom Confucius spoke of thus, was the grand-historiographer of Loo, but adds nothing as to his being contemporary with the sage, or of an earlier time. The critics generally hold that he was some Worthy of an earlier age, on the ground that Confucius only drew comparisons between himself and men of a former period.² I am not fully convinced by their reasonings. The Chinese text of the Analects is not so definite as the English translation of it. What Confucius says about Tso-k'ew Ming might be rendered in the present tense in the same way as what he says about himself. Nothing, however, would be gained by discussing a text on which it is not possible to arrive at a

¹ E. g. Chaou K'wang (趙匡; of the T'ang dynasty) says:—論語左邱明耻之, 丘亦耻之, 夫子自比, 皆引往人, 故曰竊比於我老彭, 又說伯夷等六人, 云我則異於是, 並非同時人也, 邱明者蓋夫子以前賢人, 如史佚遲任之流, 見稱於當時爾.
² 趙襄子.

positive decision. At the same time I may say that the view that Tso was a disciple of the master has very formidable difficulties to encounter. The Classic stops in the 14th year of duke Gae, B.C. 480, but Tso's commentary extends to the 4th year of duke Taou, Gae's successor, B.C. 463. In the last paragraph of it, moreover, there is an allusion to the ruin and death of Seun Yaou or Che Pih, a great officer of Tsin, which took place in 452, 27 or 28 years after the close of the Ch'un Ts'ew. Not only so. The Head of the Chaou family is mentioned in the same paragraph by his posthumous or honorary title, and of course he could not have received it till after his death, which took place in B.C. 424, 56 years after the capture of the *lin*, and 54 years after the death of the sage. Is it possible to believe that one so much younger than Confucius was among his disciples and possessed his confidence to the extent which the commonly received accounts of the making of the Ch'un Ts'ew suppose?

3. Leaving these speculations about the name and person of Tso, we find that his commentary made its appearance soon after the rise of the Han dynasty. Heu Shin }
First appearance and subsequent history of his commentary. } to his account of the discovery of the Ch'un Ts'ew in the wall of Confucius house, quoted on p. 18, sub-joins the statement that Chang Ts'ang, marquis of Pih-p'ing presented the commentary of Tso written in the old characters of the Chow dynasty.¹ Now this Chang Ts'ang had been high in office under the Ts'in dynasty, in charge, it would appear, of the imperial library. Having joined the party of the duke of P'ei, the founder of the Han dynasty, he became at last a favourite with him, and was placed in various positions of the greatest trust.² His appointment to be marquis of Pih-p'ing³ took place in B.C. 200, about fifty years before the discovery of the text in the wall of Confucius' house. Heu Shin says that 'Chang presented' the Work, meaning, I suppose, that he did so to the first emperor of Han, who was too much occupied, however, with the establishment of his dynasty to give much attention to literary matters. But after the time of Chang Ts'ang we never lose sight of Tso's commentary. From him it passed to K'ea E, of whom we have many notices as a famous

1 北平侯張蒼獻春秋左氏傳郡國亦往往于山川得鼎彝其銘即前代之古文. 2 See the 漢書四十二傳第十二, the first memoir. 3 Pih-p'ing embraced the present department of Yung-p'ing, Chih-le, and some adjacent territory.

scholar and statesman in the reign of the emperor W'ăn (B.C. 178—156).⁴ He published a Work of his own upon it;⁵ and then it passed on to his grandson K'ea K'ea,⁶ and Kwan Kung,⁷ a great scholar at the court of King H'een of Ho-k'een,⁸ through whom an attempt was made to obtain for it the imperial recognition, which was defeated by the friends of the commentary of Kung-yang. This, though later in making its appearance, had already found a place in the imperial college.⁹ Kwan Kung transmitted his treasure to his youngest son, named Chang-k'ing,¹⁰ and from him it went on to Chang Ch'ang¹¹ and Chang Yu,¹² both famous men of their time. To one of them, no doubt, belonged the 'Niceties of the Ch'un Ts'ew, by Chang-she,' mentioned in L'ew Hin's catalogue.¹³ Yu was intimate with S'eaou Wang-che,¹⁴ perhaps the most distinguished man of the time, whom he interested in the Work of Tso, so that he called the attention to it of the emperor Seuen (B.C. 72—48), and it might now have been formally recognized but for Yu's death. The names of Yin K'ang-ch'e¹⁵ and his son Yin H'een,¹⁶ of Teih Fang-tsin,¹⁷ Hoo Chang,¹⁸ and K'ea Hoo¹⁹ lead us from Yu to L'ew Hin.²⁰ Hin's connexion with Tso's Work may be considered as forming an era in its history. 'Having found,' we are told in his biography, 'in the imperial library, the Ch'un Ts'ew and Tso's Chuen in the ancient characters, he became very fond of them. At that time Yin H'een, a secretary of the prime minister, being well acquainted with Tso-she, examined along with Hin the text and commentary. Hin took his opinion in some particulars, and sought to learn the correct interpretation and great aim of the Works by application to the prime minister Teih Fang-tsin. Before this, because of the many ancient characters and ancient sayings in Tso's Chuen, students had contented themselves with simply explaining their meaning; but when Hin took it in hand, he quoted the words of the commentary to explain the text, and made

4 漢書四十八傳第十八. 5 賈誼春秋左氏傳訓故. 6 賈嘉. 7 賈公. 8 See the proleg. to vol. IV. p. 11. 9 K'ung Ying-tah, in his preface to Too Yu's edition of the Tso Chuen says:—漢武帝 (B.C. 139—86) 時, 河閒獻左氏, 議立左氏學, 公羊之徒上書詆左氏, 左氏之學不立. 10 長卿. 11 張敞. 12 張禹. 13 張氏春秋微十篇. 14 蕭望之. There is a long and interesting memoir of him in the 漢書, 七十八. We find him, on his first introduction to the emperor Seuen, appealing to a passage in the Ch'un Ts'ew. 15 尹更始. 16 尹咸. 17 翟方進. 18 胡常. 19 賈護. 20 劉歆.

them throw light on each other, and from this time the exhibition of them in paragraphs and clauses was cultivated. Hin preferred Tso to Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang, considering that he agreed in his likings and dislikings with the sage, and that he had himself seen the master,—a very different case from that of Kung and Kuh who were subsequent to the seventy disciples.²¹ The history then relates the disputes between Hin and his father Hëang, who was an adherent of the commentary of Kuh-lëang, and how he made an attempt to get the emperor Gae (B.C. 5—A.D.) to give Tso a place in the imperial college along with Kung and Kuh, which was defeated by the jealousy of their supporters. From this time, however, the advocates of Tso-she became more numerous and determined to have justice done to their master. They were successful for a short time in the reign of the emperor P'ing (A.D. 1—5), but Tso's Work was again degraded as of less authority than the other two commentaries; and though Këa Kwei²² presented an argument on forty counts to prove its superiority, which was well received by the emperor Chang (A.D. 76—88), it was not till A.D. 99, under the emperor Ho,²³ that the footing of Tso in the imperial college was finally established. The famous Ch'ing K'ang-shing (A.D. 127—199) having replied to three Works of Ho Hëw,²⁴ the maintainer of the authority of Kung-yang, against Tso and Kuh-lëang, and shown the superiority of Tso, the other two commentaries began from this time to sink into neglect. It is melancholy to read the list of writers on Tso during the second and third dynasties of Han, of whom we have only fragmentary sentences remaining; but in A.D. 280, Too Yu or Too Yuen-k'ae, a scholar and general at the commencement of the Tsin dynasty,²⁵ completed a great Work under the title of 'Collected Explanations of the Text and Commentary of Tso-she on the Ch'un Ts'ëw, in thirty chapters.'²⁶ This Work still remains, and will ever be a monument of the scholarship and painstaking of the writer.

²¹ See the 漢書三十六, 楚元王傳第六. I have carefully read over the Work of 劉逢祿 of the present dynasty, included in the 皇清經解, and called 左氏春秋考證, in which he labours to upset all the testimony about Lëw Hin, but it is quite inconclusive and unsatisfactory.

²² 賈逵. ²³ Luh Tih-ming and others say this took place under Ho, in the 11th year of the period 元興. But that period lasted only one year. 元興 must be a mistake for 永元. ²⁴ 何休;—see further on. ²⁵ 春秋左氏經傳集解, 三十卷;—by 杜預, styled 元凱. He is also called 征南, from his military operations in the South, as in the quotation from Ma Twan-lin on p. 19. He was born A.D. 222, and died in 284.

4. Nothing need be said on the history of the commentary of Tso since the beginning of the Han dynasty. Some of the scholars of that age traced it back from Chang Ts'ang to nearly the time of Confucius, and K'ung Ying-tah in his preface to Too Yu's Work quotes the following from a production of Lëw Hëang (B.C. 80—9) which is now lost:—'Tso K'ëw-ming delivered his Work to Tsäng Shin. Shin transmitted it to Woo K'e; Woo K'e to his son K'e; K'e to Toh Tsëaou, a native of Ts'oo, who copied out selections from it in 8 books; Toh Tsëaou to Yu K'ing, who made 9 books of selections from it; Yu K'ing to Seun K'ing; and Seun K'ing to Chang Ts'ang.'¹ I wish we had different and more authority for this statement, as Hëang was not himself an adherent of Tso's Work. In his son Hin's catalogue which I have already referred to, two Works are mentioned by Toh-she and Yu-she, but there is nothing in their titles to connect them with Tso;² and Sze-ma Ts'ëen says nothing in his memoir of Seun K'ing about any connexion that he had with the transmission of the commentary.³ Tsäng Shin was the grandson of Tsäng Sin, one of Confucius' principal disciples,—the Tsäng Se of Mencius, II. Pt. i. I. 3. Tso's committing his Work to him would agree with what I have said in par. 2, and cast a doubt on his being a contemporary of the sage himself.

5. I have said that generally we have in the Work of Tso the details of the events of which we have but a shadow or the barest intimation in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw; but we have more than this. Of multitudes of events that during the 242 years of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period took place in Loo and other States, to which the text makes no allusion, we have from Tso a full account. Where he got his information he does not tell us. Too Yu is probably correct when he says that Tso was himself one of the historiographers of Loo.¹ Whatever of the history of that State was on record he was familiar with. If the records of other States were also collected there, he had studied them equally with those of his own. If he did not find them there, he must

¹ 劉向別錄云, 左邱明授曾申, 申授吳起, 起授其子期, 期授楚人鐸椒, 椒作抄撮八卷, 授虞卿, 卿作抄撮九卷, 授荀卿, 卿授張蒼. ² 鐸氏微三篇; 虞氏微傳二篇. ³ See the 史記七十四, 列傳第十四.

¹ 身為國史, 躬覽載籍, 必廣記而備言之.

have gone in search of them, for he is as much at home in the events of Chow, Tsin, Ts'e, Sung, Ch'ing, Ts'oo, and other States, as he is in those of Loo. And not only does he draw from the records about the ruling Houses of the States, but also from the histories of the principal families or clans and the chief men in them.² From whatever quarter, in whatever way, he got his information, he has transmitted it to us. The events and the characters of the time pass as in reality and life before us. In no ancient history of any country have we such a vivid picture of any lengthened period of its annals as we have from Tso of the 270 years which he has embraced in his Work. Without his Chuen the text of the sage would be of little value. Let the former be preserved, and we should have no occasion to regret the loss of the latter.

To myself it appears plain that Tso's Work was compiled on a twofold plan. First, he had reference to the text of the Ch'un

Tso's Work compiled on a two-fold plan. } Ts'ew, and wished to give the details
He wished first to explain the text. } of the events which were indicated

in it. Occasionally also he sets himself to explain the words of that text, being sometimes successful and sometimes not. He lays down canons to regulate the meaning and application of certain characters, but it can hardly be said that we find him under the influence of the 'praise-and-censure' theory. In this respect he differs remarkably from Kung-yang and Kuh-l'ang; and I have sometimes fancied that the characteristic is an evidence that he lived before Mencius, and had never read the accounts of the Classic which we find in him. His object evidently was to convey to his readers a knowledge of the facts given in the master's paragraphs as if independent and isolated in their connexion with one another. Hence he often mentions new facts which are necessary for that

2 The following passage from Tan Tsou (啖助) of the T'ang dynasty sets forth correctly this characteristic of Tso's work, and I adduce it without reference to Tsou's peculiar opinions about our author:—左氏傳自周、晉、齊、宋、楚、鄭等國之事最詳，晉則每出一師，具列將佐，宋則每因興廢，備舉六卿，故知史策之文，每國各異，左氏得此數國之史，以授門人，義則口傳，未形竹帛，後代學者乃演而通之，總而合之，編次年月，以爲傳記，又廣采當時文籍，故兼與子產、晏子及諸國卿佐家傳并卜書及雜占書，縱橫家小說諷諫等雜在其中，故叙事雖多，釋意甚少，是非交錯，混然難證，其大略皆是左氏舊意，故比餘傳，其功最高，博采諸家，叙事尤備，能令百代之下頗見本末。

purpose. As he generally introduces them chronologically, at the time of their occurrence, he seems at times merely to increase the mass of indigested matter; but by and by we find what he has thus related to stand in the relation of cause to something subsequently chronicled. But his method with these additions to the text, which are yet connected with it, is very various. As Too Yu says, 'Now he anticipates the text to show the origin of an affair; now he comes after the text [with his narrative] to bring out fully the meaning; now he lies alongside the text to discriminate the principles in it; and now he appears to cross the text to bring together things that differ:—thus various according to what he considered the requirements of the case.'³ What is very surprising is that he does not appear to be conscious of frequent discrepancies between the details of his narratives and the things as stated by Confucius. Now and then, as on VI. xviii. 6, he says that the text conceals the nature of the fact; but generally he seems insensible of the untrustworthiness of the representation in it.

Let it be understood, however, that Tso does not give the details of every event which the Classic briefly indicates. We must suppose that where he does not do so, his sources of information failed him, and he was obliged to leave the notice of the text as it was. There is the erroneous or defective entry in III. xxiv. 9,—'The duke of Kwoh.' On it Tso says nothing. So on the five paragraphs of Chwang's 26th year he has nothing to say, while he introduces brief narratives of two other things, for the latter of which only we can account as being given with an outlook into the future. Generally speaking, the information given in the Chuen is scanty or abundant in proportion to its distance from or nearness to the era assigned to its compilation. The 18 years of duke Hwan, B.C. 710—693, occupy in the following Work 37 pages; the 15 years of duke Ting, B.C. 508—494, 50 pages. The 32 years of Chwang, B.C. 692—661, occupy 59 pages; the 32 of Ch'au, B.C. 540—509, 173 pages. This certainly gives us for the Work one attribute of verisimilitude.⁴

³ 傳先經以始事，或後經以終義，或依經以辯理，或錯經以合異，隨義而發;—see Too's preface. ⁴ I take the opportunity to advert here to a question which has produced no end of speculation and discussion among the scholars of China.—Why does the Ch'un Ts'ew begin with duke Yin? Might we not have expected the sage to go back to the first origin of the State of Loo? I believe that the only reasonable answer to these inquiries is this,—that the annals of the State previous to duke Yin's rule had been altogether lost, or were in such a miserable state of dilapidation and disarrangement that nothing could be made of them. We might have expected a sentence or two from the sage to enlighten us on the subject; but his oracle is dumb. Neither does the Chuen say anything about it. How different the practice of writers of history in the West!

But while Tso intended his Work to be a commentary on the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew, I believe that he had in view another and higher object, and wished to give his readers a general view of the history of the country throughout all its States during the Ch'un Ts'ew period. The account of the Chuen quoted above from Too Yu carries us a considerable way to this conclusion. Tso shows the origin and issue of many events, one phase of which merely is mentioned in the text. The unconnected entries of the classic are thus woven together, and a history is made out of them. But the new matter introduced by him is so very much, and often having no relation to anything stated in the text, yet calculated to bring the whole field of the era before us, and to indicate the progress of events on towards a different state of the kingdom, that we must suppose this to have been a prominent object in the author's mind. This characteristic of the Work has not escaped the notice of native scholars themselves. As early as the Tsin dynasty, Wang Ts'eh preferred to it the commentary of Kung-yang on this account. 'Tso's style,' said he, 'is so rich, and his aim so extensive, that he is to be regarded as an author by himself, and not having it for his principal object to illustrate the classic.'⁵ Nearly to the same effect is the account of Tso's Chuen given by Wang Cheh of the Sung dynasty. After praising Tso as a skilful reader of the old histories and collector of various narratives, so that he accumulated a very complete account of the events in the Ch'un Ts'ew, he yet adds:—'But though his book was made as an appendix to the classic, yet, apart from and outside that, it forms a book by itself, the author of which was led away by his fondness for strange stories, and carried his collecting them beyond what was proper. He was remiss in setting forth the fine and minute ideas of the sage, but yet his Work has a beginning and end, being all the compilation of one hand.' Chinese scholars write of Tso under the influence of their admiration and veneration for the sage. I could wish that he had written altogether independently of the Classic, in which case we might have had a history of those times as complete as a man

⁵ 王接曰左氏辭義瞻富自是一家書不主爲經發;—see the 經義考, Bk. 169, p. 3. In Bk. 174, p. 3, there is quoted from him his contrary view of Kung-yang:—公羊附經立傳經所不書傳不妄起於文爲儉通經爲長.

knowing only the heroes and events of his own country could make. It is not too much to call Tso the Froissart of China. The historical novel called 'The History of the various States' shows the use which can be made of his narratives. They lie necessarily in my pages so many *disjecta membra*, but some one may yet give, mainly from them, an account of the closing centuries of the feudal state of China that shall be found to have an universal interest.

6. Three more points in regard to Tso's Work have yet to be considered:—the manner of his composition; how far his narratives are entitled to our belief; and whether there is reason to believe that additions were made to them by writers of the Ts'in and Han dynasties. By the manner of Tso's composition I do not mean the general character of his style. There is but one opinion as to that. It is acknowledged on all hands that he was a master of his

Peculiarity of Tso's composition. art. Condensed, yet vivid, he is eminently pictorial. The foreign student does not for some time find it easy to make out his meaning, but by and by he gets familiar with the style, and it then has a great charm for him. In the words which the foremost of French sinologues once used to me of him, Tso was *un grand écrivain*.¹ But the peculiarity which I have in view is the way in which Tso constantly varies the appellations of the actors in his narratives. Very often they are named by their sacrificial or honorary epithets which were not given to them till after their death, so that it is plain he did not copy out the contemporaneous accounts or records which we suppose him to have had before him, and some critics have from this contended that the narratives were entirely constructed by himself, not drawn from historical sources.² But such a conclusion is more than the premiss will justify. Tso might very well call his subjects of a former time by the titles which had been accorded to them after their death, and by which

⁶ 王哲曰左氏善覽舊史兼該衆說得春秋之事亦甚備其書雖附經而作然於經外自成一書故有貪惑異說采掇過當至於聖人微旨頗亦疎略而大抵有本末蓋出於一手之所撰述

¹ I select only two Chinese testimonies of the excellence of Tso's style. The first is from Seun Sung (荀崧) of the Tsin dynasty:—其書善禮多膏腴美辭張本繼末以發明經意信多奇偉學者好之. The other is from Choo E-tsun of the present dynasty:—匪獨詳事也文之簡要不可及. ² E. g., Lew Hwang (劉貺) of the Tang dynasty says:—左氏紀年序諸侯列會具舉其諡知是後人追修非常世正史也.

men generally would in his days speak of them. What is really perplexing is that in the same account the same individual is now called by his name, now by his honorary epithet, and now by his designation, or by one or other of his designations if he had more than one, so that the narrative becomes very confused, and it requires considerable research on the part of the reader to make out who is denominated in all this variety of ways. To give only one example:—in the account of the battle of Peih, in the 12th year of duke Seuen, of the leaders on the side of Tsin, we have, 1st, Seun Lin-foo, who by and by is styled Hwan-tsze;³ 2d, Sze Hwuy, who is variously denominated Woo-tsze of Suy, Suy Ke, and Sze Ke, while elsewhere he is called Woo-tsze of Fan;⁴ 3d, Sëen Hwoh, also called Che-tsze, and elsewhere Yuen Hwoh, or Hwoh of Yuen;⁵ 4th, Seun Show, called also Che Chwang-tsze and Che Ke;⁶ 5th, Han Keueh, by and by Han Hëen-tsze;⁷ 6th, Lwan Shoo, by and by Lwan Woo-tsze;⁸ 7th, Chaou Soh, by and by Chaou Chwang-tsze;⁹ and 8th, Keih K'ih, by and by Keih Hëen-tsze.¹⁰ Similar instances might be quoted in great number. Chaou Yih says that such a method of varying names and appellations was characteristic of the style of that time.¹¹ If, indeed, it was characteristic of the time, I must think that Tso possessed it in an exaggerated degree. The confusion produced by it in his Work seems to have led to its cure. Sze-ma Ts'ëen and the writers of the Books of Han are careful, at the commencement of their biographies, to give the surname, name, and designation or designations of their subjects, so that the student has none of the perplexity in reading them, which he finds with Tso's Chuen.

The other two points regarding the Work, which I indicated are of more importance, and I will consider them together. Have we

Are Tso's narratives reliable? Were they supplemented or added to. } reason to receive Tso's narratives as reliable, having been transcribed by him from pre-existent records with merely such modifications of style as suited his taste? Or did he invent some of them himself? Or were they added to by writers in the Ts'in dynasty and that of

³ 荀林父; 桓子. ⁴ 士會; 隨武子; 隨季; 士季; 范武子.
⁵ 先穀; 彘子; 原穀. ⁶ 荀首; 知莊子; 知季. ⁷ 韓厥;
 韓獻子. ⁸ 欒書; 欒武子. ⁹ 趙朔; 趙莊子. ¹⁰ 卻克;
 卻獻子. ¹¹ 篇中或用名, 或用字, 或用謚號, 蓋當時文
 法如此:—see Chaou on the Ch'un Ts'ew, Ch. 左傳叙事氏名錯雜

the Former Han? It is difficult to reply to these questions categorically. What has the greatest weight with me in favour of Tso's general credibility is the difference between his commentary and those of Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang. What of narrative belongs to the latter bears upon it the stamp of tradition, and evidently was not copied from written records but from accounts current in the mouths of men. It is, moreover, of comparatively small compass. Their Works must have been written when the memory of particular events in the past had in a great measure died out. If Tso's sources of information had been available for them, they would, we may be sure, have made use of them. The internal evidence of the three Works leaves no doubt in the mind as to the priority of Tso's. And as they all made their appearance early in the Han dynasty, we are carried back for the composition of Tso's into the period of Chow. As his last entry is about an affair in the 4th year of duke Taou, who died B.C. 430, and he mentions in it the Head of the Chaou family in Tsin by his honorary epithet of Sëang-tsze, which could not have been given before 424, we can hardly be wrong in assigning Tso to the fifth century before Christ. This brings him close to the age of Confucius who died in B.C. 478. Tso may then have been a young man;—he could hardly be a disciple enjoying that intimate association with the sage which Lew Hin, Pan Koo, and other Chinese scholars were fond of asserting.

But to maintain the general credibility of Tso's Chuen as having been taken from authoritative sources and records acknowledged as genuine among the States of China when he wrote, leaves us at freedom to weigh his narratives and form our own opinion on grounds of reason as to the degree of confidence which we ought to repose in them. There are few critics of eminence among the Chinese who do not allow themselves a certain amount of liberty in this respect. Ch'ing E-ch'uen laid down two canons on the subject. 'The Chuen of Tso,' he says, 'is not to be entirely believed; but only that portion of it which is in itself credible.'¹² To this no objection can be taken; but he opens a very difficult question, when he goes on, 'We should from the Chuen examine the details of the events referred to in the text, and by means of the text discriminate between what

¹² 程子曰:左傳不可全信,信其所可信者爾,以傳考經之事迹,以經別傳之真偽;—see the 經義考, Bk. 169, p. 5

is true and false in the Chuen.¹³ On this I shall have to give an opinion in the next section, and only remark now that if we find the statements of the text and the Chuen in regard to matters of history irreconcilable, the most natural course would seem to be to decide in favour of the latter.

The K'ang-he editors defer in general to the authority of Tso; but even they do not scruple to suppress his narratives occasionally, or to elide portions of them. They suppress, for instance, the account of the conference between the marquises of Loo and Ts'e at K'eah-kuh, given under XI. x. 2, considering the part which Confucius is made to play at it to be derogatory to him.

Wang Gan-shih¹⁴ of the Sung dynasty published a treatise under the title of 'Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'ew,' in which he undertook to prove from eleven instances that the Chuen was not composed by Tso K'ew-ming of the Chow dynasty, but by some one of a later date, under the dynasty, probably, of Ts'in.¹⁴ Wang's treatise is unfortunately lost, and we know not what all the eleven instances were. One of them was the use of the term *lah*¹⁵ in the Chuen on V. v. 9, to denominate a sacrifice after the winter solstice, which, it is contended, was first appointed under the dynasty of Ts'in. It may have been another where in IX. xi. 10 and xii. 5 we find mention made of military commanders of Ts'in with the title of *shoo chang*,¹⁶ which, again it is contended, was of later date than the Chow dynasty. Ch'ing E-ch'uen at any rate adduces these two as cases in the Chuen of purely Ts'in phraseology.¹⁷

Apart from any discussion of these instances, I venture to state my own opinion, that interpolations were made in the Chuen after Tso had put his finishing touch to it, and probably during the dynasty of the former Han; and there are two classes of passages which seem to bear on them and in them the evidence of having been so dealt with.

[i] There are the moralizings which conclude many narratives and are interjected in others, generally with the formula—'The superior man will say,' and sometimes as if quoted from Confucius. They have often nothing or next to nothing to do with the subject of the narrative to which they are attached, and the manner in which they occasionally bring in quotations from the odes reminds

¹³ 王安石. ¹⁴ See the 欽定四庫全書總目, 卷二十六, upon the 春秋左傳正義. ¹⁵ 虞不臘矣在此行. ¹⁶ 庶長. ¹⁷ 虞不臘矣并庶長皆秦官秦語.

us of Han Ying's Illustrations of the She, of which I have given specimens in the proleg. to vol. IV. Choo He well asks what connexion the concluding portion of the Chuen after I. vi. 2 has to do with what precedes, and points out many reflections in other parts which cannot be considered as the utterances of a superior man but the speculations of a mere scholar.¹⁸ Lin Leuh of the Sung dynasty and a multitude of other scholars attribute all these passages to Lëw Hin.¹⁹ They certainly seem to me to bear upon them the Han stamp.

[ii.] There is a host of passages which contain predictions of the future, or allusions to such predictions, grounded on divination, meteorological and astrological considerations, and something in the manner or deportment of the parties concerned;—predictions which turn out to be true. We may be sure that none of these were made at the time assigned to them in the Chuen. Some of them which had their fulfilment before the end of the Ch'un Ts'ew period may have been current in Tso's days, and incorporated by him with his narrative. Others, like the ending of the Chow dynasty after an existence of so many hundred years, the fulfilment of which was at a later date, were, no doubt, fabricated subsequently to that fulfilment, and interpolated during the time of the first Han.

But after deducting all these suspicious portions from Tso's Chuen, there remains the mass of it, which we may safely receive as having been compiled by him from records made contemporaneously with the events, and transmitted by him with the graces of his own style. It is, in my opinion, the most precious literary treasure which has come down to posterity from the Chow dynasty.

¹⁸ 左傳君子曰最無意思因舉芟夷蘊崇一段是關上文甚事左傳是一箇審利害之幾善避就底人所以其書有貶死節等事其間議論有極不是處如周鄭交質之類是何議論其曰宋宣公可謂知人矣立穆公其子饗之命以義夫只知有利害不知有義理此段不如公羊說君子大居正却是儒者議論;—see the Critical Introduction to the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ew, pp. 28, 29. ¹⁹ 林栗曰左傳

凡言君子曰是劉歆之辭 ²⁰ The following is a list of passages of the character spoken of:—on I. iii. 5; vii. after 4: II. ii. 4; ix. 4: III. i. at the beginning; xi. 3; xx. at the beg.; xxi. 2; xxii. 3; xxxii. after 1: IV. i. at the end; ii. after 3: V. ii. after 3; xi. after 1; xii. 3d after 1; xiv. 4; xv. 13; xxii. at the end; xxxi. 9: VI. i. 3; v. after 3; ix. 12; x. 3; xiv. 5; xv. 12: VII. iii. 4, 8; iv. last but one; xiv. 6; xv. last but one: VIII. xiv. 1; xv. 7; xvi. at the end: IX. xxi. 8; xxiv. 5, and at the end; xxvii. 5; xxix. 2d and 4th after 1, 8; xxx. 7, and after 7; xxxi. at the beg., 2, 5, and after 7: X. 2, and 2d after 2, 4; vii. 4; ix. 3; x. at the beg.; xi. 2, 3, and after 3; xii. 3; xv. 2, and after 6; xviii. at the beg.; xx. at the beg.; xxi. at the beg., 1; xxv. 1; xxxi. 7; xxxii. 2, 4: XI. ix. 3; xv. 1: XII. ix. after 4. In the 困學紀聞集

7. On the other two early commentaries, those of Kung-yang and Kuh-läng, it is not necessary that I should write at so much length. There is really nothing in them to entitle them to serious attention. Down to the present day, indeed, there are scholars in China who publish their lucubrations in favour of the one or of the other; but I think that my readers will all agree with me in the opinion which I have expressed about them, when they have examined the specimens of them which are appended to this chapter.

The commentaries themselves and various Works upon them are mentioned in Lëw Hin's catalogue;—as stated above on page 17.

With regard to the Work of Kung-yang, Tae Hwäng, of the second Kung-yang. Han dynasty, tells us that Kung-yang Kaou received the Ch'un Ts'ëw and explanations of it from Confucius' disciple Puh Shang or Tsze-hëa, and handed it down to his son Kung-yang P'ing; that P'ing handed it down again to his son Te; Te to his son Kan; Kan to his son Show; and that, in the reign of the emperor King (B.C. 155—140), Show, with his disciple Hoo-woo Tsze-too, committed it to bamboo and silk. According to this account, the Work was not committed to writing till about the middle of the second century before Christ. If it were really transmitted, from mouth to mouth, down to that time from the era of Confucius, we can hardly suppose that it did not suffer very considerably, now receiving additions and now losing portions, in its onward course.² The fact, moreover, of its having been confined for more than 300 years to one

證卷六下, this set of passages is touched on. It is said:—八世之後莫之與京 (on III. xxii. 3), 其田氏篡齊之後之言乎, 公侯子孫必復其始 (IV. i. at the end), 其三卿分晉之後之言乎, 其處者爲劉氏 (VI. xiii. at the beg.), 其漢儒欲立左氏者所附益乎, 皆非左氏之舊也, 新都之篡以沙鹿崩爲祥, (V. xiv. 3), 釋氏之熾以恆星不見爲證, (III. vii. 2), 蓋有作俑者矣. Choo He often speaks very doubtfully about Tso's Chuen. E. g. 左傳是後來人做. 或以左氏乃楚左史倚相之後, but this last insinuation is mere surmise.

¹ 戴宏曰, 子夏傳與公羊高, 高傳與其子平, 平傳與其子地, 地傳與其子敢, 敢傳與其子壽, 至漢景帝時, 壽乃共弟子齊人胡毋子都著於竹帛; quoted in the preface to Ho Hëw's edition of Kung-yang.

² According to Ho Hëw, this transmission of the Classic from mouth to mouth was commanded by Confucius, from his foreknowledge of the attempt of the tyrant of Ts'in to burn all the monuments of ancient literature!—孔子知秦將燔詩書, 其說口授相傳, 至漢公羊氏及弟子胡毋生等, 乃記於竹帛.

family takes away from the confidence which we might otherwise be inclined to repose in it.

There can be no doubt, however, that it was made public in the reign of King, and was acknowledged and admitted by his successor Woo (B.C. 139—86) into the imperial college. Hoo-woo was a contemporary and friend of the scholar Tung Chung-shoo;³ and in the biography of the scholar Këang Kung,⁴ an adherent of Kuh-läng's commentary, we are told that the emperor Woo made Këang and Tung dispute before him on the comparative merits of their two Masters, when Tung was held to be the victor. The emperor on this gave in his adhesion to Kung-yang, and his eldest son became a student of his Work.

It is not important to trace the history of Kung-yang's commentary farther on. The names of various writers on it and of their Works are preserved, but the Works are lost till we arrive at Ho Hëw (A.D. 129—183), who published his 'Explanations of Kung-yang on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.'⁵ This still remains. Ho Hëw did for Kung-yang what, as we have seen, Too Yu did at a later period for Tso K'ëw-ming.

The commentary of Kuh-läng is, like that of Kung-yang, carried back to Tsze-hëa; but the line of transmission down to the Han Kuh-läng. dynasty is imperfectly given. The general opinion is that Kuh-läng's name was Ch'ih,⁶ but Yen Sze-koo says it was He.⁷ The next name mentioned as intrusted with the text which Ch'ih or He had received, and the commentary which he had made upon it, is Sun K'ing, the same who appears on p. 27, as the 6th in the list of those who handed on the Work of Tso. From Sun K'ing it is said to have passed to a Shin Kung of Loo.⁷ Këang Kung, mentioned above, received it from Shin;⁷ and though it did not win the favour, as advocated by him, of the emperor Woo, yet it gained a place in the imperial college in the reign of Seuén (A.D. 72—48), and for some time was held generally in great estimation. It has been preserved to us in the Work of Fan Ning, a famous scholar and statesman of the Tsin dynasty in the second half of the 4th century; the title of which is, 'A Collection of the Explanations of the Chuen of Kuh-läng on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.'⁸

³ 董仲舒. ⁴ 江公. See the 漢書八十八, 儒林傳第五十八.

⁵ 何氏休春秋公羊解詁. ⁶ 赤. ⁷ 喜顏師古曰, 穀梁子, 名喜, 受經於子夏, 爲經作傳, 傳孫 (al. 荀) 卿. 卿傳魯申公, 申公傳瑕邱江公. ⁸ 春秋穀梁傳集解. For the biography of Fan Ning, see the 晉書, 七十五, 列傳第四十五.

7. One cannot compare carefully even the specimens of the two commentaries which I have given without seeing that there is often a great similarity between them, and having the conclusion suggested to the mind that the one was not made without reference to the other. It is not to be wondered at that some scholars, like Lin Hwang-chung of the Sung dynasty, should have supposed the two to be the production of the same writer.¹ But the differences between them, and occasionally the style of composition, forbid us entertaining such a view. That they were one man has been maintained on another ground. The surnames of Kung-yang and Kuh-läng ceased with the publication of the commentaries. No Kung-yang nor Kuh-läng appears after that in Chinese history.² This is certainly strange, especially when we consider that there were five Kung-yangs concerned, according to the received account, in the transmission of the commentary from Tsze-hëa to the Han dynasty. I must leave this matter, however, in its own mist. Ch'ing Ts'ing-che,³ Lo Peih,⁴ and other Sung scholars held that the author of the two commentaries had been a Këang, and that Kung-yang and Kuh-läng were merely two ways of spelling it;⁵ but the method of spelling by finals and initials was, there is reason to believe, unknown in the Han dynasty.

1 The K'ang-he editors in their Critical Introduction, p. 7, quote on this point from Choo He: 一問公穀傳大概皆同。曰。所以林黃中說。只是一人。只看他文字。疑若非一手者。 2 See the 氏姓譜, chh. 147, 156.
3 鄭清之。 4 羅璧。 5 萬見春謂。皆姜字切韻脚。疑爲姜姓假託。

SECTION V.

THE VALUE OF THE CH'UN TS'EW.

1. I come now to what must be considered as the most important subject in this chapter,—to endeavour to estimate the value of the Object of this section. Ch'un Ts'ew as a document of history; and this will involve a judgment, first, on the character of Confucius as its author, or as having made himself responsible for it by copying it from the tablets of his native State and giving it to the world with

his *imprimatur*, and, next, a judgment on the influence which it has had on the successive governments of China and on the Chinese people at large.

2. My readers have received, I hope, a distinct idea of the nature of the Work as made up of the briefest possible notices of Statement of the case. the events of the time which it covers, without any attempt to exhibit the connexion between them, or any expression of opinion as to the moral character which attaches to many of them. I have spoken of the disappointment which this occasions us, when we address ourselves to its perusal with the expectations which its general reputation and the glowing accounts of it given by Mencius have awakened. We cannot reconcile it with our idea of Confucius that he should have produced so trivial a Work; and we cannot comprehend how his countrymen, down to the present day, should believe in it, and set it forth as a grand achievement.

If there were no other attribute but this triviality belonging to it, we might dismiss it from our notice, and think of it only as of a mirage, which had from the cloudland lured us to it by the attractive appearances which it presented, all vanishing as we approached it and subjected it to a close examination. But there are other attributes of the Work which are of a serious character, and will not permit us to let it go so readily. On p. 13 I have applied the term *colourlessness* to the notices composing it, meaning thereby simply the absence of all indication of feeling or opinion respecting the subjects of them on the part of the writer or compiler. But are the things so dispassionately told correct in point of fact? Are all the notices really informing, or are many of them misleading? Is the very brief summary a fair representation of the events, or is it in many cases a gross misrepresentation of them?

In what I have said in the preceding sections, I have repeatedly intimated my own opinion that many of the notices of the Ch'un Ts'ew are not true; and the proof of this is found in the contradictions which abound between them and the events as given in detail in the Chuen of Tso, contradictions which are pointed out in my notes in hundreds of cases. It may occur to some that the Classic itself is to be believed rather than the narratives of Tso and the other commentators on it. If we are to rest in this dictum, there is of course an end of all study of the Ch'un Ts'ew period. From the Work of Confucius, confessedly, we learn nothing of interest, and now the relations of Tso which are

so rich in detail are not to be credited;—the two centuries and a half become a blank. But it is impossible to rest in this view. The multitude of details which Tso gives makes him the principal witness in the case; but Kung and Kuh, greatly differing as they do from him in the style of their commentaries, very often bear out his statements, and are equally irreconcilable with the notices of the sage and the inferences which we naturally draw from them. How is it that the three men, all looking up with veneration to Confucius, yet combine to contradict him as they do? Kung and Kuh have their praise-and-censure theory to explain the language which the master uses; but we have seen that it is inadmissible, and it supplies no answer to the question which I have just put. And the mass of Chinese scholars and writers, for nearly 2000 years, have not scrupled to accept the history of the Ch'un Ts'ew period given by Tso as in the main correct, maintaining at the same time their allegiance to Confucius as 'the teacher of all ages,' the one man at whose feet the whole world should sit, accepting every paragraph from his *stylus* as a divine oracle. The thing is to me inexplicable. There have been many times when I have mused over the subject in writing the pages of this volume, and felt that China was hardly less a strange country to me than Lilliput or Laputa would be.

3. The scholars of China are ready, even forward, to admit that Chinese scholars admit that the Classic conceals things. Confucius in the Ch'un Ts'ew often conceals¹ the truth about things. On V. i. 6 Kung-yang says, 'The Ch'un Ts'ew conceals [the truth] on behalf of the high in rank, out of regard to kinship, and on behalf of men of worth.'² On V. i. 1 Tso says that it was the rule for the historiographers to conceal any wickedness which affected the character of the State.³ But this 'concealing' covers all the ground occupied by our three English words—ignoring, concealing, and misrepresenting.

[i.] The Ch'un Ts'ew often ignores facts, and of this I will content myself with adducing two instances. The first shall be It ignores facts. comparatively, if not quite, an innocent omission. The fifth Book, containing the annals of duke He, commences simply with the notice that 'it was his first year, the spring, the king's first month.'

¹ The character employed for to conceal is 諱, which is explained in various dictionaries by 避, 'to avoid;' 隱, 'to keep out of view,' and 忌, 'to shun,' 'to be cautious of.' ² 春秋爲尊者諱 爲親者諱 爲賢者諱 ³ 諱國惡 禮也

It is not said that 'he came to the [vacant] seat,' that is, that he did so with the formal ceremonies proper to celebrate his accession to the marquisate. Tso asks why this notice was not given, and says it was because the duke He had gone out of the State. 'The duke,' says he, 'had fled out of the State and now re-entered it; but this is not recorded, being concealed (*i. e.*, being ignored). To conceal the wickedness of the State was according to rule.' On the murder of duke Chwang's son Pan, who should have succeeded to his father, Shin, who became duke He, had fled to the State of Choo, and a boy of eight years old, known as duke Min, was made marquis, and when, within less than two years, he shared the fate of Pan, Shin returned to Loo, and took his place. What connexion all this had with the omission of the usual pageantry or ceremonies, and whether we have in it the true explanation of the absence of the usual notice, I am not prepared to say; but we cannot see what harm there could have been in mentioning duke He's flight from the State and subsequent return to it. A good and faithful chronicler would have been careful to do so, especially if the events did affect, as Tso says, the inauguration of the new rule.⁴

The second instance of ignoring shall be one of more importance. It is well known that the lords of the great States of Ts'oo and Woo usurped during the Ch'un Ts'ew period the title of *king*, thus renouncing their allegiance to the dynasty of Chow which acknowledged them only as viscounts. It is by this style of viscount that they are designated in the Ch'un Ts'ew; but the remarkable fact is that it does not once notice the burial of anyone of all the lords of Ts'oo, or of Woo. The reason is that in such notices he must have appeared with his title of king. The rule was that every feudal lord, duke, marquis, earl, or baron, should after death be denominated as *kung* or duke, and to this was added the honorary or sacrificial epithet by which he was afterwards to be known. When a notice was entered in the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo, say of the burial of the marquis Ch'ung-urh of Tsin, the entry was that on such and such a month and day they buried duke Wăn of Tsin. But the officers, deputed for the purpose from Loo, had assisted at the burial not of any duke of Ts'oo or of Woo, but of king so and

⁴ It will be well for the student to read the long note of K'ung Ying-tah on Too Yu's remarks on the Chuen here. He acknowledges that it is impossible to say when the rule for concealing things was observed and when not. 或諱大不諱小, 或諱小不諱大, 皆當時臣子率己之意而爲之隱, 故無淺深常準

so. What were the historiographers to do? If they called the king when living a viscount, it would seem to us reasonable that they might have been satisfied to call him a duke when dead. But this would have been a direct falsification of the notification which they had received from the State of the deceased. They therefore ignored the burial altogether, and so managed to make their suzerain of Chow the only king that appeared in their annals. Confucius sanctioned the practice; or if he suppressed all the paragraphs in which the burials of the lords of Ts'oo and Woo were entered, either as dukes or kings, then specially against him lies the charge of thus shrinking from looking the real state of things fairly in the face, as if he could make it any better by taking no notice of it.

[ii.] A large list of cases of ignoring might be made out by comparing the notes and narratives of Tso with the entries of the Ch'un Ts'ew, but the cases of concealing the truth are much more

It conceals the truth about things. numerous; and in fact it is difficult to draw the line in regard to many of them between mere concealment and misrepresentation. I have quoted, on p. 13, from Maou K'e-ling many startling instances of the manner in which the simple notice 'he died' is used, covering almost every possible way of violent and unnatural death. It may be said that most of them relate to the deaths of princes of other States, and that the historiographers of Loo simply entered the notices as they were communicated to them from those States. Might we not have expected, however, that when their entries came under the revision of Confucius, he would have altered them so as to give his readers at least an inkling of the truth? But it is the same with the chronicling of deaths in Loo itself. Duke Yin was basely murdered, with the connivance of his brother who succeeded him, and all that is said about it in I. xi. 4 is—'In winter, in the 11th month, on Jin-shin, the duke died.' His successor was murdered in turn, with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and the entry in II. xviii. 2 is simply—'In summer, in the 4th month, on Ping-tsze, the duke died in Ts'e.' In III. xxxii. three deaths are recorded. We read:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, on Kwei-sze, duke [Hwan's son] Ya died;' 'In the 8th month, on Kwei-hae, the duke died in the State-chamber;' 'In winter, in the 10th month, the duke's son Pan died.' Only the second of these deaths was a natural one. Ya was compelled to take poison by a half-brother Ke-y'ew, under circumstances which are held by

many critics to justify the deed. Pan who was now marquis, though he could not be entered as such by the historiographers till the year had elapsed, was murdered by an uncle, who wished to seize the marquisate for himself, without any mitigating circumstances. How is it that these three deaths, so different in their nature and attendant circumstances, are described by the same word? Here it is said 'Ya died,' and 'Pan died;' and they did not die natural deaths. In I. v. 7 it is said—'duke [H'eaou's] son K'ow died,' and in VIII. v. 13 we have—'Ke-sun H'ang-foo died;' and they both died natural deaths. What are we to think of a book which relates events in themselves so different without any difference in its forms of expression? The K'ang-he editors are fond of the solution of such perplexities which says that Confucius meant to set his readers inquiring after the details of the events which he indicated; but why did he not obviate the necessity for such inquiries altogether by varying his language as it would have been very easy to do? But for the Chuen we should entirely misunderstand a great number of the entries in the text.

To take two instances of a less violent kind than these descriptions of deaths,—in III. i. 2, we read that 'in the 3d month the [late duke Hwan's,] wife [W'än K'ëang] retired to Ts'e,' and in X. xxv. 5 we read that 'in the 9th, month, on Ke-hae, the duke [Ch'aou] retired to Ts'e.' In both passages 'retired' is equivalent to 'fled.' Duke Hwan's widow was understood to have been an accomplice in the murder of her husband, and to have been guilty of incest with her half-brother, the marquis of Ts'e;—she found it unpleasant, probably dangerous, for her to remain in Loo, and so she fled to Ts'e, where she would be safe and could continue to follow her evil courses. All this the historiographers and Confucius thought it necessary to gloss over by writing that she withdrew or retired to Ts'e. The case of duke Ch'aou was different. He had been kept, like several of his predecessors, in a state of miserable subjection by the principal nobles of the State, especially by the Head of the Ke-sun family. Instigated by his sons, high-spirited young men who could not brook the restraints and shame of their condition, he attempted to cope with his powerful minister, and got the worst of it in the struggle. The consequence was that he fled to Ts'e; and the text is all that the Ch'un Ts'ew tells us about these affairs, unless we accept its most important entry of the ominous fact that a few months before the duke's flight 'grackles came to Loo and built nests in trees!' Every one will allow that

sons should speak tenderly of the errors of their parents, and ministers and subjects generally throw a veil over the faults of their rulers; but it seems to be carrying the instinctive feeling of dutiful forbearance too far when a historian or chronicler tries to hide the truth about his ruler's conduct and condition from himself and his readers in the manner of the Ch'un Ts'ew. It should be kept in mind, moreover, that the historiographers of Loo, if Ch'aou had been the ruler of another State, would, probably, not have scrupled to say that Ke-sun E-joo drove him out, and that he fled to Ts'e. Where their own State was concerned, they dared not look the truth in the face. Had Wăn Këang been the marchioness of another State, they would have thought that it did not come within their province to say anything about her.

Two more instances of concealment will finish all that it is necessary to say on this part of my indictment against our Classic; and they shall be entries concerning the king. In V. xxviii. 16, it is said that 'the king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of inspection at Ho-yang;' and we suppose that we have an instance of one of those exercises of the royal prerogative which distinguished the kingdom in normal times. But the fact was very different. In the 4th month of the year Tsin had defeated Ts'oo in a great battle, and the States of the north were safe for a time from the encroachments of their ambitious neighbour. Next month the marquis of Tsin called a great meeting of the northern princes at which he required the king to be present. The king responded to the summons of his feudatory, and a brother of his own presided over the meeting;—though both of these facts are *ignored* in the text. In the winter, the marquis called another meeting in Ho-yang, a place in the present district of Wăn, in the department of Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan, at which also he required the presence of the king, and which is chronicled in the 16th paragraph. Tso quotes a remark of Confucius on the case,—that 'for a subject to call his ruler to any place is a thing not to be set forth [as an example];' but to this I would reply that, the fact being so, it should not be recorded in a way to give the reader quite a different idea of it.

The other instance is less flagrant. In V. xxiv. 4 it is said, 'The king [by] Heaven's [grace] left [Chow], and resided in Ch'ing.' The facts were that a brother of the king had raised an insurrection against him, so that he was obliged to leave his capital and the imperial domain, and take refuge in Ch'ing, where he remained

until in the next year he was restored to the royal city by an army of Tsin. But as the Ch'un Ts'ew says nothing of the troubles which occasioned the king's flight, so it says nothing about the manner in which he was restored. The whole history of the case is summed up in the paragraph that I have quoted, which conceals the facts, and of itself would not convey to us anything like an accurate impression of the actual circumstances.

[iii.] I go on to the third and most serious charge which can be brought against the Ch'un Ts'ew. It not only ignores facts, and con-

The Ch'un Ts'ew misrepresents. ceals them, but it also often misrepresents them, thus not merely hiding truth or distorting it, but telling us what was not the truth. The observation of Mencius, that, when the Ch'un Ts'ew was made, rebellious ministers and villainous sons became afraid, suggests the instances by which this feature of the Classic may be best illustrated.

Let us first take the case of Chaou Tun, according to the entry in VII. ii. 4, that 'Chaou Tun of Tsin murdered his ruler, E-kaou.' The fact is that Tun did not murder E-kaou. The marquis of Tsin was a man of the vilest character, utterly unfit for his position, a scourge to the State, and a hater of all good men. Tun was his principal minister, a man of dignity and virtue, and had by his remonstrances, excited the special animosity of the marquis, who at one time had sent a bravo to his house to assassinate him, and at another had let loose a bloodhound upon him. Wearied out with the difficulties of his position, Tun had fled from the Court, and had nearly left the State, when a relative of his, called Chaou Ch'uen, attacked the marquis and put him to death; on which Tun returned to the capital, and resumed his place as chief minister. The only fault which I can see that he committed was that he continued to employ his relative Ch'uen in the government; but the probability is that he had not the power to deal with him in any other way. Had he been able to execute him, and proceeded to do so, it would have been, I venture to think, a proceeding of doubtful justice. But I ask my readers whether it was right, considering all the circumstances of the case, to brand Tun himself as the murderer of the marquis.

According to Tso, the entry in the text was made in the first place by Tung Hoo, the grand-historiographer of Tsin, who showed it openly in the court, and silenced Tun when he remonstrated with him on its being a misrepresentation of himself. Tso also gives a

remark of Confucius, praising Tung Hoo, who made it his rule in what he wrote 'not to conceal!' and praising also Chaou Tun who humbly submitted to a charge of such wickedness. 'Alas for him!' said our sage. 'If he had crossed the border of the State, he would have escaped the charge.' The historiographers of Loo had entered the record in their Ch'un Ts'ew as they received it from Tsin; but I submit whether Confucius, in revising their work, ought not to have exercised his 'pruning pencil,' and modified the misrepresentation. A sage, as we call him, he might have allowed something for the provocations which Tun had received, and for the wickedness of the marquis's government; he ought not to have allowed Tun to remain charged with what was the deed of another.

Let us take a second case. In X. xix. 2 we read—'Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae.' This, if it were true, would combine the guilt of both regicide and parricide. According to all the Chuen, Che was not the *murderer* in this case. He was watching his sick father, and gave him a wrong medicine in consequence of which he died. We have no reason to conclude that there was poison in the medicine which the son ignorantly gave. Some critics say that he ought to have tasted it himself before he gave it to his father. He might have done so, and yet not have discovered that it would be so injurious. There is no evidence, indeed, that he did not do so. The result preyed so on the young man's mind that he resigned the State to a younger brother, refused proper nourishment, and soon died. Even if it were he himself who insisted on the form of the entry about his father's death, Confucius, if he had feeling for human infirmity, would have modified it, and not allowed poor Che to go down to posterity charged with the crime of parricide, which, if we had only the Ch'un Ts'ew, there would be no means of denying.

Let us take a third case. It may seem to come properly under the preceding count of concealment of the truth, but I introduce it here, because of its contrast with the record in the next case which I will adduce. In X. i. 11, it is said,—'In winter, in the 11th month, on Ke-yew, Keun, viscount of Ts'oo, died.' The viscount, or king as he styled himself, was suddenly taken ill, of which Wei, the son of a former king, was informed, when he was on his way, in discharge of a mission, to the State of Ch'ing. He returned immediately, and entering the palace as if to inquire for the king's health, he strangled him, and proceeded to put

to death his two sons. Here certainly was a murder, which ought to have been recorded as such. No doubt, the murderer caused a notification to be sent to other States in the words of the Ch'un Ts'ew, saying simply that Keun had died, as if the death had been a natural one, and the historiographers had chronicled it in the terms in which it reached them; but ought not Confucius, in such a case especially, to have corrected their entry? To allow so misleading a statement to remain in his text was not the way to make 'rebellious ministers afraid.'

The fourth case relates to the death of the above Wei, also called K'een, the murderer of his king. Twelve years afterwards he himself came to an evil end. In X. xiii. 2 it is said—'In summer, in the 4th month, the Kung-tsze Pe of Ts'oo returned from Tsin to Ts'oo, and murdered his ruler K'een in Kan-k'e.' The real facts were these. Wei or K'een displayed in his brief reign an insatiable ambition, and was guilty of many acts of oppression and cruelty. Having despatched a force to invade Seu, he halted himself at Kan-k'e to give whatever aid might be required. Certain discontented spirits took the opportunity of his absence from the capital to organize a rebellion, which was headed by three of his brothers, one of whom was the Kung-tsze Pe. This Pe had fled to Tsin when K'een murdered Keun, and was invited by the conspirators from that State back to Ts'ac in the first place, and forced to take command of the rebel forces. These were greatly successful. They advanced on the capital of Ts'oo, took possession of it, and put to death the sons of the absent king. The intelligence of these events threw him into the greatest distress and consternation. His army dispersed, and he took refuge with an officer who remained faithful to him, and in his house he strangled himself in the 5th month, unable to endure the disgrace and misery of his condition. What are we to make of such opposite and contradictory methods of describing events? Wei murdered Keun; and the deed is told as if Keun had died a natural death. The same Wei strangled himself, and the deed is told as if it had been a murder done by the Kung-tsze Pe. Pe was led by the device of a brother, K'e-tsih, to kill himself in the 5th month, perhaps before Wei had committed suicide. The Ch'un Ts'ew says of this event that 'Ke-tsih put to death—not *murdered*—the Kung-tsze Pe;' and we may suppose that K'e-tsih, who became king, sent word round the States that Pe had murdered his predecessor; but surely Confucius ought to have

taken care that the whole series of transactions should not be misrepresented as it is in his paragraphs.

Let us take a fifth case. In XII. vi. 8 it is said that 'Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.' In the previous year, Ch'oo-k'ew, marquis of Ts'e, had died, leaving the State to his favourite son T'oo, who was only a child. His other sons, who were grown up, fled in the winter to various States. Ch'in K'eih, one of the principal ministers of the State, finding that the government did not go on well, sent to Loo for Yang-sang, one of Ch'oo-k'ew's sons, who had taken refuge there, and so managed matters in Ts'e that he was declared marquis, and the child T'oo displaced. Yet K'eih had no malice against T'oo, and so spoke of him in a dispute which he had with Yang-sang, not long after the accession of the latter, as to awaken his fears lest the minister should attempt to restore the de-graded child. The consequence was that he sent a trusty officer to remove T'oo from the city where he had been placed for safety to another. Whether it was by the command of the new marquis, or on an impulse originating with himself, that officer took the opportunity to murder the child on the way. This man, therefore, whose name was Choo Maou, was the actual murderer of T'oo. If he were too mean in position to obtain a place in the Ch'un Ts'ew, the murder should have been ascribed to Yang-sang or the marquis Taou, by whose servant and in whose interest, if not by whose command, it was committed. To ascribe it to Ch'in K'eih must be regarded as a gross misrepresentation. I cannot think that the existing marquis of Ts'e could have sent such a notification of the event to Loo, for for him to make Ch'in K'eih responsible for the deed was to declare that his own incumbency of the State was unjust, as it was Ch'in K'eih who had brought it about. Are we then to ascribe the entry entirely to Confucius? And are we to see in it a remarkable proof of *his* hatred of rebellion and usurpation, and his determination to hold the prime mover to it, however distant, and under whatever motives he had acted, responsible for all the consequences flowing from it?

The sixth and last case which I will adduce may be said not to be so contrary to the letter of the facts as the preceding five cases, and yet I am mistaken if in every western reader, who takes the trouble to make himself acquainted with those facts, it do not awaken a greater indignation against the record and its compiler than any of them. In VII. x. 8 we read that 'Hëa Ch'ing-shoo of

Ch'in murdered his ruler P'ing-kwoh.' The circumstances in which the murder took place are sufficient, I am sure, to make us pronounce it a case of justifiable homicide. Hëa Ch'ing-shoo's mother, a widow, was a vile woman, and was carrying on a licentious connexion with the marquis of Ch'in and two of his ministers at the same time.¹ The things which are related about the four are inexpressibly filthy. As the young man grew up, he felt deeply the disgrace of his family; and one day when the marquis and his ministers were feasting in an apartment of his mother's mansion, or rather of his own, for he was now the Head of the clan, he overheard them joking about himself. 'He is like you,' said the marquis to one of his companions. 'And he is also like your lordship,' returned the other. The three went on to speculate on what share each of them had in the youth, till he could no longer contain himself, and made a violent attack upon them. The ministers made their escape, and the marquis had nearly done so too, when, as he was getting through a hole in the stable, an arrow from the young man's bow transfixed him. So he died, and the Ch'un Ts'ew records the event as if it had been an atrocious murder! The poor youth met with a horrible fate. In the following year, the viscount of Ts'oo, himself flaunting the usurped title of king, determined to do justice upon him. Aided by the forces of other States, he invaded Ch'in, made a prisoner of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo, and had him torn in pieces by five chariots to which his head and his four limbs were bound. This execution is coldly related in xi. 5 by 'The people of Ts'oo put to death Hëa Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in.' The text goes on to tell that the viscount entered the capital of Ch'in, and restored the two ministers, partners in the marquis's adultery, who had made their escape to Ts'oo; the whole being worded, according to Tso, 'to show how he observed the rules of propriety!'

4. It remains for me, having thus set forth the suppressions, the concealments, and the misrepresentations which abound in the Ch'un Ts'ew, to say a few words on the view which we must take

What are we to think from the } from it of Confucius as its author or com-
Ch'un Ts'ew of Confucius? } piler. Again and again I have spoken of
the triviality of the Work, and indicated my opinion of its being
unworthy of the sage to have put together so slight a thing. But
these positively bad characteristics of it on which I have now
enlarged demand the expression of a sterner judgment.

¹ See vol. IV. Pt. I. xii. ode IX.

The appointment of historiographers, at whatever period it first took place, was intended, no doubt, to secure the accurate record of events, and Confucius tells us, Ana. XV. xxv., that 'even in his [early] days a historiographer would leave a blank in his text,' that is, would do so rather than enter incorrectly anything of which he was not sure. I have mentioned on p. 45 the exaggerated idea of his duty which was cherished and manifested by Tung Hoo the grand-historiographer of Tsin; and in Tso's Chuen on IX. xxv. 2, we have a still more shining example of the virtue which men in this office were capable of displaying. There three brothers, historiographers of Ts'e, all submit to death rather than alter the record, which they had made correctly, that 'Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e murdered his ruler Kwang,' and a fourth brother, still persisting in the same entry, is at last let alone. These instances serve to show the idea in which the institution originated, and that there were men in China who understood it, appreciated it, and were prepared to die for it. Such men according to Confucius' testimony were no more to be found in his time. According to the testimony of a thousand scholars and critics, it was because of this fact,—the few faithful historiographers in the past and the entire want of them in the present,—that the sage undertook the revision of the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo. Might not the history of the institution in that ante-Christian time be adduced as a good illustration of what Lord Elgin once said, that 'at all points of the circle described by man's intelligence, the Chinese mind seems occasionally to have caught glimpses of a heaven far beyond the range of its ordinary ken and vision?'¹

Well—we have examined the model summary of history from the *stylus* of the sage, and it testifies to three characteristics of his mind which it is painful to have thus distinctly to point out. First, he had no reverence for truth in history,—I may say no reverence for truth, without any modification. He understood well enough what it was,—the description of events and actions according as they had taken place; but he himself constantly transgressed it in all the three ways which I have indicated. Second, he shrank from looking the truth fairly in the face. It was through this attribute of weakness that he so frequently endeavoured to hide the truth from himself and others, by ignoring it altogether, or by giving an imperfect and misleading account of it. Wherever his prejudices were concerned, he was liable to do this. Third, he had more

¹ See Letters and Journals of James, eighth Earl of Elgin, p. 392.

sympathy with power than with weakness, and would overlook wickedness and oppression in authority rather than resentment and revenge in men who were suffering from them. He could conceive of nothing so worthy of condemnation as to be insubordinate.² Hence he was frequently partial in his judgments on what happened to rulers, and unjust in his estimate of the conduct of their subjects. In this respect he was inferior to Mencius his disciple.

I have written these sentences about Confucius with reluctance, and from the compulsion of a sense of duty. I have been accused of being unjust to him, and of dealing with him inhumanly.³ Others have said that I was partial to him, and represented his character and doctrines too favourably. The conflicting charges encourage me to hope that I have pursued the golden Mean, and dealt fairly with my subject. My conscience gives no response to the charge that I have been on the look-out for opportunities to depreciate Confucius. I know on the contrary that I have been forward to accord a generous appreciation to him and his teachings. But I have been unable to make a hero of him. My work was undertaken that I might understand for myself, and help others to understand, the religious, moral, social, and political condition of China, and that I might see and suggest the most likely methods of accomplishing its improvement. Nothing stands in the way of this improvement so much as the devotion of its scholars and government to Confucius. It is he who leads them that causes them to err and has destroyed the way of their paths.

5. The above sentence leads me to the last point on which I proposed to touch in this section,—the influence which the Ch'un Ts'ew has had on the successive governments of China and on the Chinese people at large. And here I will be brief.

A great part of the historical literature of the country continues still to be modelled after our Classic and the Chuen of Tso. Immediately after the Chow dynasty the name of Ch'un Ts'ew was given to a species of Work having little affinity with that of Confucius. We have the Ch'un Ts'ew of Leu Puh-wei, the chief minister of Ts'in, Luh K'ea's Ch'un Ts'ew of Ts'oo and Han,¹ and many others, which were never held in great repute. In the after Han dynasty, how-

² See the Analects, VII. xxxv. ³ See a review of my 1st volume, in the Edinburgh Review, April, 1869.

¹ 呂不韋, 呂氏春秋, 陸賈楚漢春秋. See Chaou Yih's first chapter on the Ch'un Ts'ew, where he gives the names of a score of these Works.

ever, there was composed the 'Chronicles of Han,'² on the plan of the Ch'un Ts'ew. Histories of this kind received in the Sung dynasty the name of 'General Mirrors,'³ and 'General Mirrors, with Summary and Details,'³ the summary corresponding to the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew, and the details to the Chuen. Down to the present dynasty Works have been composed with names having more or less affinity to those; and in reading them the student has to be on the watch and determine for himself how far the details bear out the statement of the summary. Such Works as the 'Digest of the History of the Successive Dynasties'⁴ are more after the plan of the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew, but they become increasingly complex and difficult of execution with the lapse of time and the increasing extent of the empire.

But the influence of the Ch'un Ts'ew on the literature of China is of little importance excepting as that influence has aided its moulding power on the government and character of the people; and in this respect it appears to me to have been very injurious. The three defects of Confucius which have left their impress so clearly on his Work have been painfully conspicuous in the history of the country and the people down to the present day. The teachings of Mencius, bringing into prominence the lessons of the Shoo and the She concerning the different awards of Providence, according as a government cherished or neglected the welfare of the people, have modified the extreme reverence for authority which was so remarkable in Confucius; but there remain altogether unmitigated the want of reverence for truth, and the shrinking from looking fairly at the realities of their condition and relations. And these are the great evils under which China is suffering at the present day. During the past forty years her position with regard to the more advanced nations of the world has been entirely changed. She has entered into treaties with them upon equal terms; but I do not think her ministers and people have yet looked this truth fairly in the face, so as to realize the fact that China is only one of many independent nations in the world, and that the 'beneath the sky,' over which her emperor has rule, is not *all* beneath the sky, but only a certain portion of it which is defined on the earth's surface and

² 漢紀, composed by 荀悅, at the command of the emperor H'een (獻帝). ³ E. g., Sze-ma Kwang's 資治通鑑 and Choo He's 通鑑綱目. 綱目 means a net,—the rope by which the whole is drawn together and the eyes or meshes of which it is composed. ⁴ 歷代統紀表.

can be pointed out upon the map. But if they will not admit this, and strictly keep good faith according to the treaties which they have accepted, the result will be for them calamities greater than any that have yet befallen the empire. Their lot has fallen in critical times, when the books of Confucius are a very insufficient and unsafe guide for them. If my study of the Ch'un Ts'ew help towards convincing them of this, and leading them to look away from him to another Teacher, a great aim of my life will have been gained.

APPENDIX I.

SPECIMENS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF KUNG-YANG AND
KUH-LEANG.

隱公, 元年, 一章, 元年, 春, 王正月。

The first year of duke Yin, par. 1.

It was the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

公羊傳曰, 元年者何。君之始年也。

春者何。歲之始也。王者孰謂。謂文王也。曷爲先言王而後言正月。王正月也。

何言乎王正月。大一統也。公何以不言即位。成公意也。

何成乎公之意。公將平國而反之桓。

曷爲反之桓。桓幼而貴, 隱長而卑, 其爲尊卑也微, 國人莫知, 隱長又賢, 諸大夫扳隱而立之, 隱於是焉而辭立, 則未知桓之將必得立也, 且如桓立, 則恐諸大夫不能相幼君也, 故凡隱之立, 爲桓立也。

隱長又賢, 何以不宜立。立適以長不以賢, 立子以貴不以長。

桓何以貴。母貴也。

母貴, 則子何以貴。子以母貴, 母以子貴。

穀梁傳曰, 雖無事, 必舉正月, 謹始也。

公何以不言即位。成公志也。

焉成之。言君不取爲公也。君之不取爲公, 何也。曰, 將以讓桓也。

讓桓正乎。曰, 不正。

春秋成人之美, 不成人之惡, 隱不正而成之何也。將以惡桓也。

其惡桓何也。隱將讓而桓弑之, 則桓惡矣, 桓弑而隱讓, 則隱善矣。

善則其不正焉何也。春秋貴義而不貴惠, 信道而不信邪, 孝子揚父之美, 不揚父之惡, 先君之欲與桓, 非正也, 邪也, 雖然, 既勝其邪心, 以與隱矣, 已探先君之邪志, 而遂以與桓, 則是成父之惡也, 兄弟, 天倫也, 爲子受之父, 爲諸侯受之君, 已廢天倫而忘君父以行小惠, 小道也, 若隱者, 可謂輕千乘之國, 蹈道則未也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

‘What is meant by 元年? The first year of the ruler.

What is meant by 春 (spring)? The first season of the year.

What is meant by 王 (the king)? It means king Wān.

Why does [the text] first give “king,” and then “first month?” [To show that] it was the king's first month.

Why does it [so] mention the king's first month?

To magnify the union of the kingdom [under the dynasty of Chow].

Why is it not said that the duke came to the [vacant] seat? To give full expression to the duke's mind.

In what way does it give full expression to the duke's mind? The duke intended to bring the State to order, and then restore it to Hwan.

What is meant by restoring it to Hwan?

Hwan was younger, but nobler [than the duke by birth]; Yin was grown up, but lower [than Hwan by birth]. The difference between them in these respects, however, was small, and the people of the State did not know [their father's intention about the succession]. Yin being grown up and a man of worth, the great officers insisted on his being made marquis. If he had refused to be made so, he did not know for certain that Hwan would be raised to the dignity; and supposing that he were raised to it, he was afraid that the great officers might not give their assistance to so young a ruler. Therefore the whole transaction of Yin's elevation was with a view [in his mind] to the elevation of Hwan.

But since Yin was grown up and a man of worth, why was it not proper that he should be made marquis?

Among the sons of the wife proper, the succession devolved on the eldest, and not on the worthiest and ablest. Among a ruler's sons by other ladies of his harem, the succession devolved on the noblest, and not on the eldest.

In what respect was Hwan nobler [in rank] than Yin?

His mother was of higher position [than Yin's mother].

Though the mother was nobler, why should the son be [also] nobler? A son

The Chuen of Kuh-lēang says:—‘Although there was nothing to be recorded [under the first month], it was necessary to specify it;—its being the commencement [of the rule] required this attention to be paid to it.

Why is it not said that the duke came to the [vacant] seat? To give full expression to the duke's mind.

In what way does this give full expression to the duke's mind? It tells that Yin did not himself care to be duke.

What is meant by saying that he did not himself care to be duke? That he intended to resign the marquise to Hwan.

Was it correct in him [to wish] to resign it to Hwan?

It was not correct.

The Ch'un Ts'ew gives full expression to men's excellent qualities, but does not do so to their evil;—why should it give such expression to [the intention of] Yin which was not correct?

With a view to show detestation of Hwan.

How does that detestation of Hwan appear?

Yin intended to resign in his favour, and yet Hwan murdered him;—showing Hwan's wickedness. Hwan murdered him, and yet Yin would have resigned in his favour;—showing Yin's goodness.

If Yin was thus good, why do you say that he was not correct?

In the Ch'un Ts'ew, what is righteous is held to be noble, and not what is [merely] kind. It would lead forward in the [straight] path, and not in the crooked. A filial son tries to display the excellent qualities of his father, and not the evil ones. The father was not correct, but perverse, in seeking to give the State to Hwan. Notwithstanding, he overcame this perversity of mind, and the State was given [at last] to Yin; but Yin had fathomed the purpose of their father, and thereon would have given the State to Hwan;—carrying out their father's wickedness. That there should be elder brother and younger brother is in the order of Heaven. A man receives his sonship from his father; and a feudal prince receives his rank from the king. To disannul the order of Heaven, and forget his ruler and father in order to do a small kindness, is what is called walking in a small path. Looking at Yin, we

was held to share in the nobility of his mother; and a mother shared in the [subsequent] nobility of her son.' may say that he could make light of a State of a thousand chariots, but could not tread the way that is right.'

桓公十有一年，四章。宋人執鄭祭仲。

The eleventh year of duke Hwan, par. 4.

The people of Sung seized Chae Chung of Ch'ing.

公羊傳曰：祭仲者何？鄭相也。

何以不名？賢也。何賢乎祭仲？以爲知權也。其爲知權奈何？古者鄭國處于留，先鄭伯有善於鄆公者，通乎夫人以取其國，而遷鄭焉，而野留。莊公死，已葬，祭仲將往省于留，塗出於宋，宋人執之，謂之曰：爲我出忽而立突。祭仲不從其言，則君必死，國必亡。從其言，則君可以生，易死，國可以存，易亡，則突可以故出，而忽可以故反，是不可得，則病，然後有鄭國。古人之有權者，祭仲之權是也。

權者何？權者反於經，然後有善者也。權之所設，舍死亡無所設。行權有道，自貶損以行權，不害人以行權，殺人以自生，亡人以自存，君子不爲也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

'Who was Chae Chung?'

The chief minister of Ch'ing.

Why is he not mentioned by his name?

Because of his worth.

What worthiness was there in Chae Chung?

穀梁傳曰：宋人者，宋公也。其曰人何也？貶之也。

The Chuen of Kuh-läng says:—

'人 [people] here means the duke of Sung.

Why is he designated 人 (the people, or one of the people)?

To condemn him.'

He is to be considered as knowing how to act according to circumstances.

In what way did he know to act according to circumstances?

Anciently the capital of Ch'ing was in Lëw. A former earl of Ch'ing was on friendly terms with the duke of Kwei; and having an intrigue with his wife, he took the capital of Kwei, transferred that of Ch'ing to it, and left Lëw to become a wilderness. After the death of duke Chwang, Chae Chung was going to inspect the state of Lëw; and as his road lay through Sung, the people of that State seized him, and said, "Drive out Hwuh (Chwang's eldest son, who was now earl of Ch'ing) for us, and raise Tuh (Hwuh's brother) to the earldom."

If Chae Chung did not do as they required, his ruler must die, and the State perish. If he did as they required, his ruler would exchange death for life, and the State be preserved instead of perishing. Then by and by, [by his gradual management], Tuh might be sent forth as before, and Hwuh might return as before. If these things could not be secured, he would have to suffer [under the imputation of evil conduct], but yet there would be the State of Ch'ing. When the ancients acted according to the exigency of circumstances, they acted in the way in which Chae Chung now did.

What is meant by acting according to the exigency of circumstances?

It is acting contrary to the ordinary course of what is right, yet so that good shall result. Such a course is not to be adopted apart from the imminent danger of death or ruin. There is a way to regulate the pursuing of it. A man may adopt it when the censure and loss will fall on himself, but not to the injury of another. A superior man will not slay another to save himself, nor ruin another to preserve himself.'

十有五年，一章。春，二月，天王使冢父來求車。

The fifteenth year, par. 1.

In spring, in the second month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent K'ea Foo to Loo to ask for carriages.

公羊傳曰、何以書。譏。
何譏爾。王者無求、求車、非禮也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—
'Why was this entry made?
By way of censure.
Censure of what?
The kings did not ask for anything.
To ask for carriages was contrary to propriety.

穀梁傳曰、古者諸侯時獻于天子、以其國之所有、故有辭讓而無徵求、求車、非禮也、求金、甚矣。

The Chuen of Kuh-l'ang says:—
'Anciently the feudal princes at the [proper] times presented to the son of Heaven their offerings of the things which they had in their States. He might thus decline, but he did not demand or ask for, [anything]. To ask for carriages was contrary to propriety; to ask for money was still more so.

莊公、四年、四章。紀侯大去其國。

The fourth year of duke Chuang, par. 4.

The marquis of Ke made a grand leaving of his State.

公羊傳曰、大去者何、滅也。
孰滅之。齊滅之。
曷爲不言齊滅之。爲襄公諱也、春秋爲賢者諱。
何賢乎襄公。復讐也。
何讐爾。遠祖也、哀公亨乎周、紀侯譖之、以襄公之爲於此焉者、事祖禰之心盡矣。
盡者何。襄公將復讐乎紀、卜之曰、師喪分焉、寡人死之、不爲不吉也。
遠祖者幾世乎。九世矣。
九世猶可以復讐乎。雖百世可也。
家亦可乎。曰、不可。

穀梁傳曰、大去者、不遺一人之辭也、言民之從者、四年而後畢也、紀侯賢而齊侯滅之、不言滅而曰大去其國者、不使小人加乎君子。

The Chuen of Kuh-l'ang says:—
"Made a grand leaving" is as much as to say that [the marquis] did not leave a man behind him. It tells us that the people did not cease to follow him till all were gone in the space of four years. The marquis of Ke was a worthy prince, and the marquis of Ts'e extinguished his State. The text does not say so, but that he made a grand leaving of it, thereby not allowing [the injurious action of] a small man towards a superior man to appear.

國何以可。國君一體也、先君之恥、猶今君之恥也、今君之恥、猶先君之恥也。

國君何以爲一體。國君以國爲體、諸侯世、故國君爲一體也。

今紀無罪、此非怒與。曰、非也、古者有明天子、則紀侯必誅、必無紀者、紀侯之不誅、至今有紀者、猶無明天子也。古者諸侯必有會聚之事、相朝聘之道、號辭必稱先君以相授、然則齊紀無說焉、不可並立乎天下、故將去紀侯者、不得不去紀也。

有明天子、則襄公得爲若行乎。曰、不得也。

不得、則襄公曷爲爲之。上無天子、下無方伯、緣恩疾者可也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—
'What is meant by "made a grand leaving?"

That [the State] was extinguished.

Who extinguished it?

Ts'e.

Why does [the text] not say that Ts'e extinguished it?

It conceals the fact out of regard to duke S'ang. The Ch'un Ts'ew conceals things out of regard to men of worth.

What worthiness was there in duke S'ang?

He was taking vengeance.

Vengeance for what?

For the boiling of his remote ancestor duke Gae at [the court of] Chow, through his being slandered by a marquis of Ke. The action of duke S'ang at this time is considered as a carrying by him to the utmost of his service of his ancestors.

How so?

When he was about to avenge the [old] wrong, he consulted the tortoise-shell, and was told that he would lose half his army. [He observed], "Though I should die myself, the answer should not be considered unlucky."

How many generations removed from him was the remote ancestor?

Nine.

May an injury be avenged after nine generations?

Yes; even after a hundred.

May [the Head of] a clan take such vengeance?

No.

Why then may [the ruler of] a State do it?

The ruler and the State are one. The disgrace of a former ruler is the same as the disgrace of the ruler of to-day. The disgrace of the ruler of to-day is the same as the disgrace of a former ruler.

How are the ruler and the State considered as one?

The ruler regards the State as his body, and one ruler comes after another;—hence the ruler and the State form one body.

But the present [marquis of] Ke had been guilty of no offence;—was not this [extinction of him] a case of rage?

No. If there had been in the ancient time an intelligent son of Heaven, the [then] marquis of Ke would have been taken off, and there would have been no [more any] marquis of Ke. His not having been taken off, and there being still a marquis of Ke, was the same as if there were no intelligent son of Heaven. Anciently the princes had their occasions of meeting together, and their interchanges of court and complimentary visits, when they made reference in their language to their predecessors as furnishing the ground of their intercourse; but nothing of the kind ever took place between Ts'e and Ke;—it was incumbent on them not to exist together under the same sky. Therefore [when Ts'e] set about removing the marquis of Ke, it could not but remove [the State of] Ke.

If there had been [now] an intelligent son of Heaven, could duke Sëang have done what he did?

No.

Why then did he do it?

When there is in the highest position [as it were] no son of Heaven, and below him no president of the quarter of the kingdom, one can for himself repay his long-standing wrongs and obligations of a contrary kind.'

僖公二年三章。虞師晉師滅夏陽。

The second year of duke He, par. 3.

An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Hëa-yang.

爲也。假大而進侍荀揖曰：「虞子之取然產可之廩，雖荀雖必是宮齒賜，虞虞取抱臣謀也。曷惡賂諸寢有諸應公謀攻與臣曰：『屈必藏外諾何矣？寶於諾則爲日也。』以公曰：「也首受焉。朝者夫其不獻而之，願用明公以往藏之曰：『知見往許亡相明許道虞見子國虞亡焉。』人諸與公獻與入救何若而獻請璧內繫公如則寶以寶胥非而勿之虞息曰：「微使惡取獻寡也。安獻見之虞之君郭焉曰：『白之廐獻焉知好終見曰救郭請終取荀公虞之首以何寡也。』郭與則如曰：『取憂息之出內焉存奇而請公記相取君言反至獻曰：『國虞道奈何？』曰：『寢者與遂郭之息日何荀棘寶之喪奇之貪言虞諫之日爾其年而如傳國使道賂焉意寢在虞遂郭之息日何荀棘寶之喪奇之貪言虞諫之日爾其年而如羊大者問其曰：『不曰之攻救荀今君何垂則馬何之宮公其往果郭今亡從四馬何公乎爲國受而寐者有進進欲郭之則爾奈乘也。』府君宮曰：『虞從以奇虞晉而不還牽謀序曷滅其夫不對御息而吾則慮謀虞則之得外爾然息然不終之寒則從公郭寶之。」

穀梁傳曰非國而曰滅重夏虞先其陽也虞晉何璧晉不曰也吾則外廐不奇少懦則之中虞而之不其曰之

則已行矣。寶則吾寶也。雖然，吾馬之齒亦已長矣。蓋戲之也。

夏陽者何。郭之邑也。
曷不繫于郭。國之也。
曷爲國之。君存焉爾。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—“Yu was a small State; why is it that it is here made to take precedence of a great one? To make Yu take the lead in the wickedness.

Why is Yu made to take the lead in the wickedness?

Yu received the bribes with which those who [were going to] extinguish the State [of Kwoh] borrowed a way through it, and thus brought on its own ruin.

How did it receive [those] bribes? Duke Hëen [of Tsin] gave audience to his great officers, and asked them why it was that he had lain all night without sleeping. One of them advanced and said, “Was it because you did not feel at ease [in your mind]? or was it because your [proper] bedfellow was not by your side?” The duke gave no answer, and then Seun Seih came forward and said, “Was it because Yu and Kwoh were appearing to you?” The duke motioned to him to come [more] forward, and then went with him into an inner apartment to take counsel. “I wish,” said he, “to attack Kwoh, but Yu will go to its relief, and if I attack Yu, Kwoh will succour it;—what is to be done? I wish to consider the case with you.” Seun Seih replied, “If you will use my counsel, you shall take Kwoh to-day, and Yu to-morrow; why should your lordship be troubled?”

“How is this to be accomplished?” asked the duke. “Please let [me go to Yu],” said the other, “with your team of K’ëuh horses and your white *peih* of Ch’uy-keih, and you are sure to get [what you want]. It will only be taking your valuable [*peih*] from your inner treasury, and depositing it in an outer one, and taking your horses from an inner stable, and tying them up in an outer one;—your lordship will lose nothing by it.” The duke said, “Yes; but Kung Che-k’e is there. What are we to do with him?” Seun Seih replied, “Kung Che-k’e is indeed knowing; but the duke of Yu is covetous, and fond of valuable

荀息牽馬操璧而前曰，璧則猶是也，而馬齒加長矣。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—“The use of the term “extinguished,” when it is not a State that is spoken of, arises from the importance of Hëa-yang.

Yu had no army;—why is its army mentioned here?

Because it took the lead of Tsin [in the affair], and it was necessary therefore to speak of its army.

How did it take the lead of Tsin?

It presided over the extinguishing of Hëa-yang. Hëa-yang was a strong city of Yu and Kwoh. If it could be extinguished, then both Yu and Kwoh might be dealt with.

In what way did Yu preside over the extinguishing of Hëa-yang?

Duke Hëen of Tsin wanted to invade Kwoh, and Seun Seih said to him, “Why should not your lordship take your team of K’ëuh horses, and your *peih* of Ch’uy-keih, and with them borrow a way through Yu?” “Those are the most precious things in the State of Tsin,” said the duke. “Suppose Yu should receive my offerings, and not lend us the passage, in what position should we be?” “But,” replied Seun Seih, “this is the way in which a small State serves a great one. If Yu do not lend us the right of way, it will not venture to receive our offerings. If it receive our offerings and lend us the way, then we shall [merely] be taking [the *peih*] from our own treasury, and placing it [for a time] in one outside, and taking [the horses] from our own stable, and placing them [for a time] in one outside.” The duke said, “There is Kung Che-k’e there;—he will be sure to prevent the acceptance of our offerings.” “Kung Che-k’e,” replied the minister, “is an intelligent man, but he is weak; and moreover, he has grown up from youth near his ruler. His very intelligence will make him speak too briefly; his weakness will keep him from remonstrating vehemently; and his having grown up near his ruler will make that ruler despise him. Moreover, the attractive objects will be before the ruler of Yu’s senses, and the danger will be hid behind another State. The case, indeed, would cause anxiety to one whose intelligence was above mediocrity, but I imagine that the intelligence of the ruler of Yu is below mediocrity.”

curios;—he is sure not to follow his minister’s advice. I beg you, considering everything, to let me go.”

The deliberation ended with duke Hëen’s adopting the proposed course; and when the duke of Yu saw the valuable [offerings], he granted what [Tsin] asked. Kung Che-k’e did indeed remonstrate, saying, “There are the words of the Record, ‘When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.’ Yu and Kwoh are the saviours of each other. If they do not give mutual help, Tsin will to-day take Kwoh, which Yu will to-morrow follow to ruin. Do not, O ruler, grant what is asked.” The duke did not follow his advice, and ended by lending a passage [through his State to Tsin] to take Kwoh. In the fourth year after, Tsin returned, and took Yu. The duke of Yu [came], carrying the *peih* and leading the horses, when Seun Seih said [to the marquis of Tsin], “What do you now think of my plan?” “It has succeeded,” said duke Hëen. “The *peih* is still mine; but the teeth of the horses are grown longer.” This he said in joke.

What was Hëa-yang?

A city of Kwoh.

Why is the name not preceded by the name of the State?

It is dealt with as if had been itself a State.

Why so?

Because [the fate] of the ruler of the State was bound up with its fate.’

On this duke Hëen sought [in the way proposed] for a passage [through Yu] to invade Kwoh. Kung Che-k’e remonstrated, saying, “The words of the envoy of Tsin are humble, but his offerings are great;—the matter is sure not to be advantageous to Yu.” The duke of Yu, however, would not listen to him, but received the offerings, and granted the passage through the State. Kung Che-k’e remonstrated [again], suggesting that the case was like that in the saying about the lips being gone and the teeth becoming cold, after which he fled with his wife and children to Ts’aou.

Duke Hëen then destroyed Kwoh, and in the fifth year [of our duke He] he dealt in the same way with Yu. Seun Seih then had the horses led forward, while he carried the *peih* in his hand, and said, “The *peih* is just as it was, but the horses’ teeth are grown longer!”

十有六年一章。春，王正月，戊申朔，隕石于宋五，是月，六鷁退飛，過宋都。

The sixteenth year, par. 1.

In spring, in the king’s first month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, there fell stones in Sung, five of them. In the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards, past the capital of Sung.

公羊傳曰，曷爲先言霰而後言石？霰石記聞，聞其礪然，視之則石，察之則五。穀梁傳曰，先隕而後石，何也？隕而後石也。于宋四竟之內曰宋，後數

是月者何。僅逮是月也。
何以不日。晦日也。
晦則何以不言晦。春秋不
書晦也。朔有事則書。晦雖
有事不書。
曷爲先言六而後言鷁。六
鷁退飛。記見也。視之則六。
察之則鷁。徐而察之則退
飛。
五石六鷁何以書。記異也。
外異不書。此何以書。爲王
者之後記異也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—
‘How is it that the text first says,
“there fell,” and then “stones?”
There fell stones is a record of what was
heard. There was heard a noise of some-
thing falling. On looking at what had
fallen, it was seen to be stones. On ex-
amination it was found there were five of
them.

What is the meaning of “in the same
month?”

That the thing occurred just within
this month.

Why is the day not given?

It was the last day of the moon.

Why does the text not say so?

The Ch'un Ts'ew does not enter the
last day of the moon. When anything
happened on the first day of the moon,
it was so written; but although anything
happened on the last day of the moon,
the day was not given.

Why does the text say “six,” and then
“fish-hawks?”

“Six fish-hawks backwards flew” is a
record of what was seen. When they
looked at the objects, there were six.
When they examined them, they were
fish-hawks. When they examined them
leisurely, they were flying backwards.

Why is this account given of [these]
five stones and six fish-hawks? It is the
record of a strange thing.

But strange things in other States are
not recorded;—why is this given here?

Because [Sung belonged to the de-
scendants] of the kings [of Shang].

散辭也。耳治也。

是月者。決不日而月也。
六鷁退飛。過宋都。先數。聚
辭也。目治也。

子曰。石無知之物。鷁微有
知之物。石無知。故日之。鷁
微有知之物。故月之。君子
之於物。無所苟而已。石鷁
猶且盡其辭。而況於人乎。
故五石六鷁之辭不設。則
王道不亢矣。

民所聚曰都。

The Chuen of Kuh-l'ang says:—‘Why
does the text first say “there fell,” and
then “stones?” There was the falling,
and then the stones.

“In Sung” means within the four
quarters of that State. The number fol-
lowing after indicates that the stones
were scattered about. [The language]
has respect to the hearing of the ears.

“In the same month” says definitely
that it was not on the same day, but
[some time] in the month.

In “six fish-hawks flying backwards,
past the capital of Sung,” the number is
put first, indicating that [the birds] were
collected together. [The language] has
respect to the seeing of the eyes.

The master said, “Stones are things
without any intelligence, and fish-hawks
creatures that have a little intelligence.
The stones, having no intelligence, are
mentioned along with the day [when
they fell], and the fish-hawks, having a
little intelligence, are mentioned along
with the month [when they appeared].
The superior man [even] in regard to
such things and creatures records nothing
rashly. His expressions about stones
and fish-hawks being thus exact, how
much more will they be so about men!
If the language had not been as it is
about the five stones and six fish-hawks,
the royal way would not have been fully
exhibited.”

Where the people collect is called “the
capital.”

文公十有一年六章。冬十月， 甲午，叔孫得臣敗狄于鹹。

The eleventh year of duke Wān, par. 6.

In winter, in the tenth month, on K'eah-woo, Shuh-sun Tih-shin
defeated the Teih in H'een.

公羊傳曰。狄者何。長狄也。
兄弟三人。一者之齊。一者
之魯。一者之晉。其之齊者。
王子成父殺之。其之魯者。
叔孫得臣殺之。則未知其之
晉者也。

其言敗何。大之也。
其日何。大之也。
其地何。大之也。
何以書。記異也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—‘What
is meant by “the Teih?”

A gigantic Teih. There were three
brothers, one of whom went to Ts'ei, an-
other to Loo, and the third to Tsin. The
one that went to Ts'ei was killed by the
king's son Ch'ing-foo. The one who came
to Loo was [now] killed by Shuh-sun
Tih-shin. I do not know anything about
the one who went to Tsin.

Why is the word “defeated” used?

To magnify the affair.

Why is the day specified?

To magnify the affair.

Why is the place given?

To magnify the affair.

Why is the thing recorded?

As a record of what was strange.

穀梁傳曰。不言帥師而言
敗。何也。直敗一人之辭也。
一人而曰敗。何也。以衆焉
言之也。

傳曰。長狄也。弟兄三人。佚
宕中國。瓦石不能害。叔孫
得臣最善射者也。射其目。
身橫九畝。斷其首而載之。
眉見於軾。然則何爲不言獲
也。曰。古者不重創。不禽二
毛。故不言獲。爲內諱也。

其之齊者。王子成父殺之。
則未知其之晉者也。

The Chuen of Kuh-l'ang says:—
‘How is it that we find here “defeated,”
and nothing about “leading a force?”

The language indicates that the defeat
was only of one man.

How is “defeated” used with reference
to one man?

Because he [was equal to] a multitude.

It is recorded that there were three
gigantic Teih, who, one after another,
threw the Middle States into confusion,
and whom tiles and stones could not hurt.
Shuh-sun Tih-shin was a skilful archer,
and sent an arrow into the eye [of this
one]. The giant's body stretched over
9 acres. His head was cut off, and put
into a carriage, when the eye-brows ap-
peared over the cross-bar. In these
circumstances, why is it not said that he
was captured? Anciently they did not
inflict a second wound, nor capture a
gray-haired enemy. Captured is not used
here, to conceal the thing out of regard
to Loo.

The giant that went to Ts'ei was killed
by the king's son Ch'ing-foo. Nothing is
known about the one who went to Tsin.

十有四年、七章。晉人納接菑於邾，弗克納。

The fourteenth year, seventh paragraph.

The people of Tsin undertook to establish Tsëeh-tsze as viscount of Choo, but did not [or, were not able to] do so.

公羊傳曰：納者何？入辭也。

其言弗克納，何？大其弗克納也。

何大乎其弗克納？晉卻缺帥師，革車八百乘，以納接菑于邾婁，力沛有餘，而納之。邾婁人言曰：接菑晉出也，獲且齊出也，子以其指，則接菑也。四獲且也，六子以大國壓之，則未知齊晉孰有之也。貴則皆貴矣，雖然，獲且也長，卻缺曰：非吾力不能納也，義實不克爾也。引師而去之，故君子大乎其弗克納也。

此晉卻缺也，其稱人，何？貶。

曷為貶？不與大夫專廢置君也。

曷為不與？實與而文不與。

文曷為不與？大夫之義，不得專廢置君也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—“What is meant by 納 (to restore)? It means to [make to] enter.

Why is it said they were not able to restore him?

To magnify that fact.

Why is it magnified?

Keih Keueh of Tsin led a force of 800 chariots of leather, to in-state Tseeh-tsze

穀梁傳曰：是卻缺也，其曰人，何也？微之也。

何為微之也？長轂五百乘，綿地千里，過宋、鄭、滕、薛，寬入千乘之國，欲變人之主，至城下而後知，何知之晚也。

弗克納，未伐而曰弗克，何也？弗克其義也。捷菑，晉出也，獲且齊出也，獲且，正也，捷菑，不正也。

The Chuen of Kuh-léang says:—“The leader here] was Keih Keueh;—why is he called 人 (man)?

To make light of him.

Why does [the text] make light of him?

He had 800 chariots with their long naves, extending over a thousand *le* of ground. He passed by Sung, Ch'ing, T'ang, and S'eh, and entered at length a State of a thousand chariots, wishing to change the ruler whom the people had set up. But when he came beneath the wall of its capital, he then knew [the error of his enterprise]. How late was he in coming to that knowledge!

“He was not able to in-state.” It is not said that he had invaded Choo;—how is mention made of his inability?

That “was not able” shows that [success] was forbidden by righteousness. Tsëeh-tsze's mother was a daughter of Tsin, and K'woh-tseu's was a daughter of Ts'e. K'woh-tseu was the proper [successor to their father], and Tsëeh-tsze was not.

in Choo-low;—a force surely more than sufficient for the purpose. But when he [proposed] to in-state him, the people of Choo-low said, “Tsëeh-tsze is the son of a daughter of Tsin, and K'woh-tseu of a daughter of Ts'e. Try them on your fingers;—there will be four for Ts'ëeh-tsze, and six for K'woh-tseu. If you will compel us by the power of your great State, we do not yet know whether Ts'e or Tsin will take the lead. In rank the men are both noble, but K'woh-tseu is the elder.” Keih Keueh said, “It is not that my strength is insufficient to in-state him, but in point of right I cannot do so.” With this he led his army away, and therefore the superior man magnifies his not in-stating [Tsëeh-tsze].

The actor here was Keih Keueh of Tsin;—why is he called 人 (a man)? To condemn him.

Why is he condemned?

Not to allow a great officer to take it on him to displace or to set up a ruler.

How does it not allow this?

The actual [statement] allows it, but the style does not allow it.

Why does the style not allow it?

According to the right idea of a great officer, he cannot take it on him to displace or appoint a ruler.

宣公八年、三章。辛巳，有事於太廟，仲遂卒于垂。

The eighth year of duke Seuen, paragraph three.

On Sin-sze there was a sacrifice in the grand temple, when Chung Suy died at Ch'uy.

公羊傳曰：仲遂者何？公子遂也。

何以不稱公子？貶。

曷為貶？為弑子赤貶。

然則曷為不於其弑焉貶？於文則無罪，於子則無年。

穀梁傳曰：為若反命而後卒也。

此公子也，其曰仲，何也？

疏之也。

何謂疏之也？是不卒者也。不疏，則無用見其不卒也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'Who was Chung-suy?

The Kung-tsze Suy.

Why is he not here styled Kung-tsze?

By way of censure.

Why is censure expressed?

Because of his murder of [Wān's] son Ch'ih.

But why was not the censure (or, degradation) expressed at the time when he committed that murder?

Because he had [then] been guilty of no offence against [duke] Wān, and there had [since] been no year [in which to signify his offence] against [Wān's] son.'

則其卒之何也。以譏乎宣也。

其譏乎宣何也。聞大夫之喪。則去樂卒事。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'This looks as if he had first reported the execution of his mission and then died.

He was a Kung-tsze;—why does he appear here simply as Chung?

To treat him as if his relationship [to the ducal family] had been distant.

Why deal with him so?

To vitiate the notice of his dying. If he had not been so dealt with, that notice would not have been vitiated.

Why then mention his dying at all?

To convey censure of [duke] Seuen.

Why to censure [duke] Seuen?

On hearing of the death of a great officer, he should have removed the musicians and finished the business [in which he was engaged].'

十有五年、八章。初稅畝。

The fifteenth year, par. eighth.

For the first time a tax was levied from the produce of the acres.

公羊傳曰。初者何。始也。

稅畝者何。履畝而稅也。

初稅畝何以書。譏。

何譏爾。譏始履畝而稅也。

何譏乎始履畝而稅。古者什一而藉。

古者曷爲什一而藉。什一者。天下之中正也。多乎什一。大桀小桀。寡乎什一。大貉小貉。什一者。天下之中正也。什一行。而頌聲作矣。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is the meaning of 初?

For the first time.

What is meant by levying a tax from the acres?

穀梁傳曰。初者。始也。古者什一。藉而不稅。初稅畝。非正也。古者三百步爲里。名曰井田。井田者。九百畝。公田居一。私田稼不善。則非吏。公田稼不善。則非民。初稅畝者。非公之去公田而履畝十取一也。以公之與民爲已悉矣。古者公田爲居。井竈葱韭盡取焉。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'初 means for the first time. Anciently, a tenth of the produce was levied by the mutual cultivation of the public fields, and the others were not taxed. To commence levying part of the produce from [all] the acres was not right. Anciently,

Walking over the acres, and levying part of the produce.

Why is an entry made of this first levying part of the produce of the acres [generally]?

To condemn it.

What was there to condemn in it? The introduction of the system of walking over the acres, and levying part of the produce.

What was there to condemn in the introduction of this system? Anciently a tithe was taken [for the State] by the mutual labour of the people on the public fields.

Why did they anciently appoint this system?

The tax of a tenth [thus procured] is the justest and most correct for all under the sky. If more than this tenth be taken, we have great Kēhs and little Kēhs. If less, we have great Mih and little Mih. A tithe is the justest and most correct for all under the sky. When a tithe is the system, the sounds of praise [everywhere] arise.'

300 paces formed a *le*, and a square of that size was called the nine-squares fields, consisting of 900 acres, of which the public fields formed one portion. If the yield from the private fields was not good, the officer of agriculture was blamed. If the yield from the public fields was not good, the people were blamed. [The record of] this first levying part of the produce from all the acres blames the duke for putting away the system of the public fields, and walking over all the fields to take a tithe of them, because he thereby required from the people all their strength. Anciently, [the people] had their dwellings in the public fields; there were their wells and cooking places; there they grew their onions and scallions.'

成公三年、四章。甲子、新宮災、三日哭。

The third year of duke Ch'ing, par. four.

On Kēah-tsze the new temple took fire, when we wailed for it three days.

公羊傳曰。新宮者何。宣公之宮也。

宣宮。則曷爲謂之新宮。不忍言也。

其言三日哭。何。廟災三日哭。禮也。

新宮災。何以書。記災也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What was the new temple?

The temple of duke Seuen.

'Why is duke Seuen's temple called the new temple?

穀梁傳曰。新宮者。禰宮也。三日哭。哀也。其哀。禮也。

迫近不敢稱謚。恭也。其辭恭且哀。以成公爲無譏矣。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'The new temple was the temple of the duke's father.

To wail for three days was expressive of [great] grief, but that grief was according to the rules of propriety.

[The duke] could not bear to say [directly that it was his father's temple]. Why is it said that they wailed for it three days?

It was a rule that, when a temple was burned, there should be a wailing for three days.

Why was this entry of the burning of the new temple made?

To record the calamity.'

In consequence of the near relationship, [the duke] did not dare to call it by his father's honorary title;—thereby showing his respect.

The language being respectful, and the grief great, there is no condemnation of duke Ch'ing to be sought here.'

襄公七年、十章。鄭伯髡頑如會、未見諸侯、丙戌卒于鄆。

The seventh year of duke Ssang, par. ten.

K'wän-hwan, earl of Ch'ing, went to the meeting; but before he had seen the [other] princes, on Ping-seuh he died at Ts'aou.

公羊傳曰、操者何。鄭之邑也。

諸侯卒其封內、不地、此何以地。隱之也。

何隱爾。弑也。

孰弑之。

其大夫弑之。曷爲不言其大夫弑之。爲中國諱也。

曷爲爲中國諱。鄭伯將會

諸侯于鄆。其大夫諫曰、中

國不足歸也、則不若與楚。

鄭伯曰、不可。其大夫曰、以

中國爲義、則伐我喪、以中

國爲彊、則不若楚。於是弑

之。

鄭伯髡頑何以名。傷而反、

未至乎舍而卒。

未見諸侯、其言如會何。

致其意也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—

'What was Ts'aou?

A city of Ch'ing.

When a prince died anywhere within

穀梁傳曰、未見諸侯、其曰如會、何也。致其志也。

禮諸侯不生名、此其生名、

何也。卒之名也。

卒之名、則何爲加之如會

之上。見以如會卒也。

其見以如會卒、何也。鄭

伯將會中國、其臣欲從楚、

不勝其臣、弑而死。

其不言弑、何也。不使夷狄

之民加乎中國之君也。

其地、於外也。其日、未踰

竟也。日卒時葬、正也。

The Chuen of Kuh-léang says:—

'As he had not seen the [other] princes, how

is it said that he went to the meeting?

To express fully his purpose.

According to the rules, princes were

not named when they were alive;—why

is he so named here?

Because of his death.

If he is named because of his death, why

is the name placed before the statement

that he went to the meeting?

his own territories, the place was not mentioned;—why is it mentioned here?

To conceal the fact.

To conceal what fact?

His murder.

Who murdered him?

His great officers.

Why does not the text say so?

The thing is concealed on account of the Middle States?

Why so?

When the earl of Ch'ing was about to go to the meeting of the States in Wei, his great officers remonstrated with him, saying, "The Middle States are not worth adhering to; you had better join with Ts'oo." When the earl objected to this counsel, they said, "If you think that the Middle States are righteous, they [notwithstanding] invaded us when we were mourning [for the last earl]; if you say that they are strong, yet they are not so strong as Ts'oo." With this they murdered him.

Why is he named—"the earl of Ch'ing, K'wän-yuen?"

[To express sorrow] that having been wounded, and being on his return [to his capital], he died before he reached his halting place.

As he did not see the [other] princes, why is it said that he went to the meeting?

To express fully his purpose.'

To show that he died through going to the meeting.

How does it show that he died through going to the meeting?

The earl of Ch'ing was going to meet [the princes of] the Middle States, and his ministers wished him to follow Ts'oo. Not succeeding, they murdered him, and he died.

Why is it not mentioned that he was murdered?

Not to allow it to appear that barbarous people (*i. e.*, the ministers who wished to follow the barbarous Ts'oo) had dealt so with a prince of the Middle States.

The place was outside [the capital]; on the day he had not crossed the borders [of the State]; the day of his death and the time of his burial [are given, as if all] had been correct.'

二十有五年、十章。十有二月、吳子遏伐楚、門于巢卒。

The twenty-fifth year, tenth par.

In the 12th month, Goh, viscount of Woo, invaded Ts'oo, and died in an attack on one of the gates of Ch'aou.

公羊傳曰、門于巢卒者、何。入門乎巢而卒也。

入門乎巢而卒者、何。入巢

之門而卒也。

吳子謁何以名。傷而未反

至乎舍而卒也。

穀梁傳曰、以伐楚之事、門于巢卒也。

于巢者、外乎楚也。門于巢

乃伐楚也。

諸侯不生名、取卒之名、

加之伐楚之上者、見以伐

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'What is meant by 門于巢卒?

That he entered a gate in Ch'aou and died.

In what way had he entered a gate in Ch'aou and died?

He had entered a gate of Ch'aou and died.

Why does the viscount of Woo appear with his name Yeh?

[To show that] he was wounded and died before he could return to the station [of his own troops].'

楚卒也。

其見以伐楚卒。何也。古者大國過小邑。小邑必飾城而請罪。禮也。吳子謁伐楚。至巢入其門。門人射吳子。有矢創。反舍而卒。古者雖有文事。必有武備。非巢之不飾城而請罪。非吳子之自輕也。

The Chuen of Kuh-léang says:—'In consequence of being engaged in an invasion of Ts'oo, he attacked one of the gates of Ch'aou and died.

The words "of (or, at) Ch'aou" show that that place was outside Ts'oo. By attacking the gates of Ch'aou, he [would be able to] invade Ts'oo.

A prince was not named when alive. Here the name, properly given to him when dead, is taken and placed before his invasion of Ts'oo, to show that it was in consequence of that invasion that he died.

How does it show that it was through his invasion of Ts'oo that he died?

Anciently, when [the army of] a great State was passing by a small city, the rule was that that small city should man its walls and ask what was its offence. Yeh, the viscount of Woo, in [proceeding to] invade Ts'oo, came to Ch'aou, and entered one of its gates, when the gate-keeper shot him, so that he returned to the station [of his troops], wounded by an arrow, and died. Although an undertaking be of a civil nature, there should be at the same time military preparation. [The entry] condemns Ch'aou for not manning its walls and asking what was its offence, [and also] condemns the viscount of Woo for his careless exposure of himself.'

昭公四年。三章。四章。秋。七月。楚子、蔡侯、陳侯、許男、頓子、胡子、沈子、淮夷、伐吳。執齊慶封殺之。

The fourth year of duke Ch'aou, parr. 3 and 4.

In autumn, in the seventh month, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the baron of Heu, the viscounts of Tun, Hoo, and Shin, and the Hwae tribes, invaded Woo. They seized K'ing Fung of Ts'e, and put him to death.

公羊傳曰。此伐吳也。其言執齊慶封何。爲齊誅也。其爲齊誅奈何。慶封走至吳。吳封之於防。

然則曷爲不言伐防。不與諸侯專封也。慶封之罪何。脅齊君而亂齊國也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'This was an invasion of Woo;—how is it that the paragraph tells us of the seizure of K'ing Fung of Ts'e?

He was taken off in behalf of Ts'e.

How was it that he was taken off in behalf of Ts'e?

K'ing Fung had run away to Woo, and Woo had invested him with Fang.

In that case why is it not said that they invaded Fang?

Not to allow to the feudal princes the right of granting investiture.

What was the crime of K'ing Fung?

He had exercised a pressure on the ruler of Ts'e, and thrown that State into confusion.'

穀梁傳曰。此入而殺。其不言入。何也。慶封封乎吳鍾離。

其不言伐鍾離何也。不與吳封也。

慶封其以齊氏何也。爲齊討也。靈王使人以慶封令於軍中曰。有若齊慶封弑其君者乎。慶封曰。子一息。我且一言。曰。有若楚公子圍弑其兄之子而代之以爲君者乎。軍人粲然皆笑。

慶封弑其君。而不以弑君之罪罪之者。慶封不爲靈王服也。不與楚討也。春秋之義。用貴治賤。用賢治不肖。不以亂治亂也。孔子曰。懷惡而討。雖死不服。其斯之謂與。

The Chuen of Kuh-léang says:—'Here they must have entered [the place where K'ing Fung was] and slain [him];—why does the text not mention that entering?

K'ing Fung had been invested with Chung-le of Woo.

Why does it not say that they invaded Chung-le?

Not to allow to Woo the right of granting investiture.

Why is "Ts'e" put before "K'ing Fung" like a clan-name?

[To show that] he was punished in behalf of Ts'e. King Ling sent a man to go round the army with him, and proclaim, "Is there anyone like K'ing Fung of Ts'e who murdered his ruler?" K'ing Fung said to the man, "Stop a moment; I also have a word to say." With this he cried out, "Is there anyone, who, like the Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo, murdered the son of his elder brother, and made

himself ruler in his place?" The soldiers all laughed and chuckled.

King Fung had murdered his ruler, but that crime is not mentioned here in connexion with him, because he was not subject to king Ling, and the text would not allow to Ts'oo [the right] to punish him. It is a part of the righteousness of the Ch'un Ts'ew to employ the noble to regulate the mean, and the worthy to regulate the bad, but not to employ the disorderly to regulate disorder. Do we not have the same sentiment in what Confucius said, "Let a man who himself cherishes what is wicked punish another, and that other will die without submitting to him?"

十有九年、二章、五章。夏、五月、戊辰、許世子止弑其君買。冬、葬許悼公。

The nineteenth year, parr. 2 and 5.

In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-shin, Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae. In winter, there was the burial of duke Taou of Heu.

公羊傳曰、賊未討、何以書葬。不成于弑。

曷爲不成于弑。止進藥而藥殺也。

止進藥而藥殺、則曷爲不加弑焉爾。譏子道之不盡也。

其譏子道之不盡奈何。曰、樂正子春之視疾也、復加一飯、則脫然愈、復損一飯、則脫然愈、復損一衣、則脫然愈、止進藥而藥殺、是以君子加弑焉爾。

曰、許世子止弑其君買、

穀梁傳曰、日弑、正卒也。正卒、則止不弑也。不弑而曰弑、責止也。止曰、我與夫弑者、不立乎其位。以與其弟虺、哭泣歆飭粥、嗑不容粒、未踰年而死、故君子即止自責而責之也。

日卒時葬、不使止爲弑父也。

曰、子既生、不免乎水火、母之罪也。羈貫成童、不就師傅、父之罪也。就師學問無方、心志不通、身之罪也。心志既通、而名譽不聞、友之罪也。名譽既聞、

是君子之聽止也。葬許悼公、是君子之赦止也。赦止者、免止之罪辭也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'How do we have the burial recorded here, while the ruffian [-murderer] was not yet punished? The thing did not amount to a murder.

How did it not amount to a murder?

Che gave [his father] medicine, and the medicine killed him.

In these circumstances why does the text say that Che murdered him?

To censure Che for not fully discharging the duty of a son.

How does it censure his failure in that?

Yoh-ching Tsze-ch'un, when watching his sick [father], would give him an additional dish of rice, [and watch] eagerly whether it made him better; or he would give him a dish less, and watch the result eagerly. He would put on him a garment more, or a garment less, than usual, in the same way. Che gave the medicine, and the medicine killed [his father], and therefore the superior man charged him with murdering him.

In the [former] entry that 'Che, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae,' the superior man allows the charge against Che; in the [second] entry about the burial of duke Taou, he pardons Che. He pardons Che, that is, he withdraws the charge against him.'

有司不舉、有司之罪也。有司舉之、王者不用、王者之過也。許世子不知嘗藥、累及許君也。

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'The mention of the day along with the murder shows that the death was a natural one. As it was so, Che did not murder [his father]. Though he did not murder him, it is said that he did;—to reprove Che. Che said, "I am the same as a murderer, and will not stand in my father's place." On this he resigned the State to his brother Hwuy, wept and wailed, and lived on congee, without taking a grain of rice, till in less than a year he died. The superior man here reproves him according as he reproved himself.

The specification of the day of the death and of the season of the burial does not allow Che to lie under the charge of murdering his father.

When a son is born, if he escape not death from fire or water, it is the crime of his mother; if he have grown up to a boy with two tufts of hair, and do not go to a teacher, it is the crime of his father; if he go to a teacher, and his studies are desultory, and his mind do not become intelligent, it is the crime of himself; if he become intelligent, and the fame of his name be not heard of, it is the crime of his friends; if the fame of his name be heard of, and the officers do not bring him into notice, it is the crime of the officers; if the officers bring him to notice, and the king do not employ him, it is the fault of the king. The heir-son of Heu did not know [his duty] to taste the medicine [for the ruler], and that ruler was involved [in the consequences of his ignorance].

定公元年、一章、二章。元年春、王。夏、六月、戊辰、公卽位。

The first year of duke Ting, parr. 1, 2.

In the [duke's] first year, in spring, the king's.....In summer, in the sixth month, on Mow-shin, the duke came to the vacant seat.

公羊傳曰。定何以無正月。正月者。正即位也。定無正月者。即位後也。即位何以後。昭公在外。得入。不得入。未可知也。曷爲未可知。在季氏也。定哀多微辭。主人習其讀。而問其傳。則未知己之有罪焉爾。

癸亥。公之喪至自乾侯。則曷爲以戊辰之日。然後即位。正棺於兩楹之間。然後即位。子沈子曰。定君乎國。然後即位。即位不日。此何以日。錄乎內也。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'How is it that Ting has no first month [in his first year]?'

[The mention of] the first month is to adjust the [ruler's] coming to the [vacant] seat; and Ting's having no first month is because his coming to the [vacant] seat was later.

How was it later?

[The coffin of] duke Ch'au was [still] outside [the State], and whether it would be allowed to enter or not was not yet known.

How was it not yet known?

It depended on the Head of the Ke family.

In [the records about] Ting and Gae there are many obscure expressions. If they—the rulers—had read the text and inquired about its explanation, they would not have known whether they were charged with crime or not.

As it was on Kwei-hae that duke [Ch'au's] coffin came from Kan-how, how was it that it was Mow-shin before [Ting] ascended the [vacant] seat?

When the coffin had been placed right between the two pillars, then he ascended the [vacant] seat. My master Shin-tze said, 'When the funeral rites of the

穀梁傳曰。不言正月。定無正也。

定之無正。何也。昭公之終。非正終也。定之始。非正始也。

昭無正終。故定無正始。不言即位。喪在外也。殯。然後即位也。

定無正。見無以正也。

踰年不言即位。是有故公也。言即位。是無故公也。即位授受之道也。先君無正終。則後君無正始也。先君有正終。則後君有正始也。戊辰。公即位。謹之也。定之即位。不可不察也。公即位何以日也。戊辰之日。然後即位也。

癸亥。公之喪至自乾侯。何爲戊辰之日。然後即位也。正君乎國。然後即位也。

內之大事日。即位君之大事也。其不日。何也。以年決者不以日決也。

此則其日。何也。著之也。何著焉。踰年即位。厲也。於厲之中又有義焉。

未殯。雖天子之命猶不敢。況臨諸臣乎。

周人有喪。魯人有喪。周人弔。魯人不弔。周人曰。固吾臣也。使人可也。魯人曰。吾君也。親之者也。使大夫則不可也。故周人弔。魯人不弔。以其下成康爲未久也。

君。至尊也。去父之殯。而往弔。猶不敢。況未殯而臨諸臣乎。

[former] ruler had been settled in the State, then [the new ruler] took the [vacant] seat.

The day of taking that seat should not be given;—how is it given here?

It is a record of what took place in Loo itself.'

The Chuen of Kuh-lëang says:—'The text does not mention the first month, because Ting had no first month [in his first year].'

Why had Ting no first month?

Because duke Chaou's death was not a proper death, and Ting's commencement of his rule was not a proper commencement. As Chaou's was not a proper death, Ting could not have a proper beginning. It is not said [here] that he came to the [vacant] seat, because [Chaou's] coffin was outside the State.

The coffin was now placed in state, and so he took the [vacant] seat. Ting's having no first year shows that there was something which prevented him from having it. But the reason of its not being said that he came to the vacant seat when the year [in which duke Ch'au died] was expired, was that [the coffin] of the former duke was [still outside]. The notice of coming to the [vacant] seat was the regular way of declaring that the State was passed from one ruler to another. If the former did not die a proper death, the latter could not have a proper beginning; and *vice versa*. The notice that duke [Ting] came to the [vacant] seat on Mow-shin, is an instance of the care observed [in such a matter];—it was necessary that Ting's accession should be thus definitely marked.

How is the day of the duke's accession given?

[To show that] it was on the day Mow-shin.

It was on Kwei-hae that duke [Ch'au's] coffin came from Kan-how;—how was it not till Mow-shin that [Ting] took the [vacant] seat?

The proper ceremonies in the State must be gone through for the [former] ruler, before that could be done. Shin-tze said, "When the coffin was placed right between the two pillars, his successor took the [vacant] seat."

The great affairs within a State were mentioned with the day. The taking the [vacant] seat was a great affair for the ruler;—why is it [generally] given without the day?

It was made to commence with the year, and not regulated by the day.

Why then is the day given here?

To give emphasis to it.

In what way does it give emphasis to it?

To have taken the [vacant] seat when

the year was expired, would have been hazardous; and besides there was a point of righteousness in the case. Before the coffin [of his predecessor] was set in state, a prince would not dare to show himself as ruler to the ministers, even though he had the charge of the son of Heaven. There might be a death equally in Chow and in Loo. From Chow a message of condolence would be sent, but not from Loo. In Chow they would say, "He was our subject; we may send to condole [on his death]." In Loo they would say, "He was our ruler. Was like our father. We cannot send a great officer [to offer our condolences]." In this way from Chow they sent to condole, but not from Loo, for the time was not long removed from Ch'ing and K'ang. The king was the most honourable; yet [the new ruler of Loo] would not dare to leave his father's coffin, and go to Chow on a visit of condolence; how much less would he show himself as ruler to the ministers, before the coffin was placed in State!

哀公六年、七章、八章。齊陽生入于齊。齊陳乞弑其君荼。

The sixth year of duke Gae, parr. 7, 8.

Yang-säng of Ts'e entered [the capital of] that State. Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.

公羊傳曰、弑而立者、不以當國之辭言之、此以當國之辭言之、何、爲諉也。此其爲諉奈何。景公謂陳乞曰、吾欲立舍何如。陳乞曰、所樂乎爲君者、欲立之則立之、不欲立、則不立、君如欲立之、則臣請立之。陽生謂陳乞曰、吾聞子蓋將不欲立我也。陳乞曰、夫千

穀梁傳曰、陽生入而弑其君、以陳乞主之、何也。不以陽生君荼也。其不以陽生君荼、何也。陽生正、荼不正。不正、則其曰君何也。荼雖不正、已受命矣。入者、內弗受也。荼弗正、何用弗受。以其受命、可以言弗受也。

乘之主、將廢正而立不正、必殺正者、吾不立子者、所以生子者也。走矣。與之王節而走之。景公死、而舍立。陳乞使人迎陽生于諸家。除景公之喪、諸大夫皆在朝。陳乞曰、常之母有魚菽之祭、願諸大夫之化我也。諸大夫皆曰諾。於是皆之陳乞之家。坐。陳乞曰、吾所爲甲、請以示焉。諸大夫皆曰諾。於是使力士舉巨囊、而至于中。雷。諸大夫見之皆色然。駭、開之則闔然公子陽生也。

陳乞曰、此君也已。諸大夫不得已、皆逡巡北面再拜稽首而君之爾。自是往弑舍。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—“Murder rs and setters up [of new rulers] are not mentioned as high ministers (*i.e.*, with clan-name and name following the name of the State);—how is such a notice given here?

Because of [Ch'in K'eih's] deceit.

How did he show his deceit?

Duke King said to him, “I wish to make Shay (*i.q.* Tso's T'oo) my successor; what do you say to it?” He replied, “Whomsoever you would be pleased to see as ruler, and wish to appoint as your successor, I will support him; and whomsoever you do not wish so to appoint, I will not support. If your lordship wish to appoint Shay, I beg to be allowed to support him.” Yang-säng said to Ch'in K'eih, “I have heard that you will not be willing to raise me to the marquisate.” The minister said, “In a State of a thousand chariots, if you wish to set aside the proper heir and appoint one who is not so, you must kill the proper heir. My not supporting you is the way I take to preserve your life. Fly.” And hereupon he gave Yang-säng a seal-token of jade, with which he fled.

When duke King died, and Shay had been made marquis, Ch'in K'eih had Yang-säng brought back, and kept him in his house. When the mourning for

陽生其以國氏何也、取國、於荼也。

The Chuen of Kuh-läng says:—“It was Yang-säng who entered [Ts'e], and murdered his ruler;—how is it that Ch'in K'eih is represented as taking the lead in the deed?

Not to allow Yang-säng to be ruler over T'oo.

Why does [the text] not allow Yang-säng to be ruler over T'oo?

Yang-säng was the proper heir [of Ts'e], and T'oo was not.

If T'oo were not the proper heir, why is he called the ruler?

Although he was not the proper heir, he had received the appointment [from his father].

“Entered” denotes that the enterer is not received. Since T'oo was not the proper heir, why use that style?

As he had received the appointment, that style might be employed.

Why is the name of the State used as if it were Yang-säng's clan-name?

He took the State from T'oo.

duke King was over, and all the great officers were at court, Ch'in K'eih said, "My mother is celebrating a sacrifice with fish and beans; I wish you all to come and renovate me at it." All accepted the invitation, and when they were come to his house, and sitten down, he said "I have some buffcoats which I have made; allow me to show them to you." To this they assented, and he then made some stout fellows bring a large sack into the open court. The sight of this frightened the officers, and made them change colour; and when the sack was opened, who should come forth from it but the Kung-tsze Yang-säng? "This," said Ch'in K'eih, "is our ruler." The officers could not help themselves, but one after another twice did obeisance with their faces to the north, and accepted [Yang-säng] as their ruler; and from this he went and murdered Shay.'

十有三年,三章。公會晉侯及吳子于黃池。

The thirteenth year, paragraph 3.

The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the viscount of Woo at Hwang-ch'e.

公羊傳曰。吳何以稱子。吳主會也。

吳主會。則曷爲先言晉侯。不與夷狄之主中國也。

其言及吳子何。會兩伯之辭也。

不與夷狄之主中國。則曷爲以會兩伯之辭言之。重吳也。

曷爲重吳。吳在是。則天下諸侯莫敢不至也。

穀梁傳曰。黃池之會。吳子進乎哉。遂子矣。

吳。夷狄之國也。祝髮文身。欲因魯之禮。因晉之權。而請冠端而襲。其籍於成周。以尊天王。吳進矣。

吳。東方之大國也。累累致小國以會諸侯。以合乎中國。吳能爲之。則不臣乎。

吳進矣。王尊稱也。子卑稱也。辭尊稱。而居卑稱。以會乎諸侯。以尊天王。

The Chuen of Kung-yang says:—'Why is [the lord of] Woo styled viscount?

Because Woo took the direction of the meeting.

If Woo took the direction of the meeting, why does [the text] first mention the marquis of Tsin?

Not to allow a barbarous [State] to take the direction of the Middle States.

What is the force of 及 before the viscount of Woo?

It serves to point out the meeting as one of two presiding chiefs.

As [the text] does not allow a barbarous [State] to take the direction of the Middle States, why does it represent the meeting as one of two presiding chiefs?

Because of the weight of Woo.

How had Woo so much weight? Woo being there, the [other] princes of the kingdom would not dare not to come.

吳王夫差曰好冠來。孔子曰。大矣哉。夫差未能言冠。而欲冠也。

The Chuen of Kuh-läng says:—'Is not the viscount of Woo advanced at this meeting in Hwang-ch'e? Here it is that he is [styled] viscount.

Woo was a barbarian State, where they cut their hair short and tattooed their bodies. [Its ruler now] wished, by means of the ceremonies of Loo and the power of Tsin, to bring about the wearing of both cap and garment. He contributed [also] of the products of the State to do honour to the king approved by Heaven. Woo is here advanced.

Woo was the greatest State of the east. Again and again it had brought the small States to meet the feudal princes, and to unite with the Middle States. Since Woo could do this, was it not loyal? Woo is here advanced. King is the most honourable title, and viscount is comparatively mean. [The ruler of Woo, however,] declined the honourable title, and was content with the mean one, to meet with the other princes and do honour to the king approved by Heaven. Foo-ch'ae, king of Woo, used to say, "Bring me a good cap." Confucius said, "Great was Foo-ch'ae!" Foo-ch'ae could not have told you about the caps [of different ranks], but he wished for a cap.

APPENDIX II.

A LETTER QUESTIONING THE CONFUCIAN AUTHORSHIP OF THE CH'UN TS'EW BY YUEN MEI OF THE PRESENT DYNASTY.

I have found the following letter in a large collection of the letters of the writer, published first, with glosses, in 1859 by Hoo Kwang-tow (胡光斗), a great admirer of them, under the title of 音註小倉山房尺牘. The writer, Yuen Mei (袁枚), styled Tsze-ts'ae (子才) and K'een-chae (簡齋), was a member of the Han-lin college, and died in 1797, at the age of 82. The letter was written in reply to Yeh Shoo-shan (葉書山), also a member of the Han-lin college.

答葉書山庶子。

承示春秋指微，具見精識，駕啖助趙匡而過之，胡安定不足道也。第鄙意終覺春秋一書斷非孔子所作。孔子自稱述而不作，作春秋，史官事也。孔子非史官，不在其位，不謀其政，焉有侵史官之權，而妄為代作？曰：知我罪我，儼然以素王自居，不但夫子不肯，魯之君臣及史官亦不能容也。且既云筆則筆，削則削，游夏不能贊一詞矣。乃孔子絕筆於獲麟，而後之春秋從哀公十四年起，直書至十六年孔子卒而後止。三年中是又何人之筆？何人所贊哉？可見魯自有史官，有春秋，不與孔子為存亡也。書之可信者，莫如論語。論語載子之教人，則書詩執禮，自勉則五十學易，絕無半字及春秋。韓宣子聘魯，見易象與魯春秋，楚語莊王傳太子申叔時教之以春秋，晉語稱羊舌肸習於春秋，是孔子之前，四方之國有春秋久矣。或者孔子自衛反魯，正雅頌之餘，偶讀春秋，而略加修飾，公穀所引有不修春秋之稱，是未可知也。而作則斷無之事，尤可笑者，盧仝高束三傳，獨抱遺經，以究終始，然則天王狩于河陽，周襄王無故遠狩于千里之外，隱桓二公皆被弑，而經皆書薨，是聖人之筆，轉不如晉之董狐，齊之南史氏矣。亂臣賊子，又何所鑒戒而懼耶？

'I have received your "Recondite Meanings of the Ch'un Ts'ew," in which your exquisite knowledge is everywhere apparent. While availing yourself of [the Works of] Tan Tsao and Chaou K'wang, you have far excelled them, and that of Hoo Gan-ting is not worthy to be spoken of [in comparison with yours]. But in my poor view I always feel that the Ch'un Ts'ew was certainly not made by Confucius.

'Confucius spoke of himself as "a transmitter and not a maker (Ana. VII. i.)." To make the Ch'un Ts'ew was the business of the historiographers. Confucius was not a historiographer, and [he said that] "he who is not in a particular office has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties (Ana. VIII. xiv.);"—how should he have usurped the power of the historiographers, and in an unseemly way made [this Work] for them?

'In the words, "It is [the Ch'un Ts'ew] which will make men know me, and make men condemn me (Mencius, III. Pt. ii. IX. 8)," he appears to take the position of an unsceptred king; but not only would the master not have been willing to do this, but the ruler and ministers and historiographers of Loo would not have borne it.

'It is said that "Confucius wrote what he wrote and retrenched what he retrenched, so that neither Y'ew nor H'ea were able to improve a single character (See the quotation from Sze-ma Ts'ên, on p. 14)." Now the *stylus* of Confucius ceased its labours when the *lin* was taken, but the Ch'un Ts'ew is continued after that,

which happened in [the spring of] Gae's 14th year, and only ends with the record of Confucius' death in the 16th year;—whose *stylus* have we during those three years, and by whom was this portion of the work improved? It is clear that, as Loo had its historiographers, the preservation or the loss of the Ch'un Ts'ew had no connexion with Confucius.

'Of all the books [about Confucius] there is none so trustworthy as the Analects. They tell us that the subjects which he taught were the Odes, the Shoo, and the maintenance of the rules of Propriety (Ana. VII. xvii.), and how, stimulating himself, he said, that, [if his life were prolonged], he would give fifty years to the study of the Yih; but there is not half a character in them about the Ch'un Ts'ew.

'When Han Seu-en-tsze was on a complimentary visit to Loo (See above, p. 8), he saw the Yih with its diagrams and the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo. In the "Narratives of the States," under the State of Ts'oo, we find Shin Shuh-she, the tutor of the eldest son of king Chwang, teaching him the Ch'un Ts'ew (*Ib.*), and under the State of Tsin we have Yang-sheh Heih celebrated for his acquaintance with the Ch'un Ts'ew (*Ib.*). Thus before Confucius, the States of the four quarters of the kingdom had long had their Ch'un Ts'ew. Perhaps when Confucius returned from Wei to Loo, in his leisure from his correcting labours on the Ya and the Sung (Ana. IX. xiv.), he happened to read the Ch'un Ts'ew, and made some slight improvements in it, so that we find Kung and Kuh quoting from what they call "the unrevised Ch'un Ts'ew." On this we cannot speak positively; but certainly there was no such thing as the *making* of the Ch'un Ts'ew. What is still more ridiculous, Loo Tung laid the three commentaries up high on his shelves, and would only look at the text to search out the beginning and end [of the things referred to]. But [if we adopt that plan], we have the entry that "the king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of inspection in Ho-yang (V. xxviii. 16)," which is to the effect that king S'ang of Chow held a court of inspection, without any cause, at a spot so far—a thousand *le*—[from his capital]. Then again, dukes Yin and Hwan were both murdered, and the text simply says that they died. In this way the upright *stylus* of the sage turns out not to be equal to that of Tung Hoo of Tsin, or to Ts'e's historiographer of the South. What is there [in the Ch'un Ts'ew] to serve as a warning to make rebellious ministers and villainous sons afraid?

Having arrived at my own conclusions about the Ch'un Ts'ew before I met with Yuen Mei's letter, I was astonished and gratified to find such a general agreement between his views and mine. He puts on one side with remarkable boldness the testimony of Mencius, on which I have dwelt in the first section as presenting the greatest difficulty in the way of our accepting the Ch'un Ts'ew as the work of the sage. He would fain deny, as I have said I should be glad to do, that Confucius had anything to do with compiling the chronicle; but the evidence is too strong on the opposite side, and his supposition, that Confucius, without any great purpose, made some slight improvements in the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo towards the end of his life, does not satisfy the exigencies of the case. He has the same opinion that I have of the serious defects of the Work,

and on that account he would deny any authorship of Confucius in connexion with it; while I have ventured to reason on those defects as symptomatic of defects in the character of the compiler.

While not scrupling to brush away traditions with a bold hand, Yuen yet mentions one which served his purpose,—that Confucius ceased his labours on the Ch'un Ts'ew when the *lin* was taken in the 14th year of duke Gae. Some say that it was the appearance of the *lin* which induced Confucius to set about the compilation of the classic as a lasting memorial of himself. Others say that the appearance of the *lin* was to signalize the conclusion of the sage's Work, but how long he had been engaged upon it previously they do not pretend to say. Nothing really is known upon the subject; and the silence of the Analects in regard to it, to which Yuen calls attention, is really note-worthy.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CH'UN TS'EW:—

WITH TABLES OF SOLAR ECLIPSES; OF THE YEARS AND LUNAR MONTHS OF THE WHOLE PERIOD; AND OF THE KINGS, AND THE PRINCES OF THE PRINCIPAL FIEFS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE CHOW DYNASTY.

### SECTION I.

#### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TEXT.

1. I have observed on p. 10 that natural phænomena, supposed to affect the general well-being of the State, formed one class of the things recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ew. Of this nature were eclipses of the sun, included by Maou K'e-ling, in the note on pp. 11, 12, among the "calamities and ominous occurrences," that are the 18th of the divisions under which he arranges all the subjects of these Chronicles. It must not be supposed that these eclipses were recorded with a view to the accumulation of astronomical facts for any scientific purpose;—the whole doctrine of the ancient Chinese concerning them was that given in the 9th ode of Book IV., Part II. of the She, made on occasion of an eclipse before the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and which gives us the first certain date in ancient Chinese history.

"The sun was eclipsed,  
A thing of very evil omen.  
For the moon to be eclipsed  
Is but an ordinary matter;  
Now that the sun has been eclipsed,—  
How bad it is!"

But whatever was the motive for recording the eclipses, they are of the utmost value for determining the chronology of the time comprised in our Classic. It contains altogether the entries of thirty-six eclipses, the table of which given by Mr. Chalmers at the conclusion of his article on the "Astronomy of the ancient Chinese," in the prolegomena to my third volume, with his own calculation of the times of their occurrence, I reproduce here with some slight variations.

## SOLAR ECLIPSES RECORDED IN THE CH'UN TS'EW.

| AS RECORDED IN THE TEXT.  |                      |                       |              |                      | No.     |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------|
| <i>Duke's suc. title.</i> | <i>Year of Rule.</i> | <i>Year of Cycle.</i> | <i>Moon.</i> | <i>Day of Cycle.</i> |         |
| 隱公                        | 8                    | 58                    | II.          | 6                    | I.      |
| 桓公                        | 3                    | 9                     | VII.         | 29 <i>total.</i>     | II.     |
| " "                       | 17                   | 23                    | X.           |                      | III.    |
| 莊公                        | 18                   | 42                    | III.         |                      | IV.     |
| " "                       | 25                   | 49                    | VI.          | 8                    | V.      |
| " "                       | 26                   | 50                    | XII.         | 60                   | VI.     |
| " "                       | 30                   | 54                    | IX.          | 7                    | VII.    |
| 僖公                        | 5                    | 3                     | IX.          | 45                   | VIII.   |
| " "                       | 12                   | 10                    | III.         | 7                    | IX.     |
| " "                       | 15                   | 13                    | V.           |                      | X.      |
| 文公                        | 1                    | 32                    | II.          | 60                   | XI.     |
| " "                       | 15                   | 46                    | VI.          | 38                   | XII.    |
| 宣公                        | 8                    | 57                    | VII.         | 1 <i>total.</i>      | XIII.   |
| " "                       | 10                   | 59                    | IV.          | 53                   | XIV.    |
| " "                       | 17                   | 6                     | VI.          | 40                   | XV.     |
| 成公                        | 16                   | 23                    | VI.          | 3                    | XVI.    |
| " "                       | 17                   | 24                    | XII.         | 54                   | XVII.   |
| 襄公                        | 14                   | 39                    | II.          | 32                   | XVIII.  |
| " "                       | 15                   | 40                    | VIII.        | 54                   | XIX.    |
| " "                       | 20                   | 45                    | X.           | 53                   | XX.     |
| " "                       | 21                   | 46                    | IX.          | 47                   | XXI.    |
| " "                       | 21                   | 46                    | X.           | 17                   | XXII.   |
| " "                       | 23                   | 48                    | II.          | 10                   | XXIII.  |
| " "                       | 24                   | 49                    | VII.         | 1 <i>total.</i>      | XXIV.   |
| " "                       | 24                   | 49                    | VIII.        | 30                   | XXV.    |
| " "                       | 27                   | 52                    | XII.         | 12                   | XXVI.   |
| 昭公                        | 7                    | 3                     | IV.          | 41                   | XXVII.  |
| " "                       | 15                   | 11                    | VI.          | 54                   | XXVIII. |
| " "                       | 17                   | 13                    | VI.          | 11                   | XXIX.   |
| " "                       | 21                   | 17                    | VII.         | 19                   | XXX.    |
| " "                       | 22                   | 18                    | XII.         | 10                   | XXXI.   |
| " "                       | 24                   | 20                    | V.           | 32                   | XXXII.  |
| " "                       | 31                   | 27                    | XII.         | 48                   | XXXIII. |
| 定公                        | 5                    | 33                    | III.         | 48                   | XXXIV.  |
| " "                       | 12                   | 40                    | XI.          | 3                    | XXXV.   |
| " "                       | 15                   | 43                    | VIII.        | 17                   | XXXVI.  |
| 哀公                        | 14                   | 57                    | V.           | 57                   | XXXVII. |

## SOLAR ECLIPSES RECORDED IN THE CH'UN TS'EW.

| BY CALCULATION. |                                    |                      |                      |                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Year.</i>    | <i>Month &amp; day. New style.</i> | <i>Chinese Moon.</i> | <i>Day of Cycle.</i> |                              |
| -719            | February .....14                   | III.                 | 6                    | Visible at sunrise.          |
| -708            | July ..... 8                       | VIII.                | 29                   | Total about 3h. p.m.         |
| -694            | October..... 3                     | XI.                  | 7                    | Visible—Afternoon.           |
| -675            | April..... 6                       | V.                   | 49                   | Sunset.                      |
| -668            | May .....18                        | VI.                  | 8                    | Morning.                     |
| -667            | November ..... 3                   | XII.                 | 60                   | Morning.                     |
| -663            | August .....21                     | IX.                  | 7                    | Afternoon.                   |
| -654            | August.....11                      | IX.                  | 45                   | Afternoon.                   |
| -647            | March .....29                      | V.                   | 7                    | Afternoon.                   |
| -644            | January.....28                     | III.                 | 21                   | Not visible.                 |
| -625            | January.....26                     | III.                 | 60                   | Visible at Noon.             |
| -611            | April .....20                      | V.                   | 38                   | Sunrise.                     |
| -600            | September .....12                  | X.                   | 1                    | Total 3h. 30m. p.m.          |
| -598            | February .....26                   | IV.                  | 53                   | Visible at Sunrise.          |
| -591            | October..... 5                     | XI.                  | 8                    | Not visible.                 |
| -574            | May ..... 1                        | VI.                  | 3                    | Visible at Noon.             |
| -573            | October .....17                    | XI.                  | 54                   | Morning.                     |
| -558            | January ..... 8                    | II.                  | 32                   | Noon.                        |
| -557            | May .....23                        | VI. <i>Intercul.</i> | 54                   | Scarcely visible at Sunrise. |
| -552            | August.....25                      | X.                   | 53                   | Noon.                        |
| -551            | August.....13                      | IX.                  | 47                   | Noon.                        |
| -551            | September.....                     | X.                   |                      | No Eclipse.                  |
| -550            | December.....30                    | II.                  | 10                   | Visible at Sunrise.          |
| -548            | June .....12                       | VII.                 | 1                    | Total about 1h. 15m p.m.     |
| -548            | July .....                         | VIII.                |                      | No Eclipse.                  |
| -545            | October ..... 7                    | XI.                  | 12                   | Visible in the Morning.      |
| -534            | March .....11                      | IV.                  | 41                   | Forenoon.                    |
| -526            | April.....10                       | V.                   | 54                   | Forenoon.                    |
| -524            | August.....14                      | IX.                  | 10                   | Afternoon.                   |
| -520            | June..... 3                        | VII.                 | 19                   | Forenoon.                    |
| -519            | November .....18                   | XII.                 | 10                   | Afternoon.                   |
| -517            | April ..... 1                      | V.                   | 32                   | Sunrise.                     |
| -510            | November ..... 7                   | XII.                 | 48                   | Forenoon.                    |
| -504            | February .....10                   | III.                 | 48                   | Noon.                        |
| -497            | September .....15                  | X.                   | 3                    | Forenoon.                    |
| -494            | July .....15                       | VIII.                | 17                   | Forenoon.                    |
| -480            |                                    |                      |                      |                              |

2. In the table in the prolegomena to vol. III. Mr. Chalmers has referred these eclipses in the Ch'un Ts'ew to the emperors, or kings rather, of Chow in whose reigns they occurred; as we have to do here only with the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew, I have substituted for the titles of the kings those of the marquises of Loo, in connexion with whom the eclipses are mentioned in the text of the Classic. At his request also I have given the years in his calculation as -719, -708, &c., instead of B.C. 719, 708, &c., as being in accordance with the usage of astronomers.<sup>1</sup> His calculation of the month and day, according to new style, remains unchanged, because it makes the comparison of the Chinese moons with our own, in relation to the solstices, plainer and easier for general readers. I have also introduced a 37th eclipse, which is recorded, in the brief supplement to the Classic, in the 4th paragraph after the text proper terminates.

Comparing now the times of the 36 eclipses as recorded and calculated, it will be seen, *first*, that two of them are entirely erroneous, and could not have taken place at all. Two eclipses are given as having occurred in the 21st and 24th years of duke S'ang, corresponding to—551 and—548, on successive months;—a thing physically impossible. On p. 491 of this volume I have given the remark of a scholar of the T'ang dynasty that such a thing perhaps did occur in ancient times! No reasonable account of the twice repeated error has ever been given. Possibly two eclipses did occur some time during the Ch'un Ts'ew period on the months and days mentioned, but in other years; and the tablets of them got misplaced, and appear where they now do. In the mean time the records must be regarded as entirely erroneous.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Chalmers has sent me the following extract of a letter from Professor Airy—now Sir. G.B. Airy—the Astronomer Royal, with whom he corresponded through a friend some years ago on the subject of these ancient Chinese eclipses:—“The year [of the eclipse in the She-king] may be expressed in either of these forms:—

—775 for Astronomical purposes;  
B.C. 776 for Chronological purposes.”

<sup>2</sup> The three early commentaries do not touch on this error. Their writers, no doubt, were not aware that there was any error. In the note appended to the article on ‘The Antiquity of the Chinese proved by Monuments,’ in the 2d volume of the ‘Memoires concernant les Chinois,’ the texts of these eclipses are given and translated without any intimation of their being wrong. In the article, however, p. 98, the writer says on the eclipses in the Ch'un Ts'ew:—“Si, dans la multitude, il s'en trouve quelques-unes (comme il s'en trouve en effet), qui n' aient pu avoir eu lieu, disons alors que, comme la coutume a toujours été que les Calculateurs fissent part du résultat de leurs Calculs, plusieurs jours avant où devant arriver l'eclipse, afin qu'on disposât tout pour les cérémonies qui se pratiquoient dans ces sortes d'occasions, il est arrivé que les Astronomes, faute de bonnes Tables, ayant prédit une fausse eclipse, dont l'annonce a été livrée aux Historiographes, ceux-ci en ont tenu registre de la même manière que si elle avoit été vraie; soit qu'ils la crussent telle, parce qu' un ciel obscur et chargé de nuages avoit empêché d'observer; soit que, par négligence, ou par un simple oubli, ils eussent manqué à la rayer du catalogue des événements.” The explanation here suggested is specially inapplicable to the two eclipses under notice.

It will be seen, *secondly*, that two more of the eclipses are somehow given incorrectly. The 10th is recorded as happening in the 1st month of the 15th year of duke He, corresponding to -644. As proved by calculation, there was an eclipse in the 3d Chinese moon of that year, but it was not visible in Loo. This error, like the two former ones, must be left unexplained. The 15th eclipse appears as having occurred in the 17th year of duke Seuen, corresponding to -591, in the 6th month, on the cycle day Kwei-maou. But there was then no eclipse. Chinese astronomers discovered this error in the time of the eastern Tsin dynasty; but they have found no way of accounting for it. They have called attention, indeed, to the fact that an eclipse was possible on the 1st day of the fifth month; but that would be visible only in the southern hemisphere. It occurred to Mr. Chalmers, however, to try the 7th year of duke Seuen, and he found that that year, in the 6th month, on Kwei-maou, which was then the day of the new moon, there was an eclipse visible in Loo. No doubt, this was the eclipse intended in the text, inaccurately arranged under the 17th year instead of the 7th. This happy rectification of one error shows in what direction the rectification of the other errors is to be sought.

It will be seen, *thirdly*, that of the remaining 32 eclipses, the years, months, and cycle-days of 18, as determined by calculation, agree with those which are given in the text, while of the other 14 the years and cycle-days agree, and the months are different, generally by one month or two, and in two cases by three months. The difference of the months, however, gives confirmation to the truthfulness of the text, showing, indeed, that it is not absolutely correct, but proving, to my mind, that the historiographers entered the eclipses in the current months of the years when they were observed. In order to make those current months agree with the true months it would have been necessary that the process of intercalation should be regularly and scientifically observed. But it was not so observed in the time of the Ch'un Ts'ew. In proof of this I need only refer the reader to what Mr. Chalmers has said on the subject in the prolegomena to vol. III. p. 99, and to his valuable table of the years and months of the Ch'un Ts'ew, which concludes this section. There was not room for the same error with the cycle-days. No science was required in their application. Each successive day had its name determined by the successive terms of the cycle; and, when these were exhausted, the historiographers had only to begin again. Whether the months

were long or short, and whether the year contained an intercalary month or not, the cyclical names of the days were sure to be given correctly. All that was necessary was not to let any day go by unmarked. Those 14 eclipses,<sup>3</sup> correct as to the years and cycle-days of their occurrence, and incorrect, only in the months to which they are referred, from an assignable cause, are to be accepted with as little hesitation as the 18 in regard to the date of which the record and the calculation entirely agree. The errors in them are of such a character as to show that the text was not constructed subsequently, but was made by the historiographers of Loo, in the exercise of their duties, along the whole course of the period.

3. It is hardly necessary to point out how the long list of eclipses thus verified determines the chronology of the Ch'un Ts'ew period. The first eclipse occurred in the 3d year of duke Yin, in  
The chronology is determined by the eclipses;—as in par. 1. } -719, and therefore we know that the period commenced in -721. The last eclipse occurred in the last year of duke Ting, in -494, from which we have only to subtract 14 years of duke Gae's rule to get the last year of the period; and indeed in the supplementary text we have an eclipse occurring in Gae's 14th year, or in -480.

I have called attention in the preceding paragraph to the fact of the cycle-days being always given correctly for the eclipses. So they generally are for other events; but sometimes they are given wrong,—as will be seen by comparing the subjoined table with the text, the days which could not be verified being omitted in the table. The errors of this kind, which are on the whole wonderfully few, are for the most part pointed out in the notes, according to the calculations of Too Yu, who says that there must be an error of the month or of the day. In some cases there may be a corruption of the cyclical names through carelessness of transcribers, which would give an error of the day; more frequently, I believe, the month is wrongly given, through the same irregularity of intercalation which has made the months given for the eclipses differ from the true months as ascertained by calculation.

4. I take this opportunity to touch on another subject which has often perplexed students of ancient Chinese history,—the different commencements of the year in the three great ancient dynasties of Hëa, Shang, and Chow. According to  
The different commencements of the year in the three ancient dynasties. } the representations of the scholars of

<sup>3</sup> Of the third and fourth of those eclipses the text does not give the cyclical days; but I have not thought it worth while to call attention to this in *my* text.

the Han and all subsequent dynasties, the beginning of the year was changed, to signalize the new dynasty, by an exercise of the royal prerogative. Indeed, the phrase '*san ching*,'<sup>1</sup> occurring in the Shoo, III. ii. 3, has been interpreted as meaning the 'three commencements of the year;' in which case it would be necessary to suppose that even before the Hëa dynasty the year had begun at different dates and in different months. But if I were translating the Shoo-king afresh, I should feel compelled to cast about for another meaning for the phrase in that passage. In point of fact the Ch'un Ts'ew seems to show that the new commencement arose from the necessity of error which there was not sufficient science to correct. The year of the Hëa dynasty began originally with the first month of spring. By the end of that dynasty, through the neglect of the intercalation, it commenced, I suppose, a month earlier, and hence the sovereigns of Shang made that the beginning of their year. But during their tenure of the kingdom, the same process of error took place, and the year, I suppose again, had come to approximate to the time of the winter solstice when the kings of Chow superseded them. They adopted the retrogression, and made it their theory that the year should begin with the new moon preceding the winter solstice, *i.e.*, between our November 22 and December 22. But their astronomers and historiographers had not knowledge enough to keep it there. An inspection of Mr. Chalmers' table following this paragraph shows a very marked tendency, increasing as time went on, to make the year begin in the month before the new moon preceding the winter solstice. Previous to the time of duke He, many of the years begin in the commencing month of the Shang dynasty; but subsequently, the 30th, 32d, and 33d years of duke He, the 18th year of Wăn, the 3d, 4th, and 6th of Seuen, the 1st, 4th, 7th, 10th and 12th of Ch'ing, the 16th, 19th, 21st, and 27th of Sëang, the 1st, 4th, 15th, 20th, and 28th of Ch'aou, and the 2d, 7th, and 10th of Ting, all began in the month before the proper commencement of the Chow year. This was, no doubt, the ordinary commencement of the year when the dynasty of Ts'in superseded that of Chow, and so its emperor declared that the year should then begin;—three months before the period of Hëa, embracing a whole season, so that what was called its spring was actually the winter of the year, and the names of all the seasons were wrongly



applied. Thus each of the four dynasties which ran out their course before our Christian era had its different commencement of the year. Chinese writers, however, generally speak only of 'three correct beginnings,' being unwilling to allow the dynasty of Ts'in to rank with those of Hea, Shang, and Chow.

As has been pointed out in the 'Astronomy of the ancient Chinese' by Mr. Chalmers, after the establishment of the Han dynasty, the Chinese endeavoured to open communications with the west; and from India they must have received great additions to their astronomical knowledge. Their scholars became able to make a reformation of the calendar; and adopting the maxim of Confucius, that the seasons of Hëa should be followed, they determined and arranged that the year should thenceforth commence with the beginning of spring, as it has since, with more or less of correctness, done.

The above observations show that of the four 'correct beginnings of the year,' (including that of Ts'in), one only was correct, and the proper nomenclature regarding them would be 'one correct and three erroneous beginnings.' They should also end the partial and bigoted pretensions of Chinese writers, when they talk of the universal knowledge of their ancient worthies, and the more culpable partiality and bigotry of some Sinologues who try to bear out their assertions.

5. In the following table the intercalary months are indicated by a line. The principal guide in determining them has been the cycle-days given in connexion with many of the events referred to. According to the theory of the Chinese year, as explained in vol. III., p. 22, there ought to be 7 intercalary months in every 19 years. It will be seen that during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period these months were introduced very irregularly.

The small figures denote the cyclical numbers of the days mentioned in the text, so far as they can be verified. A small capital (E) indicates an eclipse. The most important thing to be observed in the table is the changing position of the first month, sometimes preceding, sometimes following, the winter solstice, without any apparent rule.

| <i>Cyclical<br/>Number<br/>of<br/>Shortest<br/>Day.</i> | LUNAR MONTHS ACCORDING TO CONFUCIUS.                                                |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   | YEARS. |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---|--------|
|                                                         | <i>The small figures are the Cyclical numbers of days mentioned in the History.</i> |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   | —      |
| 60 I                                                    | II                                                                                  | III    | IV     | V     | VI    | VII    | VIII    | IX    | X     | XI    | XII    | , | 721    |
| 5 I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        | VIII    |       |       |       | XII 52 | — | 720    |
| 10 I                                                    |                                                                                     | II 6E  | III 47 | IV 28 |       |        | VIII 17 |       |       |       | XII 20 | , |        |
| 16 I                                                    | II                                                                                  |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 21 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       | XII 18 | — |        |
| 26 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       | V 58  |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 31 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 37 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        | III 27 |       |       | VI 36  | VII 7   |       | IX 28 |       |        |   | 715    |
| 42 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        | III 10 |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 47 I                                                    | II 50                                                                               |        |        |       | VI    |        |         | IX 15 | X     |       |        |   |        |
| 52 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        | VII 19  |       |       |       | XI 29  |   |        |
| 58 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        | IV 44  |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   | 710    |
| 3I                                                      |                                                                                     |        | IV 45  |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 8 I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        | VII 29E |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 13 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 19I 26                                                  |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 24 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        | VIII 19 | IX 4  |       |       |        |   | 705    |
| 29 I                                                    | II 36                                                                               |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 34 I                                                    | I 16                                                                                |        |        |       | V 14  |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 39 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 45 I 57                                                 |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       | XII 43 | — |        |
| 50 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       | V 20  |        |         | IX    |       |       |        |   | 700    |
| 55 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       | VI 39 | VII 24 | VIII    |       |       | XI 23 | XII 44 | — |        |
| 60 I                                                    | I                                                                                   | II     |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 6 I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        | VIII 9  |       |       |       | XII 54 | , |        |
| 11 I                                                    |                                                                                     | III 32 | IV 6   |       | VI    |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 16 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   | 695    |
| 21 I 53                                                 | II                                                                                  |        |        |       | V 43  | VI 14  | VIII 30 |       | X 7E  |       |        |   |        |
| 27 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        | IV 13  | V 34  |       |        |         |       |       |       | XII 26 | , |        |
| 32 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         | X 12  |       |       |        |   |        |
| 37 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       | XII 22 | — | 690    |
| 42 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 48 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       | VI 2   |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 53 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 58I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| I 3                                                     |                                                                                     |        | IV 28  |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 9 I 31                                                  |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       | XI 20 |        |   | 685    |
| 14 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       | VII 34 | VIII 57 |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 19 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 24 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        | 15    | V     | 15     |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 30 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        | VIII 31 |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 35 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   | 680    |
| 40I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 45 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 51 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 56I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 1 I                                                     |                                                                                     |        | IV 49E |       | VI 54 |        |         |       |       |       |        |   | 675    |
| 6 I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 12 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 17 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       | V 58  |        | VII 35  |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 22 I 50                                                 |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       | VII 33 |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 27 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        |         |       |       |       | XII 51 | — | 670    |
| 32 I                                                    |                                                                                     |        |        |       |       |        | VIII 14 |       |       |       |        |   |        |
| 38I                                                     |                                                                                     |        |        |       | V 50  | VI 8E  |         |       |       |       |        |   |        |

|            |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
|------------|--|---------|--------|-------|--|--|--|--|--|----------------|---------|--------|
| I 43       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | XII 60E        | —       |        |
| 48 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | —      |
| I 53       |  | III 51  | IV 44  |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | 665    |
| 59 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| 4 I        |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VIII 60 IX 7E  |         |        |
| I 9        |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| 14 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VII 30 VIII 60 | X 56    |        |
| 20 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VI 58          |         | 660    |
| I 25       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | V 22           | VIII 38 |        |
| 30 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VII 5          | X 19    | XII 54 |
| 35 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | V 18           |         |        |
| 41 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| 46 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | 655    |
| I 51       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | IX 45E         |         |        |
| I 56       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| I 2        |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| I 7        |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                | XII 44  |        |
| I 12       |  | III 14  |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VII 22         | IX 5    | 650    |
| 17 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| I 23       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| 28 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | IV 7E          | XII 14  |        |
| I 33       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| 38 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                | VIII 28 | 645    |
| 44 I       |  | II 21E  |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                | IX 16   | XI 59  |
| 45 I 49    |  | III 9   | IV 33  |       |  |  |  |  |  | VII 1          |         |        |
| I 54       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XII 12 |
| 59 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | V 15           | 24 VIII |        |
| I 5        |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VI 46          |         | 640    |
| 10 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | V 42           |         |        |
| 15 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XII 50 |
| I 20       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VIII 44        | XI 6    |        |
| I 25       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | V 27           |         |        |
| I 31       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | 635    |
| I 36 43    |  | III     | IV 10  |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XII 60 |
| 41 I 56    |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| I 46       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VI 27          | VIII 32 | XII 11 |
| I 52       |  | III 43  | IV 6   | V 50  |  |  |  |  |  |                | 9       |        |
| I 57       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | 630    |
| I 2        |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | IX 31          |         |        |
| I 7        |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| I 13       |  |         | IV 26  |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XII 16 |
| I 18       |  |         | IV 18  |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XII 42 |
| I 23       |  | III 60E | IV 54  |       |  |  |  |  |  |                | X 44    | 625    |
| I 28       |  | II 1    | III 42 |       |  |  |  |  |  | VIII 4         |         |        |
| I 34       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XII 6  |
| 39 I       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XI 39  |
| I 44       |  | III 48  |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                | X 21    |        |
| I 49       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VIII 12        |         | 620    |
| 55 I       |  | III 11  | IV 25  |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| I 60       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VIII 45        | X 19    |        |
| I 5 II 38  |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | IX 10          |         |        |
| I 10       |  |         | III 28 |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         |        |
| I 16       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                | X 31    | 615    |
| I 21 II 37 |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  |                |         | XII 55 |
| I 26       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | V 19           |         | 26 XII |
| I 31       |  |         | 12 V   | VI 10 |  |  |  |  |  | IX 21          |         |        |
| I 37       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VI 38E         |         |        |
| I 42       |  |         |        |       |  |  |  |  |  | VI 5           | VIII 8  | 610    |

|             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|
| I 47        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV 60   | VI 20                |                |              |
| I 52 14     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | V 35    | VI 10                |                |              |
| I 58        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 49 3 II   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | IX 2           | X 12         |
| I 8         |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | X 23           | 605          |
| I 13        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VI 22   |                      |                |              |
| I 18        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 24        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 29        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 34        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VI 18   |                      | X 1E 26        | 600          |
| I 39        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         | 58 IX                | X 10           |              |
| I 45        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV 53E  | V 30                 |                |              |
| I 50        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | X 24           |              |
| I 55        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 52 VI   |                      |                | XII 15       |
| I 60        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                | 595          |
| I 6         |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | V 9     |                      |                |              |
| I 11        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VI 40   |                      |                |              |
| 16 I        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 21        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VI 56   |                      | XI 8E 19       |              |
| I 27        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VII 11  |                      | X 59           | 590          |
| I 32 58     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 37        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV 23   | VI 10 VII 46 VIII 19 | XI 33          |              |
| I 42 48 III |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | XI 43          |              |
| I 48 9 III  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV 51   |                      |                |              |
| I 53        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | XI 46 XII 26   | 585          |
| I 58 11 18  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV      | VI 19                |                |              |
| I 9         |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         | VIII 5               |                |              |
| I 14        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | X 40           |              |
| I 19        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VII 13  |                      | XI 57          |              |
| I 24        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | V 43 VI |                      |                | 580          |
| I 30        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | III 26  |                      |                |              |
| I 35        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 40        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | X 27           |              |
| I 45        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | III 42  |                      | VIII 17        | 575          |
| I 51        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV 8    | VI 3E                | X 12           | XII 2        |
| I 56        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VI 22   |                      | IX 38          | 9 XI XII 54E |
| I 57        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | VIII 26        | XII 44       |
| I 6         |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | IX 58          |              |
| I 11        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | V 27 VI | VII 26               |                | 570          |
| I 17        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV 59   | VI 56                |                |              |
| I 22        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 46 III  |                      | VII 25 VIII 48 |              |
| I 27        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                | XII 8        |
| I 32        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | III 19  |                      |                |              |
| I 38        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | X 59           | XII 23       |
| I 43        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                | 565          |
| I 48        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | V 58    |                      | VIII 20        | 36 XII       |
| I 53        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | V 31    |                      |                |              |
| I 59        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | VII 56         |              |
| I 4         |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                | 560          |
| I 19        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | IX 17          |              |
| I 14 II 32E |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | IV 56   |                      |                |              |
| I 20 II 36  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | VII 54E        | XI 60        |
| I 25 III 15 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | V 60    |                      |                |              |
| I 30 II 7   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                | 555          |
| I 35        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                |              |
| I 41        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | VII 28 VIII 53 |              |
| I 46 48     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      | VI 57          | X 53E        |
| I 51        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |         |                      |                | IX 47E . E   |

|                  |                            |     |
|------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| I 56             | VII 58                     | 550 |
| I 2 II 10E III 6 | VIII 16 X 12               |     |
| I 17             | VIII 1E E                  |     |
| I 12             | VII 12 VI 149 6 VIII       |     |
| I 17 II 28       | VIII 19                    |     |
| I 23             | VII 18 XII 12E             | 545 |
| I 28             | XII 51                     |     |
| I 33             | V 7                        |     |
| I 38             | V 31                       |     |
| I 44             | VI 18 IX 30 X 10           |     |
| I 49             | VI 54 XI 46                | 540 |
| I 54             |                            |     |
| I 44 59          |                            |     |
| I 4              | VI 43 XII 52               |     |
| I 10             | VII 5                      |     |
| I 15             | III VI 23                  | 535 |
| I 20             | IV 41E VIII 5 XI 20 XII 60 |     |
| I 25             | IV 38 X 19                 |     |
| I 31 57 II       |                            |     |
| I 6              | VII 25 XII 1               |     |
| I 41             | IV 54 V 21 IX 36 XI 34     | 530 |
| I 46             | III 9                      |     |
| I 52             | VIII 11                    |     |
| I 57             |                            |     |
| I II 210         | VI 54E                     |     |
| I 7              | VIII 36                    | 525 |
| I 13             | IX 4 X 10E                 |     |
| I 18             | V 19                       |     |
| I 23             | V 5                        |     |
| I 28             | VIII 48 XI 28              |     |
| I 34             | VII 19E VIII 12            | 520 |
| I 39             | IV 2 XII 10E               |     |
| I 44 50          | VII 5 VIII 32              |     |
| I 49 II 23       | V 32E VIII 34              |     |
| I 55             | VII IX 36 X 56 XI 36       |     |
| I 60             | IX 57                      | 515 |
| I 5              |                            |     |
| I 10             | IV 23 VII 30               |     |
| I 16             | IV 37                      |     |
| I 21             | VI 17                      |     |
| I 26             | IV 54 XII 48E              | 510 |
| I 31             | XII 56                     |     |
| I 37             | VI 60 VII 30               |     |
| I 42             | V 29                       |     |
| I 47 II 28       |                            |     |
| I 52 II 30 IV 17 | XI 7                       | 505 |
| I 57             | III 48E VI 33 VII 49       |     |
| I 60 3           |                            |     |
| I 8              |                            |     |
| I 13             | VII 5                      |     |
| I 18             | IV 45                      | 500 |
| I 24             |                            |     |
| I 29             |                            |     |
| I 34             | X 60 XI 3E                 |     |
| I 39             |                            |     |
| I 45 II 18       |                            | 495 |
| I 50 II 38       | V 48 VII 9 VIII 17E IX 54  |     |
| I 55             | IV 18                      |     |
| I 60 II 30       | IV 13 VIII 11              |     |

|            |            |         |        |     |
|------------|------------|---------|--------|-----|
| I 16       | IV 31 V 28 | VII 13  | X 40   |     |
| I 11 II 47 | VI 38      | VIII 51 |        | 490 |
| I 16       |            | IX 10   |        |     |
| I 21       |            | VII 27  |        |     |
| I 27       |            | VIII 46 |        |     |
| I 32       |            |         | XII 60 |     |
| I 37 II    |            |         |        | 485 |
| I 42       | III 35     |         |        |     |
| I 48       | V 11       | VII 58  |        |     |
| I 53       | V 41       |         |        |     |
| I 58       |            |         |        |     |
| I 13       | IV 47 V 57 | VIII 38 |        | 480 |
| I 9        |            |         |        |     |
| I 14       | IV 26      |         |        | 478 |

## SECTION II.

## THE DATES IN THE TSO CHUEN.

1. The chronology of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, as it appears in the Tso Chuen, is the same as that which appears in the text; but the dates of many events mentioned in both differ by one or two months; and where those dates are at the end or beginning of a year, the years to which they are assigned will also differ. This circumstance has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the Chinese critics; but a sufficient solution of the want of correspondence is found, in much the greater number of cases, in the fact that the feudal States were by no means agreed in using the commencement of the year prescribed by the dynasty of Chow. I have shown, in par. 4 of last section, that the Shang and Chow dynasties adopted each a different month for the beginning of the year from that employed by the dynasty of Hëa, not by arbitrary exercise of sovereignty to signalize their possession of the kingdom, but in consequence of the disorder into which the months of the year had fallen through the neglect or irregularity of intercalation. The peculiarity now under notice further shows the feebleness of the sway exercised by the kings of Chow over the feudal States, for several of those ruled by chiefs of the Chow surname yet continued to hold to the Hëa beginning of the year.

For example, in the narrative introduced by Tso after I. iii. 3, we are told that Ch'ing sent plundering expeditions into the royal

domain, which 'in the 4th month carried off the wheat of Wăn, and in the autumn the rice of Ch'ing-chow;' meaning evidently the 4th month and the autumn of the Hëa year.

Again, in V. v. 1, we are told that 'in spring, the marquis of Tsin put to death his heir-son Shin-säng,' whereas, according to the Chuen, the deed was done in the 12th month of the preceding year. In V. x. 3, Le K'ih of Tsin murders his ruler in the first month of the year, whereas, according to the Chuen, he did so in the 11th month of the previous year. In V. xv. 13, a battle was fought between Tsin and Ts'in in the 11th month, while in the Chuen it takes place in the 9th. Tsin evidently regulated its months after the Hëa calendar.

In Ts'e, whose princes were of the surname Këang, it would appear that the year continued to commence with the natural spring, for in VI. xiv. 9 the murder of Shay, marquis of Ts'e, appears as taking place in the 9th month, whereas the Chuen gives it in the 7th.

In Sung, where the descendants of the kings of Shang held sway, they naturally followed the calendar of Shang. Thus in I. vi. 4, an army of Sung appears as taking Ch'ang-koh in winter, while Tso says it did so in the autumn. And in the Shoo, V. viii., containing the charge to the viscount of Wei on his appointment to be the first duke of Sung, it would appear from par. 1 that authority is given to him to use all the institutions of his ancestors.

This varying commencement of the year among the feudal States of Chow may be substantiated from other sources besides the Ch'un Ts'ëw and the Tso Chuen.<sup>1</sup> It not only shows, as I have said, the feebleness of the dynasty of Chow; but it affords a strong confirmation of the genuineness of Tso's narratives. Had they been constructed to illustrate the text, or even been introduced as subsidiary to it without being occupied with events referred to in it, the compiler would have been careful to avoid such a discrepancy of dates. As Lëw Yuen-foo of the Sung dynasty observed, 'The months and days in Tso-she often differ from those in the text of the classic, because he copied indiscriminately from the tablets of the historiographers of the different States, which used the three different commencements of the year without any fixed rule.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See in the Work of Chaou Yih, Bk. II., his appendix to the section headed 春不書王.

<sup>2</sup> 劉原父謂左氏月日多與經不同，蓋左氏雜取當時諸侯史策之文，其用三正參差不一，故與經多岐。

2. What I have said in the above paragraph goes strongly to support the genuineness of Tso's narratives. There are some other dates, however, in his commentary to which my attention has been called by Mr. Chalmers, and which would seem to show that they were introduced at a later period; some of them perhaps in the Han dynasty. Tso gives the day of the winter solstice in two years;—the 5th of duke He, and the 20th of duke Ch'aou. In the former case, B.C. 654, he says that the day Sin-hae (the 48th cyclical number) was the day of the winter solstice, and the first day of the first month; but this is an error of one day in regard to the new moon, and of three days in regard to the solstice, which fell that year on Këah-yin (the 51st cyclical number). In the latter case, B.C. 521, he says that the solstice fell on the day Ke-ch'ow (the 26th cyclical number), whereas it fell on Sin-maou, two days later, and the day of new moon was also one day later. 'Here,' says Mr. Chalmers, 'the farther back the greater the error, so that the date and the method could not have been handed down from any previous time. If a year had been sought in duke He's time, when the new moon and solstice coincided, 646 would have been right; and 665 (646+19) or 627 (646-19) would also have been the proper commencement of a cycle of 19 years, which might have been repeated down to the end of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period without much error. The error accumulates in reckoning onwards of course as well as in reckoning back, so that by the time of the Han dynasty the cycle would have to be shifted on to another set of years. But the text of the Chuen, and the commentary which you give under the 20th year of duke Ch'aou, were evidently written from a Han point of view. Twenty-two cycles of 19 years are reckoned back from the time of the emperor Woo,—say B.C. 103 ( $103 + 19 \times 22 = 521$ ), and it is affirmed that in 521 the solstice coincided with the new moon because it did so in 103. But it did not do so, nor did the new moon then fall on the day assigned to it. That a writer near the time of Confucius should give wrong dates is very likely; but that they should be *systematically* wrong, so as to agree with an imperfect method of calculation adopted some centuries later, and founded on observations then made—about B.C. 103—of the actual position of the sun and moon, is so improbable that I cannot believe it. The Metonic cycle cannot be repeated twenty-two times without incurring an error of two or three days.'

Again, on IX. xxviii. 1, and in some other passages, Tso mentions the place of the year-star or Jupiter, and Mr. Chalmers contends

that they were all interpolated at a subsequent date. On the case in IX. xxviii. 1, he observes:—‘The position of the planet Jupiter was observed in the year B.C. 103, and recorded correctly by Sze-ma Ts’een, in *Sing-ke* (Sagittarius-Capricorn); and he thought, as the writer of the notices in the Tso Chuen evidently did likewise, that Jupiter’s period was exactly 12 years. But if this had been the case, Jupiter should not have been in *Sing-ke* in the 28th year of duke Sëang, B.C. 544, because the intervening time of 441 years is not divisible by 12. Moreover, Jupiter was not really in *Sing-ke* in B.C. 544, but he would be there in 542, two years later. How then did the writer of the Chuen say that Jupiter was in *Sing-ke*, or ought to have been there, but “had licentiously advanced into *Heuen-hëaou* (Capricorn-Aquarius)?” Probably because such was the course of the planet, and such the Chinese manner of viewing it 240 ( $12 \times 20$ ) years later,—say in B.C. 304. It might be 12 years before or after. And the writer, knowing this, ventured to count back two centuries and a half in cycles of 12, and then to affirm that the same phænomenon had been observed B.C. 544, and to found a story thereon. He could not have lived earlier than the time of Mencius. He might have been later. Jupiter in fact gains a sign every 86 years, or he completes seven circuits of the starry heavens in about 83 years instead of 84, and hence the discrepancy of 3 years, or 3 signs, between the observations of Sze-ma Ts’een and those on which Tso based his calculations. If he, or any authorities he had to quote from, had observed the planet in B.C. 544, they would have said it was in *Ta-ho* (Libra-Scorpio), not in *Sing-ke*, and much less in *Heuen-hëaou*. There would then have been a discrepancy of 5 signs between him and Sze-ma instead of 3. In the matter of the “year-star,” as in that of the winter solstice, Tso-she is systematically wrong.’

I am not prepared to question the conclusions to which Mr. Chalmers thus comes regarding the dates of the winter solstice, and the positions of the planet Jupiter, given in Tso’s commentary. But instead of saying, as he does, that Tso could not have lived earlier than the time of Mencius, and may have lived later, I would say that the narratives in which the Year-star is mentioned were made about that time, and interpolated into his Work during the Ts’in dynasty or in the first Han. They will come under the second class of passages for the interpolation of which I have made provision on p. 35 of the first Chapter. But after all that Mr. Chalmers has said, my faith remains firm in the genuineness of the mass of Tso’s

narratives as composed by him from veritable documents contemporaneous with the events to which they relate.

3. Before passing on from the chronology of the text and of the Tso Chuen, it deserves to be pointed out that neither in the Classic nor the Commentary have we any indication of the dating of events with reference to the age of the dynasty of Chow or to the reigns of its kings. In each State they spoke of events with reference to the years of their own rulers. The Classic, divided into twelve Books according to the years of the twelve marquises of Loo, is one example of this. Another is found in the Chuen on VI. xvii. 4, where a minister of Ch’ing, defending his ruler against the suspicions of Tsin, runs over various events, giving them all according to the years of the earl of Ch’ing, without reference to those of the king of Chow or of the marquis of Tsin. We have a third in the Chuen at the end of II. ii., where Tso gives a *resumé* of certain affairs of Tsin, prior to the Ch’un Ts’ëw period, specifying them by the years of duke Hwuy of Loo.

Frequently, in order to make definite the date of an event, some other well known event, contemporaneous with it, is referred to. Thus, in the Chuen after IX. ix. 5, when the marquis of Tsin asks the age of the young marquis of Loo, Ke Woo-tsze replies that he was born in ‘the year of the meeting at Sha-suy.’ Again, in X. vii., in the 4th narrative appended to par. 4, a panic in Ch’ing is referred to ‘the year when the descriptions of punishments were cast;’ and on par. 8 it is said that one of the sons of the marquis of Wei was born in ‘the year when Han Seuen-tsze became chief minister of Tsin, and went among the other States, paying complimentary visits.’

I need not adduce more examples. In these two ways are the dates of events determined:—by referring them to the years of some ruler of a State, or to some event of general notoriety, contemporaneous with them. They are not in any single instance determined by reference to the era of the dynasty or to the reigns of the kings of Chow. This peculiarity seems again to indicate that the sway which Chow exercised over the States was feeble and imperfect. Chaou Yih calls attention to the fact that the princes or nobles in the early part of the Han dynasty continued to exercise the prerogative of dating events from the year of their appointment or succession, and that the practice was stopped when the emperors of Han began to feel secure in their possession of the empire. It was in truth but a nominal supremacy which was yielded to the kings of Chow.



## SECTION III.

LISTS OF THE KINGS OF CHOW, AND OF THE PRINCES OF THE  
PRINCIPAL FIEFS, FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE  
CLOSE OF THE DYNASTY.

I. Kings of Chow. Surname Ke (姬). Given, as are the  
princes of the States, with their sacrificial titles.

|                    |             |                     |           |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1. Woo.....(武)     | Reign began | 18. S'ang.....(襄)   | B.C. 650. |
| 2. Ch'ing.....(成)  | " 1,114.    | 19. K'ing.....(頃)   | " 617.    |
| 3. K'ang.....(康)   | " 1,077.    | 20. K'wang.....(匡)  | " 611.    |
| 4. Ch'au.....(昭)   | " 1,051.    | 21. Ting.....(定)    | " 605.    |
| 5. Muh.....(穆)     | " 1,000.    | 22. K'een.....(簡)   | " 584.    |
| 6. Kung.....(共)    | " 945.      | 23. Ling.....(靈)    | " 570.    |
| 7. E.....(懿)       | " 933.      | 24. King.....(景)    | " 543.    |
| 8. H'au.....(孝)    | " 908.      | 25. King.....(敬)    | " 518.    |
| 9. E.....(夷)       | " 893.      | 26. Yuen.....(元)    | " 474.    |
| 10. Le.....(厲)     | " 877.      | 27. Ching-ting (貞定) | " 467.    |
| 11. Seuen.....(宣)  | " 826.      | 28. K'au.....(考)    | " 439.    |
| 12. Y'ew.....(幽)   | " 780.      | 29. Wei-l'eh (威烈)   | " 424.    |
| 13. P'ing.....(平)  | " 769.      | 30. Gan.....(安)     | " 400.    |
| 14. Hwan.....(桓)   | " 718.      | 31. L'eh.....(烈)    | " 374.    |
| 15. Chwang.....(莊) | " 695.      | 32. H'een.....(顯)   | " 367.    |
| 16. He.....(僖)     | " 680.      | 33. Shin-tsing (慎靚) | " 319.    |
| 17. Hwuy.....(惠)   | " 675.      | 34. Nan.....(赧)     | " 313.    |
|                    |             | Reign ended.....    | " 255.    |

## II. Princes of Loo. Surname Ke. Marquises.

|                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. The duke of Chow  | 8. H'een.....(獻)    |
| (周公) B.C. 1,121.     | 9. Chin.....(眞)     |
| 2. Pih-k'in.....(伯禽) | 10. Woo.....(武)     |
| " 1,114.             | 11. E.....(懿)       |
| 3. K'au.....(考)      | 12. Pih-yu.....(伯御) |
| " 1,061.             | 13. H'au.....(孝)    |
| 4. Yang.....(陽)      | 14. Hwuy.....(惠)    |
| " 1,057.             |                     |
| 5. Y'ew.....(幽)      |                     |
| " 1,051.             |                     |
| 6. Wei.....(魏)       |                     |
| 7. Le.....(厲)        |                     |

I have not given the date of the accession of the preceding nine marquises, it  
being difficult to make it out in several cases. Hwuy brings us to the Ch'un Ts'ew  
period.

|                  |           |                    |           |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| 15. Yin.....(隱)  | B.C. 721. | 17. Chwang.....(莊) | B.C. 692. |
| 16. Hwan.....(桓) | " 710.    | 18. Min.....(閔)    | " 660.    |

|                    |           |                   |           |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| 19. He.....(僖)     | B.C. 658. | 24. Ch'au.....(昭) | B.C. 540. |
| 20. W'an.....(文)   | " 625.    | 25. Ting.....(定)  | " 508.    |
| 21. Seuen.....(宣)  | " 607.    | 26. Gae.....(哀)   | " 493.    |
| 22. Ch'ing.....(成) | " 589.    | 27. Taou.....(悼)  | " 466.    |
| 23. S'ang.....(襄)  | " 571.    | 28. Yuen.....(元)  | " 429.    |

29 Muh (穆), 408. Under Muh Loo entirely lost its independence. After him  
we have:—30, Kung (共), 375; 31, K'ang (康); 32, King (景), 342; 33, P'ing  
(平); 34, W'an (文); 35, K'ing (頃), who was reduced to the condition of a  
private man by king K'au-l'eh of Ts'oo in B.C. 248.

III. Princes of Wei (衛). Surname Ke. Marquises; but for  
some time they had the title of Pih (伯), as presiding over several  
other States.

|                                  |                       |                          |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. K'ang Shuh (康叔; see the Shoo, | 18. Tae.....(戴)       | B.C. 659.                |
| [V. ix.]                         | 19. W'an.....(文)      | " 658.                   |
| 2. K'ang Pih (康伯)                | 20. Ch'ing.....(成)    | " 633.                   |
| B.C. 1,077.                      | 21. Muh.....(穆)       | " 598.                   |
| 3. K'au Pih (考伯)                 | 22. Ting.....(定)      | " 587.                   |
| " 1,051.                         | 23. H'een.....(獻)     | " 575.                   |
| 4. Tsze Pih (嗣伯)                 | 24. Shang.....(殤)     | 557; intermedi-          |
| " 1,015.                         | 25. S'ang.....(襄)     | [ate till 546.]          |
| 5. Ts'eh Pih (虢伯)                | 26. Ling.....(靈)      | " 533.                   |
| " 933.                           | 27. Ch'uh.....(出)     | " 491.                   |
| 6. Tsing Pih (靖伯)                | 28. Chwang.....(莊)    | 478; intermedi-          |
| " 908.                           | 29. Pan-sze.....(班師)  | [ate for one year.]      |
| 7. Ching Pih (貞伯)                | 30. Keun-k'e.....(君起) | 477, inter-              |
| " 893.                           | 31. Taou.....(悼)      | [mediate for two years.] |
| 8. K'ing.....(頃; simply marquis) | 32. King.....(敬)      | " 449.                   |
| " 865.                           | 33. Ch'au.....(昭)     | " 430.                   |
| 9. Le (釐), or He (僖)             | 34. Hwae.....(懷)      | " 424.                   |
| " 853.                           |                       |                          |
| 10. Kung Pih (共伯)                |                       |                          |
| " 811.                           |                       |                          |
| 11. Woo.....(武)                  |                       |                          |
| " 811.                           |                       |                          |
| 12. Chwang.....(莊)               |                       |                          |
| " 756.                           |                       |                          |
| 13. Hwan.....(桓)                 |                       |                          |
| " 733.                           |                       |                          |
| 14. Seuen.....(宣)                |                       |                          |
| " 717.                           |                       |                          |
| 15. Hwuy.....(惠)                 |                       |                          |
| " 698.                           |                       |                          |
| 16. K'een-mow (黔牟)               | intermedi-            |                          |
| [ate, "                          | " 695.                |                          |
| 17. E.....(懿)                    | " 667.                |                          |

35. Shin (慎), 413. Under Shin Wei lost its independence, and became attached  
to Wei (魏). We have after him:—36, Shing (聲), 371; 37, Ch'ing (成); he was  
reduced in rank; 38, P'ing (平), 331; 39, Tsze Keun (嗣君); still farther reduc-  
ed; 40, Hwae Keun (懷君), 281; 41, Yuen Keun (元君), 250; 42, Keun K'oh  
(君角), who was reduced to the condition of a private man by the second emperor  
of Ts'in.

## IV. Princes of Ts'ae (蔡). Surname Ke. Marquises.

|                                    |                                       |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Ts'ae Shuh-too (蔡叔度)            | 2. Ts'ae Chung-hoo (蔡仲胡)              |
| a brother of king Woo. Was         | Too's son.                            |
| subsequently banished. B.C. 1,121. | Was restored to Ts'ae, in B.C. 1,106. |
|                                    | (See the Shoo, V. xvii.)              |

|                                              |                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 3. Ts'ae Pih-hwang.....<br>(蔡伯荒) B.C. 1,052. | 14. Muh .....(穆), B.C. 673.                        |
| 4. Ts'ae Kung-how.....<br>(蔡宮侯), „ 946.      | 15. Chwang .....(莊), „ 644.                        |
| 5. Le .....(釐), „ 892.                       | 16. Wän .....(文), „ 610.                           |
| 6. Woo .....(武), „ 862.                      | 17. King .....(景), „ 590.                          |
| 7. E .....(夷), „ 836.                        | 18. Ling .....(靈), „ 541.                          |
| 8. He .....(僖), „ 808.                       | Killed in Ts'oo, in 530.                           |
| 9. Kung .....(共), „ 760.                     | 19. P'ing .....(平).<br>Restored by Ts'oo in „ 527. |
| 10. Tae .....(戴), „ 758.                     | 20. Taou .....(悼), „ 520.                          |
| 11. Senen .....(宣), „ 748.                   | 21. Ch'au .....(昭), „ 517.                         |
| 12. Hwan .....(桓), „ 713.                    | 22. Ch'ing .....(成), „ 489.                        |
| 13. Gae .....(哀), „ 693.                     | 23. Shing .....(聲), „ 470.                         |
| Died a captive in<br>Ts'oo, in „ 674.        | 24. Yuen .....(元), „ 455.                          |
|                                              | 25. Ts'e .....(齊), „ 449.                          |
|                                              | Ts'ae was extinguished by<br>[Ts'oo in „ 446.      |

V. Princes of Tsin (晉). Surname Ke. Marquises.

|                                                                                                            |                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. T'ang Shuh-yu (唐叔虞)<br>was invested with<br>T'ang in.....B.C. 1,106.                                    | 7. Le... .....(釐), B.C. 839.   |
| 2. His son Sëeh (燮) re-<br>moved to Tsin, and<br>was the first marquis<br>of that State. Then<br>we have:— | 8. Hëen .....(獻), „ 821.       |
| 3. Woo .....(武).                                                                                           | 9. Muh .....(穆), „ 810.        |
| 4. Ch'ing .....(成);                                                                                        | 10. Shang-shuh. (殤叔), „ 783.   |
| 5. Le .....(厲);<br>whose years cannot<br>be determined. Then<br>come:—                                     | 11. Wän .....(文), „ 779.       |
| 6. Tsing .....(靖), „ 857.                                                                                  | 12. Ch'au .....(昭), „ 744.     |
|                                                                                                            | 13. Hëaou .....(孝), „ 737.     |
|                                                                                                            | 14. Goh.....(鄂), „ 722.        |
|                                                                                                            | 15. Gae .....(哀), „ 716.       |
|                                                                                                            | 16. Sëaou-tsze... (小子), „ 707. |
|                                                                                                            | 17. Min ..... (緡), „ 702.      |

For several rules Tsin had been maintaining a failing struggle against that branch of the ruling House which had been established with the title of earl in K'ueh-yuh (曲沃); and Hwan Shuh (桓叔) and Chwang (莊伯), chiefs of K'ueh-yuh, enter in some lists into the line of the princes of Tsin. At last Ch'ing, the successor of Chwang Pih, put Min to death, in 678, and was acknowledged by the king as ruler of Tsin. He is:—

|                              |                               |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 18. Woo.....(武), B.C. 677.   | 25. Sëang .....(襄), B.C. 626. |
| 19. Hëen .....(獻), „ 675.    | 26. Ling.....(靈), „ 619.      |
| 20. He-ts'e ....(奚齊), „ 650. | 27. Ch'ing ....(成), „ 605.    |
| 21. Ch'oh-tsze (卓子), „ 650.  | 28. King.....(景), „ 598.      |
| 22. Hwuy .....(惠), „ 649.    | 29. Le.....(厲), „ 579.        |
| 23. Hwae.....(懷), „ 635.     | 30. Taou .....(悼), „ 571.     |
| 24. Wän.....(文), „ 634.      | 31. P'ing... (平), „ 556.      |

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 32. Ch'au ....(昭), B.C. 530. | 37. Yëw .....(幽), B.C. 437. |
| 33. K'ing.....(頃), „ 524.    | 38. Lëeh.....(烈), „ 418.    |
| 34. Ting.....(定), „ 510.     | 39. Hëaou.....(孝), „ 391.   |
| 35. Ch'uh.....(出), „ 473.    | 40. Tsing.....(靖), „ 376.   |
| 36. Gae.....(哀), „ 455.      |                             |

In his second year Tsing was deprived of his State and title. It had, indeed, been only a nominal position which the representatives of T'ang Shuh-yu had for some time enjoyed, for they were merely puppets in the hands of the marquis of Wei (魏). The great State of Tsin was broken up into three great marquises, which subsequently claimed to be kingdoms;—those of Wei (魏), Ch'au (趙), and Han (韓), the independent existence of which dates from 402, and which continued till they were absorbed by Ts'in.

VI. The princes of Ts'au (曹). Surname Ke. Earls.

|                                                 |                                      |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Chin-toh....(振鐸), a brother of<br>[king Woo. | 14. Le or He ... (釐 or 僖), B.C. 669. |
| 2. T'ae Pih....(太伯), B.C. 1,051.                | 15. Ch'au.....(昭), „ 660.            |
| 3. Chung Keun(仲君), „ 1,000.                     | 16. Kung.....(共), „ 651.             |
| 4. Kung Pih...(宮伯), „ 933.                      | 17. Wän.....(文), „ 616.              |
| 5. Hëaou Pih.(孝伯), „ 893.                       | 18. Senen.....(宣), „ 594.            |
| 6. E Pih.....(夷伯), „ 863.                       | 19. Ch'ing.....(成), „ 576.           |
| 7. Yëw Pih....(幽伯), „ 833.                      | 20. Woo .....(武), „ 553.             |
| 8. Tae Pih....(戴伯), „ 824.                      | 21. P'ing.....(平), „ 526.            |
| 9. Hwuy Pih..(惠伯), „ 794.                       | 22. Taou.....(悼), „ 522.             |
| 10. Shih-foo....(石甫), „ 759.                    | 23. Shing.....(聲), „ 513.            |
| 11. Duke Muh.(穆公), „ 758.                       | 24. Yin.....(隱), „ 508.              |
| 12. Hwan .....(桓), „ 755.                       | 25. Tsing.....(靖), „ 503.            |
| 13. Chwang....(莊), „ 700.                       | 26. Pih-yang... (伯陽), „ 500.         |

Pih-yang was made captive by Sui in 493, and Ts'au was then extinguished.

VII. Princes of Ch'ing (鄭). Surname Ke. Earls.

|                                                                                                                |                                |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Yëw (友), a brother of king<br>Senen, received investiture in<br>B.C. 805. He is known as duke<br>Hwan (桓公). | 9. Muh.....(穆), B.C. 626.      |
| 2. Woo.....(武), B.C. 769.                                                                                      | 10. Ling.....(靈), „ 604.       |
| 3. Chwang....(莊), „ 742.                                                                                       | 11. Sëang.....(襄), „ 603.      |
| 4. Ch'au ....(昭), „ 700.                                                                                       | 12. Taou.....(悼), „ 585.       |
| 5. Le .....(厲), 699. He fled from<br>the State in 696, and Ch'au<br>returned, but was murdered in<br>694.      | 13. Ch'ing... (成), „ 583.      |
| 6. Tsze-mei..(子臧), „ 694.                                                                                      | 14. Le. (釐), or He (僖), „ 569. |
| 7. Tsze-ying (子嬰), or Tsze-e<br>(子儀), 693. He was killed<br>in 679; and Le restored.                           | 15. Këen.....(簡), „ 564.       |
| 8. Wän.....(文), „ 671.                                                                                         | 16. Ting.....(定), „ 528.       |
|                                                                                                                | 17. Hëen.....(獻), „ 512.       |
|                                                                                                                | 18. Shing.....(聲), „ 499.      |
|                                                                                                                | 19. Gae.....(哀), „ 461.        |
|                                                                                                                | 20. Kung.....(共), „ 453.       |
|                                                                                                                | 21. Yëw .....(幽), „ 423.       |
|                                                                                                                | 22. Seu.....(緡), „ 421.        |

Seu was murdered in 395; but before that Ch'ing had become entirely dependent on the new State of Han. This allowed one other marquis known as Keun Yih (君乙), or duke K'ang (康), to be named; but extinguished the State in 374.

VIII. The princes of Woo (吳). Surname Ke. First, earls; then viscounts. After a time usurped the title of king.

The State of Woo, under a branch of the House of Chow, began before the rise of the Chow dynasty, under T'ae-pih (太伯); the eldest son of the lord of Chow afterwards king as king T'ae by his great-grandson the duke of Chow), who fled from Chow, along with his next brother, under the circumstances referred to in Ana.

VIII. i. He was the first ruler of Woo. We have:—

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. T'ae-pih ..... (太伯). | 4. Shuh-tah..... (叔達). |
| 2. Chung-yung (仲雍).     | 5. Chow-chang (周章).    |
| 3. Ke-k'een ..... (季簡). |                        |

In Chow-chang's time king Woo overthrew the dynasty of Shang, and confirmed him in the possession of Woo as a fief of the dynasty of Chow, with the title of earl. The point about the title is not clear; and we do not know when earl was exchanged for viscount. After Chow-chang we have:—

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 6. H'ung-suy ..... (熊遂).    | 13. E-woo ..... (夷吾).             |
| 7. Ko-s'ang ..... (柯相).     | 14. K'in-choo ..... (禽諸).         |
| 8. K'ang-k'ew-e..... (彊鳩夷). | 15. Chuen ..... (轉).              |
| 9. Yu-k'eaou-e-woo (餘橋疑吾).  | 16. P'o-kaou ..... (頗高).          |
| 10. Ko-loo ..... (柯廬).      | 17. Kow-pe ..... (句卑).            |
| 11. Chow-yaou ..... (周繇).   | 18. K'eu-ts'e ..... (去齊).         |
| 12. K'eu-yu ..... (屈羽).     | 19. Show-mung ... (壽夢), B.C. 584. |

In his time Woo first began to have communication with the northern States which constituted the kingdom of Chow proper. Most of the names of its princes do not sound like Chinese names.

- |                                    |                                 |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 20. Choo-fan. .... (諸樊). B.C. 559. | 23. L'eaou ..... (僚), B.C. 525. |
| 21. Yu-chae..... (餘祭), „ 546.      | 24. Hoh-leu ..... (闔廬), „ 513.  |
| 22. Yu-moh ..... (餘昧), „ 542.      | 25. Foo-ch'ae ... (夫差), „ 494.  |

In 472 the king of Yueh extinguished Woo, when Foo-ch'ae killed himself.

IX. The princes of Yen (燕). Surname Ke. Sometimes called marquises, sometimes only earls. In the end assumed the title of king.

Descended from Shih, duke of Shaou (召公奭), often mentioned in the Shoo (See V. xvi., *et al.*). He was the first ruler of Yen. Eight of his descendants, whose names and years cannot be ascertained are said to have ruled in it, and we come to:—

- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 10. Hwuy ... (惠侯) B.C. 863.    | 15. Muh ..... (穆侯), B.C. 727. |
| 11. He (僖侯) or Le (釐侯), „ 825. | 16. Seuon ... (宣侯), „ 709.    |
| 12. K'ing ... (頃侯), „ 789.     | 17. Hwan ... (桓侯), „ 696.     |
| 13. Gae ..... (哀侯), „ 765.     | 18. Duke Chwang (莊公), „ 689.  |
| 14. Chi'ng ... (鄭侯), „ 763.    | 19. S'ang ... (襄侯), „ 656.    |

- |                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 20. Seuon ... (宣), B.C. 616. | 32. Ch'ing. .... (成), B.C. 448.  |
| 21. Ch'au ..... (昭), „ 600.  | 33. Min ..... (閔), „ 432.        |
| 22. Woo ..... (武), „ 585.    | 34. Leor He .. (釐 or 僖), „ 401.  |
| 23. W'án ..... (文), „ 572.   | 35. Hwan ..... (桓), „ 371.       |
| 24. E ..... (懿), „ 547.      | 36. W'án ... (文), „ 360.         |
| 25. Hwuy ..... (惠), „ 543.   | 37. King Yih (易王), „ 331.        |
| 26. Taou ... (悼), „ 534.     | 28. Yih's son K'wae (子噲), „ 319. |
| 27. Kung ..... (共), „ 527.   | 39. Ch'au ... (昭王), „ 310.       |
| 28. P'ing ..... (平), „ 522.  | 40. Hwuy ... (惠王), „ 277.        |
| 29. K'een ..... (簡), „ 503.  | 41. Woo-ch'ing (武成王), „ 270.     |
| 30. H'een ... (獻), „ 491.    | 42. Heaou ... (孝王), „ 256.       |
| 31. H'eaou ..... (孝), „ 463. | 43. The king He (王喜), „ 253.     |
- He was made captive, and the State extinguished, by Ts'in in 221.

X. The princes of Ch'in (陳). Surname Kwei (媯), as being descended from Shun. Marquises.

King Woo, it is said, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to a Kwei Mwan (媯滿), the son of his chief potter, and invested him with Ch'in. He was the first marquis, and is known as duke Hoo (胡公). After him come:—

- |                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2. Shin ..... (申).           | 12. Hwan ..... (桓), „ 743. |
| 3. S'ang ..... (相).          | 13. Le ..... (厲), „ 705.   |
| 4. H'eaou ... (孝).           | 14. Le ..... (利), „ 699.   |
| 5. Shin ..... (慎).           | 15. Chwang (莊), „ 698.     |
| 6. Y'ew ..... (幽), B.C. 853. | 16. Seuon ... (宣), „ 691.  |
| 7. Le (釐) or He (僖), „ 830.  | 17. Muh ..... (穆), „ 646.  |
| 8. Woo ..... (武), „ 795.     | 18. Kung ..... (共), „ 630. |
| 9. E ..... (夷), „ 780.       | 19. Ling ..... (靈), „ 612. |
| 10. P'ing ..... (平), „ 777.  | 20. Ch'ing ... (成), „ 597. |
| 11. W'án ..... (文), „ 754.   | 21. Gae ..... (哀), „ 567.  |

Gae strangled himself in 533, and the State was held by a prince of Ts'oo till 528, when the Kwei line was restored. We have:—

- |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 22. Hwuy ... (惠), B.C. 527 | 24. Min ..... (閔), B.C. 500. |
| 23. Hwae. ... (懷), „ 504.  |                              |

Min was killed, and the State extinguished by Ts'oo, in 478,—the year in which Confucius died.

XI. The princes of Sung (宋). Surname Tsze (子), as being the descendants of the sovereigns of Yin or Shang, the representatives of T'ang the Successful.

- |                                                                                                  |                                         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. K'e, viscount of Wei (微子啟), was made duke of Sung,—say in B.C. 1,111 (See the Shoo, V. viii.) | 3. K'e, duke of Sung (宋公稽), B.C. 1,052. |
| 2. Wei Chung (微仲), B.C. 1,077.                                                                   | 4. Duke Ting (丁公), „ 999.               |
|                                                                                                  | 5. Min ..... (湣), „ 934.                |

|                 |          |           |                    |      |           |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|--------------------|------|-----------|
| 6. Yang .....   | (煬)      | B.C. 907. | 20. Ch'ing .....   | (成)  | B.C. 635. |
| 7. Le .....     | (厲)      | " 892.    | 21. Ch'au .....    | (昭)  | " 618.    |
| 8. Le .....     | (釐)      | " 857.    | 22. Wán .....      | (文)  | " 609.    |
| 9. Hwuy.....    | (惠)      | " 829.    | 23. Kung.....      | (共)  | " 587.    |
| 10. Gae.....    | (哀)      | " 799.    | 24. P'ing .....    | (平)  | " 574.    |
| 11. Tae.....    | (戴)      | " 798.    | 25. Yuen .....     | (元)  | " 530.    |
| 12. Woo .....   | (武)      | " 764.    | 26. King.....      | (景)  | " 515.    |
| 13. Seuen ..... | (宣)      | " 746.    | 27. Ch'au ...      | (昭)  | " 451.    |
| 14. Muh .....   | (穆)      | " 727.    | 28. Taou .....     | (悼)  | " 403.    |
| 15. Shang ..... | (殤)      | " 718.    | 29. Hëw .....      | (休)  | " 394.    |
| 16. Chwang ...  | (莊)      | " 703.    | 30. Peih .....     | (辟)  | " 371.    |
| 17. Min ...     | (閔 or 湣) | " 690.    | 31. T'eih-ch'ing.. | (剔成) | " 368.    |
| 18. Hwan .....  | (桓)      | " 580.    | 32. Yen .....      | (偃)  | " 327.    |
| 19. Sëang ..... | (襄)      | " 649.    |                    |      |           |

Yen took the title of king in 317, but Sung was extinguished by Ts'e in 285, and Yen fled to Wán and there died. Indeed from the time of duke Taou, Sung had become dependant on Ts'e. There is much difficulty in fixing the number of years that dukes King and the second Ch'au ruled.

XII. The princes of Ts'e (齊). Surname Këang (姜), as being descended from Yaou's chief minister. Marquises.

1. Shang-foo (尚父), who appears to have been one of the principal advisers of Wán and Woo both in peace and war, was invested by Woo with Ts'e, and is known as Tae Kung (太公). Then we have:—

|                        |             |                       |           |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 2. Duke Ting(丁公),      | B.C. 1,076. | 16. Hëaou....(孝),     | B.C. 641. |
| 3. Yih ... ..(乙),      | „ 1,050.    | 17. Ch'au...(昭),      | „ 631.    |
| 4. Kwei .....(癸),      | „ 999.      | 18. E.....(懿),        | „ 611.    |
| 5. Gae ... ..(哀),      | „ 933.      | 19. Hwuy....(惠),      | „ 607.    |
| 6. Hoo ... ..(胡),      | „ 892.      | 20. K'ing.....(頃),    | „ 597.    |
| 7. Hëen .....(獻),      | „ 858.      | 21. Ling.....(靈),     | „ 580.    |
| 8. Woo .....(武),       | „ 849.      | 22. Chwang..(莊),      | „ 552.    |
| 9. Le .....(厲),        | „ 823.      | 23. King .....(景),    | „ 546.    |
| 10. Wán .....(文),      | „ 814.      | 24. Gan Yu-tsze(晏孺子), | „ 488.    |
| 11. Ch'ing. ..(成),     | „ 802.      | 25. Taou .....(悼),    | „ 487.    |
| 12. Chwang. .(莊),      | „ 793.      | 26. Këen .....(簡),    | „ 483.    |
| 13. Le or He (釐 or 僖), | „ 729.      | 27. P'ing .....(平),   | „ 479.    |
| 14. Sëang....(襄),      | „ 696.      | 28. Seuen....(宣),     | „ 454.    |
| 15. Hwan....(桓),       | „ 683.      | 29. K'ang....(康),     | „ 403.    |

For a considerable time the princes of Ts'e had been at the mercy of the Heads of the Ch'in (陳) family, the most powerful in the State. A prince of Ch'in took refuge in Ts'e in B.C. 671 (See the Chuen on III. xxii. 3), and his descendants ere long grew into a powerful clan, and conceived the idea of superseding the line of

Këang. They were known as Ch'ins (陳), but that surname they exchanged for T'ëen (田);—it is not known when or why. In 390 T'ëen Ho (田和) removed duke K'ang from his capital, and placed him in a city near the sea, where he might maintain the sacrifices to his ancestors; and there he led an inglorious life till 378, when the line of Këang came to a close. T'ëen Ho made application to the king of Chow and to the feudal princes to be acknowledged himself as marquis of Ts'e, which was acceded to, and his first year dates from 385.

Of the line of T'ëen in Ts'e we have:—

|                       |           |                |     |           |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------------|-----|-----------|
| 1. T'ae-kung Ho (太公和) | B.C. 385. | 5. Min .....   | (湣) | B.C. 312. |
| 2. Hwan... (桓)        | " 383.    | 6. Sëang ..... | (襄) | " 281.    |
| 3. King Wei. (威王)     | " 377.    | 7. Këen.....   | (建) | " 263.    |
| 4. King Seuen (宣王)    | " 331.    |                |     |           |

Këen continued till the first year of the dynasty of Ts'in, B.C. 220, when he made his submission to the new Power, and the independent existence of Ts'e ceased.

XIII. The princes of Ts'oo (楚). Surname Me (芊). Viscounts.

They claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-heuh (顓頊); but the first who had the surname Me appears to have been a Ke-lëen (季連), about the dawn of historic times. A Yuh Heung (鬻熊) is mentioned with distinction in the time of king Wán, and his great-grandson, Heung Yih (熊繹), was invested with Ts'oo by king Ch'ing, as a viscount. It was not very long till the title of viscount was discarded, and that of king usurped. The Hëung was a clan-name, derived from Yuh Heung.

|                                                                                                              |             |                                        |               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Hëung Yih (熊繹).                                                                                           |             | 17. King Woo ... (武王),                 | B.C. 739.     |
| 2. Hëung E ... (艾)                                                                                           | B.C. 1,077. | The title of king was assumed in 703.  |               |
| 3. " Tah (黜)                                                                                                 | " 1,051.    | 18. Wán .....                          | (文), " 688.   |
| 4. " Shing (勝)                                                                                               | " 1,000.    | 19. Heung Këen, title Chwang-gaou      | (艱莊敖), " 675. |
| 5. " Yang (楊)                                                                                                | " 945.      | 20. King Ch'ing (成王)                   | " 670.        |
| 6. " K'eu (渠). He assumed the title of king about 886, but gave it up again through fear of king Le of Chow. |             | 21. Muh ...                            | (穆), " 624.   |
| 7. Hëung Che-hung (摯紅)                                                                                       | B.C. 866.   | 22. Chwang.....                        | (莊), " 612.   |
| 8. " Yen (延)                                                                                                 | " 865.      | 23. Kung ...                           | (共), " 589.   |
| 9. " Yung (勇)                                                                                                | " 845.      | 24. K'ang ...                          | (康), " 558.   |
| 10. " Yen (嚴)                                                                                                | " 836.      | 25. Hëung Keun, title Këah-gaou (麇曰剡敖) | " 543.        |
| 11. " Sëang (霜)                                                                                              | " 826.      | 26. King Ling... (靈王)                  | " 539.        |
| 12. " Seun (徇)                                                                                               | " 820.      | 27. P'ing .....                        | (平), " 527.   |
| 13. " Oh ... (嚳)                                                                                             | " 798.      | 28. Ch'au ...                          | (昭), " 514.   |
| 14. " E, title Joh-gaou (儀曰若敖)                                                                               | " 789.      | 29. Hwuy.....                          | (惠), " 487.   |
| 15. " K'an, title Sëaou-gaou (坎霄敖)                                                                           | " 762.      | 30. Këen .....                         | (簡), " 430.   |
| 16. " Heuen, title Fun-maou (胸蚡冒)                                                                            | " 756.      | 31. Shing.....                         | (聲), " 406.   |
|                                                                                                              |             | 32. Taou .....                         | (悼), " 400.   |
|                                                                                                              |             | 33. Suh... ..                          | (肅), " 379.   |
|                                                                                                              |             | 34. Seuen.....                         | (宣), " 368.   |

35. Wei ..... (威), B.C. 338. 39. Yëw ..... (幽), B.C. 236.  
 36. Hwae ..... (懷), „ 327. 40. The King Hoo-ts'oo (王  
 37. K'ing-s'ang (頃襄), „ 294. (負芻) „ 226.  
 38. K'aou-lëeh .. (考烈), „ 261. Ts'in extinguished Ts'oo in 222.

XIV. The princes of Ts'in (秦). Surname Ying (嬴). At first only earls.

They claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-heuh, through Pih-e (伯翳) or Pih-yih (伯益), the forester of Shun (Shoo, II. i. 22), who is said to have given him the surname of Ying. Sze-ma Ts'ên traces the family down through the Hsia and Shang dynasties, but there is much that is evidently fabulous in the statements which he makes. At last we arrive at the time of king Hëaou of Chow, who was so pleased with the ability displayed by Fei-tsze (非子), a scion of the family, in keeping cattle, that he employed him to look after his herds of horses, 'between the K'ëen and the Wei (汧渭之間);' and invested him with the small territory of Ts'in, as chief of an attached State, there to maintain the sacrifices to the Ying. Fei-tsze occupies the first place in the list of the princes of Ts'in.

1. Fei-tsze, ... (非子), B.C. 908. 4. Ts'in Chung... (秦仲), B.C. 843.  
 2. Ts'in How. (秦侯), „ 856. 5. Duke Chwang (莊公), „ 820.  
 3. Kung-pih.. (公伯), „ 846. 6. S'ang..... (襄), „ 776.

S'ang gave important assistance to the House of Chow in the troubles connected with the death of king Yëw, and the removal of the capital by king Ping to the east, and his rank was raised in 769 to that of earl, and Ts'in had now an independent existence among the other fiefs of Chow. Its territory was also greatly increased, and S'ang received, what Chinese writers think was of evil omen, the old domain of the princes of Chow from mount K'ie westwards.

7. Duke Wän .. (文公), B.C. 764. 23. Tsaou .. (躁), B.C. 441.  
 8. Ning ..... (寧), „ 714. 24. Hwae..... (懷), „ 427.  
 9. Ch'uh-tsze ... (出子), „ 702. 25. Ling ..... (靈), „ 423.  
 10. Woo... .. (武), „ 696. 26. K'een ..... (簡), „ 413.  
 11. Tih..... (德), „ 676. 27. Hwuy ... .. (惠), „ 398.  
 12. Seuen..... (宣), „ 674. 28. Ch'uh-tsze... (出子), „ 385.  
 13. Ch'ing ... .. (成), „ 662. 29. H'een ..... (獻), „ 383.  
 14. Muh ... .. (穆), „ 658. 30. Hëaou ... .. (孝), „ 360.  
 15. K'ang ... .. (康), „ 619. 31. King Hwuy-wän (惠文  
 16. Kung ..... (共), „ 607. 王), „ 336.  
 17. Hwan..... (桓), „ 603. It was in B.C. 324 that the title  
 18. King ..... (景), „ 575. of king was first assumed.  
 19. Gae ... .. (哀), „ 535. 32. King Woo... (武王) „ 309.  
 20. Hwuy..... (惠), „ 499. 33. Ch'aou-s'ang (昭襄), „ 305.  
 21. Taou ..... (悼), „ 490. 34. Hëaou-wän.. (孝文), „ 249.  
 22. Le-kung ..... (厲共), „ 475. 35. Chwang-s'ang (莊襄), „ 248.  
 36. Ching ..... (政), „ 245.

Became king in 245, and succeeded in establishing his sway over all the other States in 220, from which year dates the commencement of the Ts'in dynasty. He reigned under the style of 始皇帝, emperor the First, till 209. In 208 he was succeeded by his son, emperor the Second (二世皇帝), and with his death in 204 the short-lived dynasty may be said to have ended.

IT SEEMS DESIRABLE AT THE CLOSE OF THIS CHAPTER TO  
 APPEND A TABLE OF THE CYCLE OF SIXTY.

|       |       |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 甲子  | 16 己卯 | 31 甲午 | 46 己酉 |
| 2 乙丑  | 17 庚辰 | 32 乙未 | 47 庚戌 |
| 3 丙寅  | 18 辛巳 | 33 丙申 | 48 辛亥 |
| 4 丁卯  | 19 壬午 | 34 丁酉 | 49 壬子 |
| 5 戊辰  | 20 癸未 | 35 戊戌 | 50 癸丑 |
| 6 己巳  | 21 甲申 | 36 己亥 | 51 甲寅 |
| 7 庚午  | 22 乙酉 | 37 己丑 | 52 乙卯 |
| 8 辛未  | 23 丙戌 | 38 庚寅 | 53 丙辰 |
| 9 壬申  | 24 丁亥 | 39 辛卯 | 54 丁巳 |
| 10 癸酉 | 25 戊子 | 40 壬辰 | 55 戊午 |
| 11 甲戌 | 26 己丑 | 41 甲辰 | 56 己未 |
| 12 乙亥 | 27 庚寅 | 42 乙巳 | 57 庚申 |
| 13 丙子 | 28 辛卯 | 43 丙午 | 58 辛酉 |
| 14 丁丑 | 29 壬辰 | 44 丁未 | 59 壬戌 |
| 15 戊寅 | 30 癸巳 | 45 戊申 | 60 癸亥 |



## CHAPTER III.

THE CHINA OF THE CH'UN TS'EW PERIOD:—CONSIDERED IN  
RELATION TO ITS TERRITORIAL EXTENT; THE  
DISORDER WHICH PREVAILED; THE GROWTH AND ENCROACH-  
MENTS OF THE LARGER STATES; AND THE BARBAROUS  
TRIBES WHICH SURROUNDED IT.

1. On the territorial extent of the kingdom of Chow, and the names of the feudal States composing it, during the Ch'nn Ts'ew period, I have nothing to add to what I have said on the same subjects for the period embraced in the Book of Poetry, on pp. 127–131 of the prolegomena to volume IV. A study of the large map accompanying this Chapter, in its two-fold form, with the names on the one in English and on the other in Chinese, will give the reader a more correct idea of these points than many pages of description could do. The period of the Book of Poetry overlapped that of the Ch'un Ts'ew by more than a hundred years. No new State arose during the latter, though several came into greater prominence than had formerly belonged to them; and the enlargement of territory which took place arose chiefly from the greater development which the position of Tsin, Ts'oo, and Ts'in enabled them to give themselves.

2. It is often said that the period embraced in the Ch'un Ts'ew was one of disorder,—a social and political disorganization to be compared with the physical disorder caused by the inundating waters  
Disorder of the Ch'un Ts'ew period;—  
referred to its causes. } which called forth the labours of the  
great Yu so many ages before.<sup>1</sup> Mencius tells us that the Classic does not contain a single instance of a righteous war, a war, according to him, being righteous only when the supreme authority had marshalled its forces to punish some disobedient vassal, whereas, during the period chronicled by Confucius, we have nothing but the strifes and collisions of the various feudal States among themselves.<sup>2</sup> This is not absolutely correct, but it is an approximation to the truth. The disorder of the period, however, was only the sequel of the disorder that preceded it. Not long before it commenced, king P'ing had transferred the capital to the east in 769, in consequence of the death of his father king Y'ew at the hands of some of the wild tribes of the Jung. This movement was an open acknowledgment of the weakness of the sovereign

power, which had been brought very low towards the end of the first half of the 9th century, B.C., and had only partially revived during the long reign of king Seuen. I doubt, indeed, whether it had been very strong in what is regarded as its golden age, after the duke of Chow had consolidated the dynasty, and introduced his code of ceremonial and political regulations. The theory was then good, but the practice was very indifferent.

The process of degeneracy and disintegration, however, was very marked from the beginning of the 9th century. It is an acknowledged fact that about B.C. 880 the chief of the powerful southern State of Ts'oo usurped for a time the title of king, and wished to declare himself independent of the kings of Chow. When the Ch'un Ts'ew period opens upon us, we find existing an all but anarchal condition of things. There was virtually no king in China in those days, and the lord of each feudal State did what was right in his own eyes. In 706, the earl of Ch'ing the most recently established of all the States, if perhaps we should except Ts'in, engaged in hostilities with the king himself, who was wounded in the battle between them.

King Woo and the duke of Chow had parcelled out their conquest—the kingdom of Shang—among the scions of their own family and their adherents of other surnames, with the representatives of T'ang the Successful and other great Names in the previous history of the country. How many the feudal States, great and small, were at the most, I will not venture to say even approximately. The theory of the constitution left them very considerable liberty in the administration of their internal affairs, and in their relations with one another. They were to be content with their allotments of territory and not infringe on those of their neighbours, maintaining a good mutual understanding by means of court visits<sup>3</sup> and visits of friendship or compliment,<sup>4</sup> and by interchanging communications on all important events occurring within their borders. Any breaking of the peace or unjust attack of one State by another was to be represented to the royal court, and the king would then call into the field the unwieldy forces at his disposal, and deal justice on the offender.

But this beautiful theory of government presupposed a wonderful freedom from jealousy and ambition on the part of the feudal lords, and an overwhelming superiority of force on the part of the king; and, neither of these things existing, the constitution of the kingdom was torn into shreds. Instead of the harmony which the

principles of benevolence and righteousness, carried out with courtesy and in accordance with the rules of propriety, should have produced, we find the States biting and devouring one another, while the large and strong oppressed and absorbed the small and weak. In the Chuen on IX. xxix. 7, during a dispute at the court of Tsin on some encroachments which Loo had made on the territory of K'e, an officer reminds the marquis of what Tsin itself had done in the same way. 'The princes,' said he, 'of Yu, Kwoh, Tsëaou, Hwah, Hoh, Yang, Han, and Wei were Kes, and Tsin's greatness is owing to its absorbing of their territories. If it had not encroached on the small States, where would it have found territory to take? Since the times of Woo and Hëen, we have annexed many of them, and who can call us to account for what we have done?' The fact was that Might had come to take the place of Right; and while statesmen were ever ready to talk of the fundamental principles of justice, benevolence, and loyalty, the process of spoliation went on.<sup>5</sup> The number of States was continually becoming less, the smaller melting away into the larger. 'The good old rule' came more and more into vogue,

'the simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.'

3. To ameliorate the evils arising from this state of disorder and anarchy, and to keep it moreover in check, there arose during the Ch'un Ts'ëw period the singular device of presiding chiefs,—the

The system of presiding chiefs. system of one State taking the lead and direction of all the others, and exercising really royal functions throughout the kingdom, while yet there was a profession of loyal attachment to the House of Chow. The seeds of this contrivance were sown, perhaps, at the very commencement of the dynasty, when the dukes of Chow and Shaou were appointed viceroys over the eastern and western portions of the kingdom respectively, and other princes were made, on their first investiture, 'chiefs of regions,'<sup>1</sup> embracing their own States and others adjacent to them. These arrangements were disused as the kings of Chow felt secure in their supremacy over all the States, and the nominees in the first instance had been sincerely loyal and devoted to the establishment of the dynasty; but now in the Ch'un Ts'ëw period the kings were not

<sup>5</sup> See the discourse of Ke Wän-tsze in the Chuen on VI. xviii. 9 as a specimen of the admirable sentiments which men, themselves of questionable character and course, could express.

<sup>1</sup> 方伯

sufficiently sure of any of their vassals to delegate them to such an office. When one raised himself to the position, they were obliged unwillingly to confirm him in it.

Five of these presiding chiefs are named during the time under our review<sup>2</sup>:—Hwan of Ts'e (683–642); Wän of Tsin (634–627); Sëang of Sung (649–636); Muh of Ts'in (658–620); and Chwang of Ts'oo (612–590). The first two, however, are the best, and I think the only representatives of the system. Hwan was endowed with an extraordinary amount of magnanimity, and Wän had been disciplined by a long experience of misfortune, and was subtle and scheming. Both of them were fully acknowledged as directors and controllers of the States generally by the court of Chow; and it seems to me not unlikely that if Wän had been a younger man when he came to the marquisate of Tsin, and his rule had been protracted to as great a length as that of Hwan, he would have gone on to supersede the dynasty of Chow altogether, and we should have had a dynasty of Tsin nearly nine hundred years earlier than it occurs in Chinese chronology. As it was, his successors, till nearly the end of the Ch'un Ts'ëw period, claimed for their State the leading place in the kingdom; and it was generally conceded to them. Though the system of which I am speaking be connected with the names of the five princes which I have mentioned, it yet continued to subsist after them. They were simply the first to vindicate, or to endeavour to vindicate, a commanding influence for the States to which they belonged throughout the kingdom; and though neither Hwan nor Wän had any one among their successors fully equal to them, they had many who tried to assert a supremacy, and Tsin, as I have said, was long acknowledged to be 'lord of covenants.'

Sëang of Sung was not entitled to a place among the five chiefs, either from his own character, or from the strength and resources of his State. He appears rather as a madman than a man of steady purpose; and many scholars exclude his name from the category, and introduce instead Hoh-leu of Woo or Kow-ts'ëen of Yueh. Nor is Muh of Ts'in much better entitled to the place assigned to him, for though he was a prince of very superior character to Sëang, his influence was felt only in the west of the kingdom, and not by the States generally. Chwang of Ts'oo, moreover, did certainly exercise the influence of a chief over several of the States, but he was not acknowledged as such by the king of Chow, and the

<sup>2</sup> See Mencius, VI. Pt. ii. VII.

title of king which he claimed for himself sufficiently showed his feeling and purpose towards the existing dynasty. Still he and other kings of Ts'oo called the States frequently together, and many responded to their summons, knowing that a refusal would incur their resentment, and be visited with direst punishment.

I am inclined to believe that the system of presiding chiefs, or rather of leading States, did in a degree mitigate the evils of the prevailing disorder. Ts'e and Tsin certainly kept in check the encroachments of Ts'oo, which, barbarous as it was, would otherwise have speedily advanced to the overthrow of the House of Chow. Yet the system increased the misery that abounded, and if it retarded, perhaps, the downfall of the descendants of king Woo, it served to show that that was unavoidable in the end. It was most anomalous,—an *imperium in imperio*,—and weakened the bond of loyal attachment to the throne. Of what use were the kings of Chow, if they could not do their proper work of government, but must be continually devolving it on one or other of their vassals? No line of rulers can continue to keep possession of the supreme authority in a nation, if their incompetency be demonstrated for centuries together. The sentimental loyalty of Confucius had lost its attractions by the time of Mencius, who was ever on the outlook for 'a minister of Heaven,' who should make an end of Chow and of the contentions among the warring States together.

But the system also increased the expenditure of the smaller States. There still remained their dues to the kings of Chow, even though they paid them so irregularly that we have instances of messengers being sent from court to Loo, and doubtless they were sent to other States as well, to beg for money and other supplies. But they had also to meet the requisitions of the ruling State, and sometimes of more than one at the same time. There are many allusions in the narratives of Tso to the arbitrariness and severity of those requisitions. On X. xiii. 5, 6, for instance, we find Tszech'an of Ch'ing disputing on this point with the ministers of Tsin. 'Formerly,' said he, 'the sons of Heaven regulated the amount of contribution according to the rank of the State. Ch'ing ranks as the territory of an earl or a baron, and yet its contribution is now on the scale of a duke or a marquis. There is no regular rule for what we have to pay; and when our small State fails in rendering what is required, it is held to be an offender. When our contributions and offerings have no limit set to them, we have only to wait for our ruin.' It is evident, as we study the history of this system

of a leading State, that there was no help to come from it to the House of Chow, and no permanent alleviation of the evils under which the nation was suffering.

4. At the close of the Ch'un Ts'ew period the kingdom was in a worse and more hopeless condition than at its commencement; and it seems strange to us that it did not enter into the mind of Confucius to forecast that the feudal system which had so long prevailed in China was 'waxen old and ready to vanish away.' But what State was to come out victorious from its conflicts with all the others, and take the lead in settling a new order of things? Only the event could reveal this, but it could be known that the struggle for supremacy would lie between two or three powers; and the

The growth of some of the States an important subject of study. The causes of it. } study of their growth supplies one of the most important lessons which the Work of the sage and the Commentary of Tso are calculated to teach us.

A glance at the map shows us that the China proper of Chow was confined at first within narrow limits. Even at the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'ew period it consisted of merely a few States of no great size, lying on either side of the Yellow River, from the point where its channel makes a sudden bend to the east onwards to its mouth.

North of the Royal Domain was Tsin, but, though a fief dating from the commencement of the kingdom, its growth had been so slow, that it is not till the second year of duke He, B.C. 657, that it appears in Confucius' text, on the eve of its subjugation of the small States of Yu and Kwoh. This was the first step which Tsin took in the career of enlargement by which it ere long attained to so great a size.

South of the Domain was Ts'oo; and, though it had been founded in the time of king Ch'ing, it does not appear in the text of our Classic till the tenth year of duke Chwang, B.C. 683. It is then called King, and we do not meet with it under the name of Ts'oo till the first year of duke He, B.C. 658.

West from the Domain was Ts'in, the first lord of which was given a local habitation and name only in B.C. 908; and it did not become an independent fief of the kingdom till the year 769. Its first appearance in our text is in the fifteenth year of duke He, B.C. 644.

A long way east from Ts'oo, and bordering on the sea, was the State of Woo, which, though claiming an earlier origin than the kingdom of Chow itself, is not mentioned in the classic till the seventh year of duke Ch'ing, B.C. 583.

But it will be observed that these four States had from their situation grand opportunities for increasing their territory and their population; and the consequence was that before the end of the Ch'un Ts'ew period each of them occupied an extent of country many times larger than the Royal Domain, while Ts'oo was nearly as large as all the Middle States, as those of Chow proper were called, together. The way in which it and Tsin proceeded was by extinguishing and absorbing the smaller States adjacent to them, and by a constant process of subjugating the barbarous tribes, which lay on the south and west of Ts'oo, and on the north and east of Tsin. Ts'in lay farther off from the settled parts of the country, and its princes had not so much to do in absorbing smaller States, but they early established their sway over all the Jung, or the wild hordes of the west. The leadership, which I have said in the preceding paragraph is improperly ascribed to duke Muh of Ts'in as being over the feudal States belonged to him in his relation to the Jung. The sea forbade any extension of the border of Woo on the east, but it found much land to be occupied on the north and south, and its armies, going up the K'ang or Yang-tsze, met those of Ts'oo, and fought with them for the possession of the country between that great river and the Hwae.

The States of Chow proper had little room for any similar expansion. They were closely massed together. From the first immigration of the ancestors of the Chinese tribe, their course had been eastwards and mainly along the course of the Yellow River, and most of the older occupants of the country had been pushed before them to the borders of the sea. Ts'e extended right to the sea, and so did Ke which the other absorbed. Then came the small States of K'e and Keu, the latter of which had a sea border, while they do not seem to have ever thought of pushing their way into what is now called the promontory of Shan-tung. The people of both K'e and Keu were often taunted by the other States with belonging themselves to the E barbarians. South from Keu there was a tract extending inland a considerable way, occupied by E tribes and the half-civilized people of Seu, and reaching down to the hordes of the Hwae, which Loo pleased itself with the idea of reducing,<sup>1</sup> but which it was never able to reduce. Altogether there was, as I have said, hardly any room for the growth of these middle States. Ts'e was the strongest of them, and longest maintained its independence, ultimately absorbing Sung, which had itself previously absorbed Ts'aou. Of the others, Heu, Ts'ae, Ch'in, the two Choo, Loo, and in the end

<sup>1</sup> See the She, Part, IV., Bk. II., ode III.

Ch'ing fell to Ts'oo, and Wei became dependent on one of the marquisates or kingdoms into which Tsin was divided.

Woo for a time made rapid progress, and seemed as if it would at least wrest the sovereignty of the south from Ts'oo; but its downfall was more rapid than its rise had been. It was extinguished by Yueh a very few years after the close of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and Yueh itself had ere long to succumb to Ts'oo.

Thus, as time went on, it became increasingly clear that the final struggle for the supreme power would be between Ts'in and Ts'oo. If Tsin had remained entire, it would probably have been more than a match for them both; but the elements of disorganization had long been at work in it, and it was divided, about the year B.C. 400, into three marquisates. The lords of these soon claimed, all of them, the title of king, and the way in which they maintained for a century and a half the struggle with Ts'in and Ts'oo shows how great the power of Tsin unbroken would have been. Ts'e and Yen also assumed the royal style, and made a gallant defence against the powers of the west and the south; but they would not have held out so long as they did but for the distance which intervened between them and the centres of both their adversaries. Ts'in at last bore down all opposition, and though of all the great States that developed during the Ch'un Ts'ew period it was the latest to make its appearance, it remained master of the field. From the kings of Chow it cannot be said to have met with any resistance. Their history for three hundred years before the extinction of the dynasty is almost a blank. They continued to hold a nominal occupancy of the throne so long only because there were so many other princes contending for it.

The above review of the closing centuries of the dynasty of Chow, and of its overthrow by the king of Ts'in, seems to prove, brief as it has been, that, given a number of warring States or nations, victory will in the long run declare itself in favour of that one which has the most extensive territory and the largest population. Ts'in and Ts'oo, when they first came into contact with the States of Chow proper, were, no doubt, inferior to them in the arts of civilization generally, and among these of the art of war; but they had vast resources and a rude energy, which compensated in the first place for want of skill, and they soon learned from their adversaries whatever was required for their effective application. A fixedness of purpose and recklessness in the expenditure of human life characterized their measures, and the struggle came at last to be mainly

between themselves. It ended more from the exhaustion of the combatants than from any real superiority on the part of Ts'in.

While the downfall of Chow has led me thus to speak of the success which must inevitably attend the efforts of the combatant whose resources are the greatest, if the contents of my volume led me to trace the history of China downwards for a few more years, it would be as evident that, while material strength is sure, when not deficient in warlike skill, to gain a conquest, it cannot consolidate it. The brief existence of the Ts'in dynasty seemed but to afford a breathing time to the warring States, and then China became once more horrid with the din of arms. Most of the States which had contended over the throne of Chow again took the field, and others with them, until, after sixteen years more of strife and misery, the contest was decided in favour of the House of Han, which joined to force of arms respect for the traditions of the country, and a profession at least of reverence for the virtues of justice and benevolence.

6. An incident occurred during the time of duke Sëang which deserves to have attention called to it, as illustrating the saying that 'there is nothing new under the sun,' where we should not expect its illustration. The strife between Ts'oo and Tsin was then at its height; and the States generally were groaning under the miseries which it occasioned. It occurred to Hëang Seuh, a minister of Sung, that he would be deserving well of the country if he could put an end to the constant wars. The idea of a Peace Society took possession of his mind. He was by no means without ability himself, and had a faculty for negotiation and intrigue. He was, no doubt, sincerely desirous to abate the evils which abounded, but we are sorry to find that he was ambitious also 'to get a name' for himself by his measure, and had an eye to more substantial advantages as well. How his scheme worked itself out in his own mind we do not know; but after long brooding over it, he succeeded in giving it a practical shape, which may have been modified by the force of circumstances.

Being on friendly terms with the chief ministers of Tsin and Ts'oo, he first submitted his plan to them, and procured their assent to it. In Tsin they said, 'War is destructive to the people and eats up our resources; and it is the greatest calamity of the small States. Seuh's plan will perhaps turn out impracticable, but we must give it our sanction; for if we do not, Ts'oo will do it, and so improve its position with the States to our disadvantage.' Similarly they

reasoned and agreed in Ts'oo, Ts'e, and Ts'in, The great powers appeared all to be willing.

Having succeeded thus far, Seuh proceeded to call a meeting of the States generally, and in the summer of 535 the representatives of not fewer than fourteen of them met in the capital of Sung. Various jealousies were displayed in making the arrangements preliminary to a covenant. Ts'e and Ts'in were exempted from taking the oath, so that the agreement was narrowed to a compact between Ts'oo and Tsin, and the States which adhered to them respectively; and though this would secure a temporary peace to the kingdom, yet the two other great States, being left unbound, might take advantage of it, to prosecute their own ambitious designs. Ts'oo, moreover, displayed a fierce and unconciliating spirit which promised ill for the permanence of the arrangement. However, the covenant was accepted with these drawbacks. There should be war no more! And to assure so desirable an end, the princes who had been in the habit of acknowledging the superiority of Ts'oo should show their respect for Tsin by appearing at its court, and those who had been adherents of Tsin should similarly appear at the court of Ts'oo. Thus these two Powers would receive the homage of all the States; and it was implied, perhaps, that they would unite their forces to punish any State which should break the general peace. Nothing was said of the loyal service which was due from them all to the kings of Chow; and Ts'in and Ts'e were left, as I have said, unfettered, to take their own course. I apprehend that the princes and ministers who were at the meeting separated without much hope of the pacification being permanent;—as indeed it did not prove to be. Hëang Seuh alone thought that he had accomplished a great work; and without being satisfied, as we wish that he had been, with the consciousness that he had done so, he proceeded to ask a grant of lands and towns from the duke of Sung as a reward for 'arresting the occasion of death.' His application was acceded to, but it did not take effect. Seuh showed the charter of the grant which he had obtained to Tsze-han the chief minister of the State, who said to him, 'It is by their arms that Tsin and Ts'oo keep the small States in awe. Standing in awe, the high and low in them are loving and harmonious, and thus the States are kept quiet, and do service to the great powers, securing their own preservation and escaping ruin. Who can do away with the instruments of war? They have been long in requisition. By them the lawless are kept in awe, and accomplished virtue is displayed. On them



depends the preservation or the ruin of a country;—and you have been seeking to do away with them. Your scheme is a delusion, and there could be no greater offence than to lead the States astray by it. And not content with having escaped punishment, you have sought for reward!" With this he cut the document in pieces and cast it away, while Seuh submitted, and made no further claim to the grant which had been assigned to him.

So ended the first attempt which was made in the world to put an end to war on principles of expediency and by political arrangements. It was a delusion and proved a failure; but there must have been a deep and wide-spread feeling of the miseries which it was intended to remove, to secure for it its temporary acceptance. Though a delusion it was, it was a brilliant one. Though Seuh was a dreamer, I have thought that his name should have prominent mention given to it. More than two thousand years have elapsed since his time; Christianity, calling to universal 'peace on earth,' has come into the field; and under its auspices nations unheard of, it may be said unborn, in the era of the Ch'un Ts'ew, have attained a wondrous growth, with appliances of science and a development commerce, which were then all-unknown:—and is it still a delusion to hope for arrangements which will obviate the necessity of a recurrence to 'the last resort,' the appeal to the force of arms?

6. Of the wild tribes which infested the territory of China proper during the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and surrounded it on every side, it is impossible to give an entirely satisfactory account. After we have gathered up the information supplied by Confucius and

The rude tribes in China and around it. the Commentary of Tso, there occur questions connected with them to which we do not find any reply.

In the Shoo V. ii., at the final struggle of king Woo with the last king of Shang, we find 'the Yung, the Shuh, the Këang, the Maou, the Wei, the Loo, the P'äng, and the Puh,' eight tribes from the south-west, having their seats mostly in the present provinces of Sze-ch'uen and Hoo-pih, all assisting the former. As most of them appear during the Ch'un-Ts'ew period, occupying the same locations, the probability is, that, when Shang was subdued, they received their share of the spoils, and returned to their fastnesses. Some honours and titles may have been conferred, besides, on their chiefs by Woo, but it does not appear that they acknowledged any allegiance to the House of Chow. If they did, we may be sure it was nothing more than nominal.

The wild tribes are generally divided into four classes, called by different names, according to their situation relative to the Middle

States. There were the Jung,<sup>1</sup> or hordes of the west; the Teih,<sup>2</sup> or hordes of the north; the E,<sup>3</sup> or hordes of the east; and the Man,<sup>4</sup> or hordes of the south. These designations are in the main correct, yet we find Jung tribes widely diffused, and not confined to the west only. When we bring together the hints and statements of the Text and the Commentary, the knowledge obtained concerning the four classes may be brought within small compass.

First, of the Jung. Seven divisions of these are indicated.

[i.] At the beginning of the period, we find tribes in the neighbourhood of Loo, which are simply called Jung, and whose seat was in the present district of Ts'aou, department Ts'aou-chow. Yin is introduced twice in his 2d year covenanting with them. In his 7th year, we find them making captive an earl of Fan, on his return from Loo to the royal court, and carrying him off with them to their own settlements. Duke Hwan covenants with them in his 2d year. Duke Chwang in his 18th year pursues them across the Tse river; and in his 20th year they are invaded by a force from Ts'e. In his 24th year they make an inroad into the State of Ts'aou, and compel a Ke, who may have been the earl of it, to flee to Ch'in. The duke appears in his 26th year conducting an expedition against them; and after that we hear nothing more about them. We may suppose that they were then finally subdued, and lost their individuality among the population of Loo.

[ii.] There were the 'Northern Jung,'<sup>5</sup> the 'Hill Jung,'<sup>6</sup> and the 'Woo-chungs,'<sup>7</sup> who are referred to the present Tsun-hwa Chow<sup>8</sup> in Chih-le. Tso mentions an incursion which they made in the 9th year of duke Yin into Ch'ing, when they sustained a great defeat, chiefly because they fought on foot, and had no chariots like the States of Chow. According to him, moreover, they invaded Ts'e in the 6th year of Hwan, and were again defeated through the assistance of Ch'ing. In the 30th year of Chwang, they reduced the State of Yen to great distress, and Ts'e directed an expedition against them, which brought away great spoil. In the 10th year of He, the marquis of Ts'e and the baron of Heu appear engaged in an invasion of them; and we hear no more of them till the 4th year of Sëang, when Këa-foo, viscount of Woo-chung (according to Too, the capital of the Hill Jung), presents a number of tiger and leopard skins to Tsin, begging that that State would be in harmony with the

<sup>1</sup> 戎. <sup>2</sup> 狄. <sup>3</sup> 夷. <sup>4</sup> 蠻. <sup>5</sup> 北戎. <sup>6</sup> 山戎. <sup>7</sup> 無終.  
<sup>8</sup> 遵化州.

Jung. In a discussion at the court of Tsin on the advances thus made, one of its ministers argued for a conciliatory policy on five grounds, the first of which was that these tribes were continually changing their residence, and were fond of selling their lands for goods, so that they might be acquired without the trouble and risks of war. Lastly, in the first year of duke Ch'aou, an officer of Tsin inflicts a great defeat on the Woo-chungs and the various tribes of the Teih; after which we have no further mention of the Hill Jung, the Northern Jung, or the Woo-chungs. They, no doubt, disappeared among the multitudes of Tsin.

[iii.] There were the 'Jung of Luh-hwăn,'<sup>9</sup> who had also the names of the 'Jung of the surname Yun,'<sup>10</sup> the 'Little Jung,'<sup>11</sup> the 'Këang Jung,'<sup>12</sup> the 'Yin Jung,'<sup>13</sup> and the 'Jung of Këw-chow.'<sup>14</sup> These had originally dwelt in the far west, in the territory which now forms Suh Chow<sup>15</sup> in Kan-suh, which they called Luh-hwăn; but in the 22d year of duke He, Tsin and Ts'in united in removing them to E-ch'uen, or the present district of Sung,<sup>16</sup> in the department of Ho-nan. In Chwang's 28th year they are called the Little Jung, and it appears that the mother of duke Hwuy of Tsin belonged to their tribe. In the 33d year of He, they give, as the Këang Jung, important help to Tsin in a great defeat which it inflicted on the troops of Ts'in in the valley of Hëaou. In the 3d year of Seuen, Ts'oo invaded them, and they seem to have coquetted subsequently both with Ts'oo and Tsin, which led to the final extinction of their independence by the latter power in the 17th year of Ch'aou. In his 7th year a body of them appears as the Yin Jung, under the command of an officer of Tsin, and mention is made of how they had troubled the Royal Domain, and the Ke States generally, since their removal from their original seat. In the Chuen on Ch'aou, xxii. 8, another body of them is called the Jung of Këw-chow, and the same branch of them is mentioned as late as the 4th year of Gae.

[iv.] There were the 'Jung of Yang-k'eu, Ts'euen-kaou, and about the E and the Loh,'<sup>17</sup> who had their seats about those two rivers, in the present district of Loh-yang, and perhaps other parts of the department of Ho-nan. Yang-k'eu and Ts'euen-kaou are taken to be the names of their principal settlements or towns. Thus these tribes infested the Royal Domain, and they were at one time

<sup>9</sup>陸渾之戎   <sup>10</sup>允姓之戎   <sup>11</sup>小戎   <sup>12</sup>姜戎   <sup>13</sup>陰戎  
<sup>14</sup>九州之戎   <sup>15</sup>肅州   <sup>16</sup>嵩縣   <sup>17</sup>楊拒泉  
泉伊維之戎

very troublesome to the capital itself. In the 11th year of duke He, on the invitation of the king's brother Tae, they attacked it with all their strength, entered the royal city, and burned one of its gates. Tsin and Ts'in came to the help of the king, and obliged the Jung to make peace with him; but in the following year the services of the marquis of Ts'e, who was then the presiding prince among the States, were required for the same purpose, and in He's 16th year he was obliged to call out the forces of all the States to occupy the Domain, and keep the Jung in check. In the 8th year of Wăn, an officer of Loo, having gone to the west to meet a minister of Tsin, took the opportunity to make a covenant with these Jung, who, it is supposed, were then meditating an attack on Loo. Only once again do we meet with them. In the 6th year of duke Ch'ing they are associated with other tribes, and with the forces of Tsin, Wei, and Ch'ing, in an incursion into Sung. By this time they had probably settled down in the Domain as subjects of Chow.

[v.] There were the 'Man,'<sup>18</sup> called also the 'Jung Man'<sup>19</sup> to distinguish them from the Man of the south, and the 'Maou Jung,'<sup>20</sup> whose seats were in the present Joo-chow,<sup>21</sup> Ho-nan. The Jung who are mentioned in the Chuen after VI. xvii. 5 as having been surprised by Kan Ch'uh of Chow, when they were drinking spirits, belonged to these; and in the first year of Ch'ing the royal army received a severe defeat from them. The Mans are enumerated among the other tribes in the expedition against Sung in the 6th year of Ch'ing, as mentioned above. In the 5th year of Sëang we find the king sending a member of the royal House to the court of Tsin with a complaint against them. In the 16th year of Ch'aou, Ts'oo appears in the field, inveigles Këa, viscount of the Man, into its power, and puts him to death; then establishes its superiority over all their territory, and appoints Këa's son as viscount in his room. Thenceforth this branch of the Jung appears to have been subject to Ts'oo. They rebelled against it in the 4th year of duke Gae; and when their viscount Ch'ih was driven to take refuge in Tsin, that State gave him up to Ts'oo;—a proceeding which is justly deemed to have been disgraceful to it.

[vi.] There were the 'Dog Jung,'<sup>22</sup> whose original seat was in the present department of Fung-ts'ëang, Shen-se. Many critics identify them with the Hëen-yun of the She in II. i. VII. and other odes, though Choo He says that these belonged to the Teih.

<sup>18</sup>蠻氏   <sup>19</sup>戎蠻   <sup>20</sup>茅戎   <sup>21</sup>汝州   <sup>22</sup>犬戎

In B.C. 770 they made common cause with the marquis of Shin, and joined him in his measures against king Yëw. Then, contrary to the wishes of the marquis, they gave the reins to their own greed of plunder, spoiled the capital,—the old capital of Fung, and put the king to death. Tsin and Ts'in came to the relief of the court, and drove the Jung away; but some branches of them appear to have maintained themselves in the more eastern regions which they had found so attractive. In the 2d year of Min, the duke of Kwoh defeated them near the junction of the Wei with the Ho, and again, in the second year of He, at a place in the present district of Wän-hëang, Shen Chow,<sup>23</sup> Shan-se. This is the last we hear of them. Their original territory, no doubt, fell to the lot of Ts'in, but any portion of the tribe, which had settled on the east of the Ho, would be absorbed by Tsin.

[vii.] There were the 'Le Jung,'<sup>24</sup> who occupied in the present district of Lin-t'ung, department Se-gan. According to the Chuen on III. xxviii. 1, duke Hëen of Tsin invaded their territory, the chief of which, who had the title of baron, gave him his daughter in marriage. She was the Le Ke whose union with Heen was the occasion of so much confusion and misery in Tsin. That State, soon after, put an end to the independent existence of the tribe.

The above are all the tribes of the Jung mentioned in the Ch'un Tsëw and in Tso, excepting the Loo Jung, of whom I shall have to speak when we come to the Man of the South. Neither the sage nor his commentator had occasion to bring forward any others, for only these made their appearance in connexion with the States of China during the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. There were, however, many more tribes, which constituted, properly speaking, the Jung of the west, by the absorption of which it was that Ts'in reached such an eminence of power.

Second, of the Teih. Sze-ma Ts'ëen and Too Yu, the latter led away probably by Sze-ma, place some tribes of these on the west of the Ho; but so far as the evidence of Confucius and Tso-she goes, they are all to be sought on the east of that river, and appear extending from it, along the north of the different States, as far as the present Shan-tung. Up to the time of duke Seuen, we read in the text only of the Teih, but subsequently there appear two great divisions of them,—the 'Red Teih,'<sup>25</sup> and the 'White Teih.'<sup>26</sup> Then the Red Teih are no more mentioned after the third year of duke

23 陝州閿鄉縣

24 驪戎

25 赤伯

26 白伯

Ch'ing, and the extinction of several tribes of them is recorded; but the White continued beyond the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period, and one tribe of them held its own till the time of the Warring States, when its chief took the title of king, and contended with the other combatants for the possession of all the dominions of Chow.

Of the Red Teih six tribes seem to be specified:—the 'Kaou-lohs of the eastern hills,'<sup>27</sup> whose seat was the present district of Yuen-k'euh, Këang Chow, Shan-se; the Tsëang-kaou-joo,<sup>28</sup> whose seat is unknown; the 'Loos,'<sup>29</sup> who have left their name in the district of Loo-shing, department Loo-gan, Shan-se; the 'Keahs,'<sup>30</sup> who occupied in the present district of Ke-tsih, department Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le; the 'Lëw-yu,'<sup>31</sup> in the present district of T'un-lëw, department Loo-gan above; and the 'Toh-shin,'<sup>32</sup> who were also somewhere in the same department.

Of the White Teih there were three tribes:—the 'Seen-yu,' or the 'Chung-shan,'<sup>33</sup> in the present district of Ching-ting, department Ching-ting, Chih-le; the 'Fei,'<sup>34</sup> in Kaou-shing district of the same department; and the 'Koo,'<sup>35</sup> in Tsin Chow, also in Ching-ting.

I will now give an outline of what is related about the Teih in the text and in Tso.

[i.] While there is no intimation of any general distinction among their tribes.

They appear first in the 32d year of Chwang, invading the small State of Hing, which was by no means able to cope with them. Ts'e went in the first place to its rescue, but in the first year of He Hing removed its principal city to a situation where it would be more out of the way of the Teih, and the forces of Ts'e, Sung, and Ts'aou are introduced as fortifying the new capital.

About the same time the Teih attacked the more considerable State of Wei, and nearly annihilated it. In the 2d year of Min, they took its chief city, the inhabitants of which fled across the Ho. There only 730 people, men and women, could be got together again, and when to them were added the inhabitants of the two other chief towns of the State, the whole did not amount to more than 5,000 souls. This gives us a correct, but not an exalted idea, of the resources of many of the States of Chow in those days. Ts'e went to the help of Wei, as it had done in the case of Hing, gathered up the ruins of the State, and called out the other States to prepare a new capital for it.

27 東山臯落氏  
留吁.28 麇咎如.  
32 鐸辰.29 潞氏.  
33 鮮虞亦曰中山.30 甲氏.  
34 肥.31  
35 鼓.

While the Teih were thus successful against Hing and Wei, they came into contact with the Power which was ultimately to destroy their independence. In the 2d year of Min, the marquis of Tsin sent his eldest son against the settlements of the Kaou-lohs. Other expeditions followed, and in the 7th year of He a general of that State inflicted a defeat on a portion of the Teih; but, when urged to follow up his victory, he said that he only wanted to frighten them, and would not accelerate a rising of all their tribes. The consequence was that in the following year we have the Teih retaliating by an invasion of Tsin.

In duke He's 10th year they penetrated into the Royal Domain, and overthrew the State of Wăn,<sup>36</sup> the viscount of which fled to Wei. From that time, for several years, we find Wei, Ch'ing, and Tsin, one after another, suffering from their incursions. In He's 18th year Ts'e was in confusion in consequence of the death of duke Hwan, and the Teih went to succour the partizans of his younger sons; and two years after, Ts'e and they made a covenant in the capital of Hing. In the 24th year they invaded Ch'ing, which the king, who was then in great distress from the machinations of his brother Tae, took for some reason as an acceptable service to himself. He married a daughter of one of their chiefs, and made her his queen;—a position of which she soon proved herself unworthy.

In He's 31st year we find them again actively engaged against Wei, which was compelled to make another change of its capital. It was able, however, the year after, to make in its turn an incursion into their settlements, when they entered into a covenant with it, and left it unmolested till the 13th year of duke Wăn. Meanwhile they continued their incursions into Ts'e, and went on to attack Loo and Sung, notwithstanding a check which they received from Tsin in the last year of duke He. Loo also defeated them in the 12th year of Wăn.

[ii.] In the time of duke Seuen and subsequently, we read no more in the same way of the Teih, but of the Red and the White Teih. Of the latter we have an earlier mention in the Chuen, in the account of the battle of Ke, when Tsin defeated the Teih, as I have mentioned above. It is then said that a viscount of the White Teih was taken prisoner. From some hints which are found in Tso it appears that about this time jealousies began to spring up among

the Teih themselves. The Red tribes were trying to assert a superiority which the White would not allow, and so they were left, unsupported, to cope with Tsin for which they were by no means a match.

That great State had now consolidated its resources, and it made short work of the Red Teih. They invaded it in Seuen's 4th and 7th years, and met with little opposition; Tsin purposely retiring before them to increase their arrogance. But in his 15th year an army entirely reduced the tribe of the Loos, and carried off their viscount Ying-urh; and next year another army similarly reduced the Këahs and the Lëw-yu. In the 3d year of Ch'ing, Tsin and Wei joined in an invasion of the Tsëang-kaou-joo, with whom they dealt probably in the same way; for we have no further mention of the Red Teih. Wherever the Teih are mentioned after this, other circumstances show that the White Teih are meant.

[iii.] The White Teih made a bolder resistance, nor was Tsin ever able to destroy the independence of the tribe of the Sëen-yu.

In the 8th year of Seuen, we find the White Teih associated with Tsin in the invasion of Ts'in. They would seem to have broken off entirely from the Red Teih, and to have been willing to join with the State which was in deadly hostility with them. Three years after, the marquis of Tsin had a great meeting, at a place within their territories, with all their tribes.

The alliance thus formed between them and Tsin was not very lasting. In the 9th year of Ch'ing, they are confederate with Ts'in and Ts'oo in invading Tsin; but they took nothing by their fickleness, for Tsin inflicted a defeat upon them in Ch'ing's 12th year.

In Sëang's 18th year, an embassy from them visited the court of Loo,—for what purpose we cannot tell. Nor are they again mentioned in the sage's text, though the Chuen speaks frequently of them.

In Sëang's 28th year, they appear, with the States which acknowledged the presidency of Ts'oo, visiting at the court of Tsin,—in accordance with the treaty of Sung. It would thus appear that they had gone over finally to the side of Ts'oo. They soon suffered for their course. In Ch'aou's first year, an army of Tsin, under Seun Woo, defeated them at Ta-loo. In his 12th year, the same commander put an end to the independent existence of the Fei tribe, and carried away their viscount prisoner. So he dealt with the Koo tribe in Ch'aou's 15th year; but he subsequently restored its viscount, which seems to have encouraged them to revolt again, and in Ch'aou's 22d year, 'Seun Woo a second time extinguished Koo.'

The Sëen-yu were not so easily disposed of. Tsin attacked this tribe in Ch'aou's 12th year, and in his 13th and 15th, but without any decisive success. In the 3d year of Ting the army of Tsin was defeated by it, but returned to the attack in the following year, assisted by a force from Wei. Soon after this, the great families of Tsin began contending among themselves, and no effective action could be taken against the Sëen-yu. The tribe maintained its independence on into the period of the Warring States, and finally yielded to the kingdom of Chaou about the year B.C. 296.

Third, of the E. Confucius is reported, in the Analects, IX. xiii., as declaring that he would like to go and live among 'the nine E,' on which expression it is generally said that there were nine tribes of the E. There may have been so many originally, and Confucius may have used a phrase which had come down as descriptive of them from a former time. But we do not find nine tribes, nor even half that number, mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ëw or in Tso's Commentary. I believe that the power of the E tribes had been broken, and that many of them had disappeared among the inhabitants of the eastern States, before the time under our notice. We have to do only with the 'E of the Hwae river,'<sup>37</sup> of 'Këae,'<sup>38</sup> of 'Lae,'<sup>39</sup> and of 'Kin-mow.'<sup>40</sup>

[i.] The tribes of the Hwae were the only E whose power and numbers were considerable in the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. The Chuen on V. xiii. 3 mentions that they were at that time distressing the State of K'e, so that they must have penetrated a long way north from the river about which lay their proper seats. From that time, for more than a hundred years, we do not again meet with them; but in the 4th year of duke Ch'aou, at the first meeting of the States called by Ts'oo, we find that the chiefs of these tribes were also present, and that they went on, immediately after, under the leading of Ts'oo, to invade Woo. One other reference to them is all that occurs;—under the 27th year of Ch'aou. Then, in the meeting at Hoo, Fan Hëen-tsze of Tsin, when enumerating the difficulties in the way of restoring duke Ch'aou to Loo, says that the Head of the Ke family had succeeded in securing the adherence of the Hwae E. All these tribes fell in the end to the lot of Ts'oo.

[ii.] Këae was the name of a small tribe of the E.—in the present Këaou Chow, department of Lae-chow. In the 29th year of duke He, their chief comes twice to the court of Loo, when Tso tells a

37 淮夷 38 介 39 萊 40 根牟

ridiculous story about his interpreting the lowing of a cow. His visit, no doubt, had reference to an incursion which his tribe made the year after into Sëaou, a dependency of Sung. Këae must have been absorbed either by Ts'e or by Loo.

[iii.] Lae was in the present district of Hwang, department Täng-chow,—on the borders of Ts'e. Its original inhabitants appear to have been brought to comparative civilization, and been ruled by a viscount of the surname Këang, before the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period. We find Ts'e, however, in constant hostility with it from its first appearance in the 7th year of duke Seuen to its extinction in the 6th year of Sëang.

[iv.] Kin-mow was the principal town of a small tribe of E,—in the present district of E-shi-wuy, department E-chow. Its capture by Loo is mentioned in the 9th year of duke Seuen, and afterwards it appears, in the Chuen on X. viii. 6, as the most eastern city belonging to the State.

Fourth, of the Man. We have not much information in the Ch'un Ts'ëw or in Tso about the tribes of the south, and that for the same reason which I have mentioned as making our authorities almost silent about the Jung proper, or the hordes of the far west. Ts'oo kept the Man under its control, and lay between most of their tribes and the States of Chow, so that the two hardly came into contact or collision, and the historiographers of the States had little occasion to refer to what was taking place among the southern populations. What we find related about them will be given under the divisions of the 'Loo Jung,'<sup>41</sup> the 'various tribes of the Man,'<sup>42</sup> the 'many tribes of the Puh,'<sup>43</sup> and the tribes of 'Pa.'<sup>44</sup>

[i.] In the Chuen at the beginning of the 13th year of duke Hwan we have an account of a fruitless expedition from Ts'oo against the small State of Lo,<sup>45</sup> Lo being assisted by an army of the Loo Jung. One of the names in king Woo's 'Speech at Muh,' which I have referred to, thus comes here before us. These Jung occupied what is now the district of Nan-chang, in the department of Sëang-yang, Hoo-pih. Tso says that, though they were called Jung, they belonged to the Man of the south. Geographically, they must be classed with them. They must have been reduced to subjection by Ts'oo not long after the above expedition, and their chief settlement converted into the town of Leu;<sup>46</sup> for in the Chuen on VI. xvi. 6,

41 盧戎 42 羣蠻 43 百濮 44 巴 45 羅 46 盧  
Ying-tah says this was the same as 盧. It s'ould, perhaps, be pronounced Loo.



we have an army of Ts'oo marching on from Leu, where the Loo Jung had dwelt, and throwing open its granaries to soldiers and officers alike.

[ii.] It is only in the Chuen just referred to, in the 16th year of duke Wăn, that mention is made of the 'many tribes of the Man.' There was then, we are told, a great famine in Ts'oo, and the people of Yung, who are also mentioned in the Speech at Muh, and who had by this time coalesced into a State of some order and civilization, took advantage of it to incite a general rising of all the tribes of the south against that Power. The Man came to join in the movement from their seats in what are now the departments of Shin-chow and Yuen-chow in Hoo-nan. It was a critical time in the history of Ts'oo, and it was proposed that the capital should be abandoned. But bolder counsels prevailed; an army took the field; assistance came from Ts'in and Pa; the Man were severed from the combination, and made a covenant on their own account; and Yung was extinguished, that is, the sacrifices of its chiefs were abolished, and it was reduced to be a city of Ts'oo. There is no further mention of the Man in the Ch'un-Ts'ew period. It was not till the time of the Warring States that Ts'oo succeeded in depriving them of their independence.

[iii.] The Puh, it has been seen, were among the auxiliaries of king Woo in the conquest of Shang. The 'hundred' or many tribes of them took a principal part in the rising against Ts'oo, of which I have just spoken, and appear in it under the direction of the people of Keun,<sup>47</sup> a small State between Yung and Lo. Where their own settlements were is uncertain. Some say they were in the present department of K'euh-tsing, Yun-nan, which is too far off, though some tribes may have wandered there at a subsequent period; others, with more probability, place them in the departments of Ch'ang-tih and Shin-chow, Hoo-nan. On the occasion under our notice, Wei Këa, one of the generals of Ts'oo, said about them, 'They think that we are unable from the famine to take the field. If we send forth an army, they are sure to be afraid, and will return to their own country. The Puh dwell apart from one another; and when they are hurriedly going off, each tribe for its own towns, who among them will have leisure to think of anybody but themselves?' It happened as he said. In fifteen days from Ts'oo's appearing in force there was an end of the attempt of the Puh.

Only twice more are they mentioned in the Chuen. In Chaou's 9th year, on occasion of a dispute between Chow and Tsin, the representative of the royal court says boastfully that, when Woo subdued Shang, Pa, the Puh, Ts'oo, and Täng were the territories of the kingdom in the south; and in his 19th year, we have Ts'oo preparing a naval expedition against the Puh. What became of them afterwards I have not been able to ascertain.

[iv.] Pa in the time of the Ch'un-Ts'ew appears as a State ruled by viscounts of the surname Ke. It has left its name in the present district of Pa, department Chung-k'ing, Sze-ch'uen. In the Chuen on the 9th year of duke Hwan, we find it in good relations with Ts'oo, and co-operating with that State in the siege of Yëw, a city in the present department of Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. Under the 18th year of duke Chwang, Tso tells us that Pa then revolted from Ts'oo, and invaded it, its army advancing even to attack Ts'oo's capital. The only other mention of it is in the text of Wăn's 18th year, in connexion with the rising of the southern tribes against Ts'oo, when, as has been stated above, Pa and Ts'in came to the assistance of the latter. In the time of the Warring States, Pa fell to the share of Ts'in.

I have thus gathered up into as brief space as possible the information that we derive from the Ch'un Ts'ew and Tso about the rude and uncivilized or semi-civilized tribes that infested the kingdom of Chow or surrounded it. The strongest impression which I receive from the review is one of grave doubt as to most of what we are told about the previous dynasties of Shang and Hëa. Is it possible that they could have held the territory occupied by the States of Chow for a thousand years before the rise of king Woo, and that we should find it, five and six centuries after his time, in the condition which is revealed to us by the sage and his commentator? I do not think so. We have seen that the China of Chow was a small affair; that of Shang and Hëa must have been much smaller;—extending not so far towards the sea on the east, and to a smaller distance north and south of the Yellow river. It was evidently, however, in the plan of Providence that by the Chinese race all the other tribes in the space now included in China proper should be first broken to pieces and stript of their individualities, and then welded as into one homogeneous nation. Its superior culture and capabilities fitted it for this task; and the process went on very gradually, and with many disturbances and interruptions, frequently with 'hideous ruin and combustion.'

Having first made good a settlement along the Yellow river, in the south-western parts of the present Shan-se, and perhaps also on the other side of the stream, the early immigrants sent forth their branches, scions of different families, east, west, north, and south, as so many suckers, among the ruder populations sparsely scattered about, which gradually gathered round them, till they lost their original peculiarities, and were prepared to be collected into larger communities, or into States. The first stage in the formation of the Chinese nation terminated with the ascendancy of the State of Ts'in and the establishment of its short-lived dynasty.

We have seen that of the more considerable of the wild tribes during the Ch'un-Ts'ew period their chiefs had titles like the princes of the States of Chow. We read of the viscounts of the Loos, of Fei, of Koo, and of the Këang Jung, and of the baron of the Le Jung; and it has been asked whence they derived those titles.<sup>48</sup> The Tso Chuen gives us no information on the point, and I am inclined to suppose that they assumed them themselves, to assert thereby their equality with the feudal nobles of Chow. Where they claimed to be the descendants of some great name in former ages of Chinese history, it would be easier to do so; and the title might be acknowledged by the kings of Chow. Or where intermarriages were formed with them by the royal House, or by the princes of the States, as we know was frequently done, the fathers of the brides might be ennobled for the occasion, and then the titles would be jealously retained. But the title was generally, I believe, the assumption of arrogance, as the Chinese would deem it.

There is one passage in the Chuen which shows that the tribes differed from the Chinese not only in their habits of life, but also in their languages. In the account of the meeting at Hëang in the 14th year of duke Sëang, which was attended by the representatives of more than a dozen States, and by the chief of at least one of the Jung tribes, who was a viscount (though the text does not say so), Fan Seun-tsze appears as wanting on behalf of Tsin to seize the viscount, who belonged to the Këang Jung or the Jung of Luh-hwän, attributing the loss of Tsin's power and influence to unfavourable reports of its proceedings leaking out through them among the other States. The viscount makes a good defence, and says in con-

<sup>48</sup> There is the saying of Confucius in the Analects, III. v.:—'The rude tribes of the east and north have their rulers, and are not like the States of our great land which are without them.' Without adopting the view of Ho An which I have given in my note upon the passage, I conclude that the sage is merely uttering a lament over the disorganization and disobedience to authority, which he saw going on in Loo and other States. The rude tribes obeyed the 'Powers that were' among them, titled or untitled; but very different was the state of things in China.

clusion:—'Our food, our drink, and our clothes are all different from those of the Flowery States; we do not exchange silks or other articles of introduction with their courts; *their language and ours do not admit of intercourse between us and them*:—what evil is it possible for us to have done?' If it was so with those Jung, it was the same, doubtless, with other tribes as well; and they had, probably, different languages among themselves, or at least different dialects of the same language which would render communication between them difficult. Even where the outlying chiefs or princes claimed connexion with the House of Chow, or traced their first appointment to it, the languages spoken in their States may have been different from that of China proper. I have pointed out how the names of the lords of Woo, both in structure and sound, do not appear to be Chinese. And in the account of Tsze-wän who had been chief minister of Ts'oo, given in the Chuen on VII. iv., his name of Now-woo-t'oo is explained by reference to the fact that he had been suckled by a tigress, when he was a child and cast away in a forest. The people of Ts'oo, we are told, called suckling *now*, and their name for a tiger was *woot'oo*; and hence when the child was grown up, he was known by the name of *Now-woot'oo*, or Tiger-suckled. It would so happen that the languages of the people, who were not of a Chinese origin, and of their chiefs, would differ for a time; but in the end, the culture and the force of the superior race prevailed to bring the language and other characteristics into conformity with it.

## CHAPTER IV.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED  
IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME.

## SECTION I.

## CHINESE WORKS; WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF THEM.

1. In the 十三經註疏 (See proleg. to vol. I., p. 129):—

[i.] 春秋左傳註疏六十卷, 'The Ch'un Ts'ew and the Chuen of Tso, with Commentary and Explanations; in 60 Books;'

[ii.] 春秋公羊傳註疏二十八卷, 'The Ch'un Ts'ew and the Chuen of Kung-yang, with Commentary and Explanations; in 28 Books;'

[iii.] 春秋穀梁傳註疏二十卷, 'The Ch'un Ts'ew and the Chuen of Kuh-läng, with Commentary and Explanations; in 20 Books.'

The above three Works are of course K'ung Ying-tah's editions of the labours of Too Yu, Ho Hëw, and Fan Ning, on the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew and the early Commentaries of Tso-she, Kung-yang, and Kuh-läng;—of all of which I have spoken in the first chapter of these prolegomena. K'ung's own explanations are as learned and prolix as in the case of the other Classics. Very little is to be gleaned after him from the books that have come down to us of the dynasties from the Han to the T'ang. I have generally used the edition of the thirteen King by Yuen Yuen; and to the text of the She in it I have referred in the prolegomena to vol. IV., p. 172. The student should use no other, where this is procurable. The above Works all contain Yuen's examination of K'ung's texts (春秋左傳公羊傳穀梁傳註疏按勘記).

4. 欽定春秋傳說彙纂, 'Compilation and Digest of Commentaries and Remarks on the Ch'un Ts'ew. By imperial authority.' In 40 Books, the first two being occupied with introductory matter. The Work was ordered and its preparation entrusted to a committee of the principal scholars of the empire in 1,699, the 38th year of the period K'ang-he, and appeared in 1,721, the 60th year of the same. I have generally called it the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ew. It deserves the praise which I have bestowed on the imperial editions, in the present dynasty, of the Shoo and the She, though I have been disposed to dissent more

frequently from the decisions of the editors themselves. They drew in preparing it from 134 writers:—3 of the Chow dynasty; 10 of the Han; 1 of the Tsin; 2 of the Suy; 13 of the T'ang; 57 of the Sung; 12 of the Yuen; and 36 of the Ming.

According to their plan, there are subjoined to the text occasionally brief notices of the different readings, the pronunciation of characters, and the matter. Then follow the Commentaries of Tso, Kung-yang, Kuh-läng, and Hoo Gan-kwoh (胡安國, styled 康侯), for the most part in full; but the editors sometimes take it on them to curtail or even suppress them entirely where they think them to be in error.

Hoo Gan-kwoh was a scholar and officer of the Sung dynasty (born in 1,074; died in 1,138). His commentary on our classic, in 30 Books, is not intrinsically of much value, but it was received on its publication with great applause by Kaou Tsung, the first emperor of the southern Sung dynasty; and all through the Ming dynasty its authority was supreme. It formed the standard for competitors at the literary examinations. Having given those four Commentaries, the editors draw upon their host of Authorities (集說), and conclude, when they think it necessary, with their own decisions (案).

6. There was published in 1,677, at the district city of Keun-shan (崑山), department Soo-chow, Këang-soo, a large collection of Works on the Classics, under the title of 通志堂經解, taken from the name of the hall or library of the gentleman to whom the books belonged. The expense of publication seems to have been borne by a Manchoo, called Nah-lan Ch'ing-tih, with the style of Yung-joh (納蘭成德, 容若). The Collection contains 33 Works on the Ch'un Ts'ew, all but the last by writers of the Sung and Yuen dynasties. I have had the opportunity of consulting:—

[i.] 春秋傳, 'Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 15 Books; by Lew Ch'ang (劉敞; styled 原父); born 1,019, died 1,077. The author had written an earlier Work on the Ch'un Ts'ew, called 春秋權衡. The one under notice remained in manuscript, until the publication of the Collection in which we now find it. Still there seems no doubt of its genuineness. Lëw draws largely on the three early Commentaries, but decides between them according to his own judgment, having adopted, however, the praise-and-censure theory from Kung-yang and Kuh-läng.

[ii.] 春秋傳, 'Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 20 Books, by Yeh Mung-tih (葉夢得; styled 少蘊, and also called 石林). These last two characters are generally prefixed to the title of

the Work, to distinguish it from the preceding and others. The author was born in 1,077, and died in 1,148. He shows on the one hand his dissent from Sun Fuh and others who wished to discard the three early Commentaries altogether, and not go beyond the text for its explanation, and on the other hand from Soo Cheh, who held to Tso-she and paid no regard to Kung and Kuh.

[iii.] 春秋通說, 'A general Exposition of the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 13 Books; by Hwang Chung-yen (黃仲炎; styled 若晦), a scholar of the Sung dynasty, who seems for some reason or other not to have advanced beyond his first degree. His Work was completed in 1,230. He entirely discards the praise-and-censure theory, and is more than necessarily independent in his treatment of the three early Commentaries.

[iv.] 春秋集註, 'Collected Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 11 Books; by Chang Hëah (張洽; styled 元德), a scholar of the first half of the 13th century. He had previously prepared a Work on the classic, which he called 春秋集傳; and, dissatisfied with the finish of it, he prepared the present one, in which he strove to imitate the style and manner of Choo He on the Analects and Mencius;—and hence its name of 集註. It is a useful Work, very perspicuous.

[v.] 春秋或問, 'The meaning of the Ch'un Ts'ew Catechetically elicited.' In 20 Books; by Leu Ta-kwei (呂大圭; styled 圭叔, and also called 樸鄉), who took his 3d degree in 1,247. The catechetical form enables the author to bring out his views with force; but there is nothing which can be called peculiarly his own. As between the early commentators, he adheres to Tso for the facts, and to Kuh-lëang for the principles, having much to say against Kung-yang, and more against Ho Hëw.

[vi.] 讀春秋編, 'Digest to help in reading the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 12 Books; by Ch'in Shin (陳深; styled 子微), who lived both in the Sung and Yuen dynasties. He had given to his study the name of 清全齋, which characters often enter into the title of his Work. He makes constant use of Tso's Commentary, but is an advocate of the views of Hoo Gan-kwoh.

[vii.] 春秋諸國統紀, 'The Records in the Ch'un Ts'ew arranged under the States to which they severally belong.' In 22 Books; by Ts'e Le-k'ëen (齊履謙; styled 伯恆). His preface is dated in 1,319. The peculiar character of the Work is shown in the title. He has placed the notices belonging to Loo before those of Chow;—very naturally, it seems to me, but the critics profess to

be shocked by the arrangement. A good deal of freedom is shown in the handling of subjects.

[viii.] 春秋或問, 'The meaning of the Ch'un Ts'ew Catechetically elicited.' In 10 Books; by Ch'ing Twan-hëoh (程端學; styled 時叔, called also 積齋), who took his third degree in 1,321. He was much employed in the office of historiography, and composed the Work next mentioned and another on the Ch'un Ts'ew before he felt equal to this, which is reckoned his *chef d'œuvre*. It betrays a sceptical disposition in reference to the three early Commentaries, and is particularly rich in adducing the opinions of the Sung scholars.

[ix.] 春秋本義, 'The proper Meaning of the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 30 Books; by Ch'ing Twan-hëoh above. This was his earliest Work on our Classic, and shows the same tendencies which are fully developed in 'The Meaning Catechetically elicited.' He gives the names of 176 Works and Authors, which he had consulted in preparing for his task.

[x.] 春秋諸傳會通, 'All the Commentaries on the Ch'un Ts'ew in one view.' In 24 Books; by Le Lëen (李廉; styled 行簡). The Author's preface bears date in 1,349, towards the end of the Yuen dynasty. The substance of the three early Commentaries, and of their editors, Too Yu, Ho Hëw, and Fan Ning, of K'ung Ying-tah, Hoo Gan-kwoh, Ch'ing E-ch'uen, Ch'in Foo-lëang (陳傅良), and Chang Hëah, is all to be found here, with the judgments on their different views of Le Lëen himself. It is a Work of great value.

[xi.] 春秋師說, 'My Master's Teachings on the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 3 Books; by Chaou Fang (趙汭; styled 子常). First published in 1,348. The author had studied under Hwang Tsih (黃澤), famous for his knowledge of the Yih King and the Ch'un Ts'ew; and here he gives what he had learned from him on the true meaning of those Classics, and the successes and failures of previous commentators.

[xii.] 春秋屬辭, 'The Style and Expression in the Ch'un Ts'ew on similar Subjects.' In 15 Books; by the same author as the above. This is an ingenious attempt to make out the principles by which Confucius was guided in his work of compiling the Ch'un Ts'ew from the historiographers of Loo. His principal Authorities are Too Yu and his own master Hwang Tsih; but he often differs from them. He did his work well; but we have seen that all conclusions on the subject must be very uncertain.

[xiii.] 春秋左氏傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Chuen of Tso-she.' In 10 Books, by the same Chaou Fang. A valuable Work. The writer has before him the three early Commentaries, and it is his object to correct errors and supply defects in Tso from Kung-yang and Kuh-lêng. He has also before him the labours of 'Too Yu on Tso and of Ch'in Foo-lêng on Kuh-lêng, and he endeavours 'to take what is long in the one to supplement what is short in the other.'

19. 春秋釋例, 'The Laws of the Ch'un Ts'ew Explained.' By Too Yu; in 10 Books. This was a production of Too Yu, after he had completed his great Work on Tso's Chuen. It contains laws of style under 42 heads; then proceeds to the names of places, genealogies, and Too's scheme of the chronology of the Ch'un-Ts'ew period. It seems to me that three different Works of Too have here got mixed together. Choo E-tsun mentions the Laws of Style as a Work by itself, published under the Sung dynasty in 15 Books; noting that he had not been able to see it. He also notices the Chronology as a Work by itself, saying that only Too's preface to it remains. Indeed the whole was long supposed to be lost, but it was reproduced, as we have it now, in 1,777, from a Collection made in the period Yung-loh (1,403-1,424) of the Ming dynasty.

20. The 皇清經解 contains several Works on the Ch'un Ts'ew by the scholars of the present dynasty. I have used:—

[i.] 左傳杜解補正, 'Supplement, with Corrections, to Too's Explanations of the Tso Chuen.' In 3 Books; by Koo Yen-woo (See proleg. vol. IV., p. 101). Contains many useful hints for the translator of Tso. Koo makes much use of two scholars of the Ming dynasty,—Shaou Paou (邵寶) and Foo Sun (傅遜), who had made it their business to discover the mistakes of Too.

[ii.] 學春秋隨筆, 'Jottings in the study of the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 10 Books; by Wan Sze-ta (萬斯大; styled 充宗); born in 1,633, died in 1,783. Wan was well acquainted with the Le Ke, the official Book of Chow, and the E Le, and most of his remarks are based upon them. Chinese scholars praise him as having always good ground for what he says. I confess I have been inclined to call in question—now his Authorities, and now his interpretation of them.

[iii.] 春秋毛氏傳, 'Commentary on the Ch'un Ts'ew by Maou.' This is the work of Maou K'e-ling of whom I have had much to say in my previous volumes. In 35 Books. It is everywhere referred to in my notes. Occasionally one has to differ from

the author, but his views have in general commanded my approval. I thought at one time of simply translating his Work instead of giving all the Tso Chuen; but I considered that to do the latter would be more useful for students. Agreeing for the most part with Tso, Maou seems glad when he finds reason to differ from him; and he makes How Gan-kwoh his butt.

[iv.] 春秋簡書刊誤, 'Errors in the Tablets of the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In two Books; by Maou K'e-ling. This is a defence of the text of Tso against the different readings that are found in Kung and Kuh.

[v.] 春秋屬辭比事記, 'An Exhibition of the Style of the Ch'un Ts'ew according to the analogies of the Subject-matter.' In two Books. Also by Maou K'e-ling. It contains a good demonstration of the baselessness of the praise-and-censure theory, and is intended to vindicate Maou's own four laws of interpretation, given in the introduction to his Commentary.

[vi.] 春秋說, 'Discourses on the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 15 Books; by Hwuy Sze-k'e (惠士奇; styled 仲儒). He was also called 半農; and these two characters are often prefixed to the titles of his Works. This one on the Ch'un Ts'ew is of great value. The notices in the Classic are all classified; the views or illustrations of them afforded in the early Commentaries adduced; and the whole adjudicated on by the author.

[vii.] 春秋地理考實, 'The Geography of the Ch'un Ts'ew Examined and Determined.' In 4 Books; by K'ang Yung (See proleg. vol. IV., p. 98, n. 6). Displays much research; and is particularly valuable as bringing down the identifications of the ancient places to the geographical arrangements of the country at the present day. A foreigner is apt to err, as I have sometimes done in this matter, by accepting the geographical determinations in the K'ang-he edition of our classic, and then finding that the arrangement of departments and districts in a province has since been changed.

[viii.] 春秋左傳小疏, 'Short Glosses on the Ch'un Ts'ew and Tso Chuen.' In one Book; by Shin T'ung (沈彤; styled 冠雲, and also 果堂), who lived from 1,688 to 1,752, and was employed by the government in various literary tasks. He published 'short glosses' on several of the other classics as well as the Ch'un Ts'ew. I have found them useful.

[ix.] 春秋左傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ew and Tso Chuen.' A Work similar to the above. In 8 Books;



by Hwuy Tung (惠棟; styled 定宇). It had been growing up in his family for three generations, until he revised the labours of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, added to them his own researches, and published it in 1,768. The reader of Too Yu will get considerable help from it.

[x.] 春秋正辭, 'The Language of the Ch'un Ts'ew Determined and Regulated.' In 13 Books; by Chwang Ts'un-yu (莊存與), a scholar of the K'een-lung period. The Work is for the most part an examination of the Classic according to the views and nomenclature of Kung-yang and Ho Hëw.

[xi.] 春秋左傳補疏, 'Supplementary Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'ew and Tso Chuen.' In 5 Books; by Ts'eaou Seun (焦循; styled 理堂 and 里堂). The writer's principal object was to supplement K'ung Ying-tah's Explanations of Too Yu's comments on Tso.

[xii.] 春秋左傳補註, 'Supplementary Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ew and Tso Chuen.' In 3 Books; by Ma Tsung-lëen (馬宗璉). Intended as a supplement to the Work with the same title by Hwuy Tung, noticed above.

[xiii.] 公羊何氏釋例, 'On the Laws of Ho Hëw in explaining the Commentary of Kung-yang.' In 10 Books; by Lëw Fung-luh (劉逢祿; styled 申甫), a scholar of the K'ea-k'ing period. A Work similar in design to No.x.

[xiv.] 公羊何氏解詁箋, 'Glosses on Ho Hëw's Explanations of Kung-yang.' In 1 Book; also by Lëw Fung-luh.

[xv.—xviii.] 發墨守評; 穀梁廢疾申何; 左氏春秋考證; 箴膏肓評. These are four Works by the same author. I have not translated the titles because they refer to controversies in the Han dynasty between Ho Hëw and Ch'ing K'ang-shing. The writer's object is to maintain the authority of Kung-yang and even of Kuh-lëang against Tso-she.

[xix.] 春秋異文箋, 'Glosses on the different readings in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 13 Books; by Chaou T'an (趙坦), a scholar of the K'ea-k'ing period.

[xx.] 公羊禮說, 'Remarks on the rules of ceremony insisted on by Kung-yang.' In 1 Book; by Ling Shoo (凌曙); of the same period. He was a believer in Kung-yang.

[xxi.] 經義述聞, 'Recollections of Lessons on the meaning of the Classics.' In 10 Books, three of which are occupied with the Ch'un Ts'ew. By Wang Yin-che, whose 'Recollections of Lessons in the She' are noticed in the proleg. to vol. IV., p. 178.

41. 春秋地名考略, 'An Examination into the Names of places in the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 14 Books; by Kaou Sze-ke (高士奇; styled 澹人), a great scholar of the K'ang-he period. The writer sometimes defeats his end by the minuteness of his researches. The Work is valuable, but not so convenient for the student as that on the same subject by Këang Yung, which I have already noticed.

42. 春秋大事表, 'The principal things in the Ch'un Ts'ew exhibited in a tabular form.' In 50 Books, with one Book of Plates, and an Appendix. By Koo Tung-kaou (顧棟高; styled 震滄), a scholar and officer of the K'ang-he and K'een-lung periods. I have met with no Work on the Ch'un Ts'ew more exhaustive, and certainly with none from which I have myself derived more assistance. The author's tables and disquisitions supply the most abundant matter for study and research.

43. 春秋內傳古註輯存, 'The old Comments on the Ch'un Ts'ew and Tso Chuen Collected and Preserved.' In 3 Books (三冊); by Yen Wei (嚴蔚; styled 豹人); published in 1,788. The Work is an attempt to gather and preserve the Comments of Fuh K'een and other Commentators of the Han dynasty, to which the writer thinks Too Yu was often under obligation without acknowledging it.

44. 左氏春秋集說, 'Collected Discourses on the Ch'un Ts'ew of Tso-she.' In 10 Books; with two Books of Introduction and Appendix, chiefly on the Laws of the Ch'un Ts'ew. By Choo Goh-ling (朱鶴齡; styled 長孺, and also called 愚菴), a graduate of the Ming dynasty who lived on into the present. The Work is useful, principally because the author is constantly quoting from Tan Tsoo and Chaou K'wang of the T'ang dynasty, though he does not himself agree with them.

45. 春秋占筮書, 'On the Articles on Divination in the Ch'un Ts'ew.' In 3 Books. This is another Work bearing on the interpretation of the Tso Chuen by Maou K'e-ling, which has not been reprinted in the 皇清經解. The title is incorrect, because the references to divination in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew are the briefest possible, and the Work deals with articles in the Tso Chuen. It is said correctly in Maou's introductory notice that no satisfactory attempt to explain those articles had been made by Too Yu, K'ung Ying-tah, or any other of the critics. It was bold in Maou to try to do so; but I do not think he has succeeded. So far as I have attained hitherto in the study of the Yih King and the ancient divination of the Chinese, I have failed to understand their principles;—if there be any principles in them.

46. 春秋條貫篇, 'On the Connexion between the Notices in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 11 Books; also by Maou K'e-ling. The Work arose out of a dispute between Maou and the other Examiners at the competition for the third degree in 1,685, they contending that the connexion could only be discovered by means of the Chuen, and he that it could be ascertained from the text itself. The editors of the 'Catalogue of the Books in the Imperial Libraries (欽定四庫全書總目)' condemn it as inferior to Maou's other productions on the Ch'un Ts'ëw; but, like every other thing that he wrote, there is a great deal of force in many of his reasonings.

47. 春秋衷要, 'The most important Points in the Interpretation of the Ch'un Ts'ëw Determined.' In 6 Books; by Le Shin-kuh (李式穀; styled 海菴). The writer adopts the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ëw as the standard for interpreting the Classic, but now and then introduces a view of his own. It is a useful Work.

48. 讀左漫筆, 'Occasional Jottings to help in reading the Tso Chuen.' In 16 Books; by Ch'ang Mow-lae (常茂徠; styled 秋厓). This is one of the most recent Works on our Classic, the author's preface being dated in 1,867. He tells us that the Tso Chuen had been the mental food of his whole life, and that he had published two Works on special subjects connected with it. But he was in the habit of reading his favourite author, and the long list of critics and commentators on him, with pencil in hand; and wherever their remarks seemed to require addition or correction, he made his own notes; and so the materials for the present Work grew up gradually under his hand. One may get a good many suggestions from it.

49. 春秋左傳平議, 'Quiet Discussions on Tso's Commentary on the Ch'un Ts'ëw.' In 3 Books; by Yu Yueh (俞樾; styled 蔭甫); like the last, a very recent writer. These 3 Books are only a portion of a large Work on all the classics, published in 1,866. He is helpful in determining the punctuation of the original; in fixing the exact meaning of characters; and on the interchanging use of characters by the ancient writers.

50. 左繡 'The Elegancies of Tso.' In 30 Books; by Fung Le-hwa (馮李驊; styled 天閑), and Luh Haou (陸浩; styled 大瀛). After various preliminary matter on the best way of reading the Tso Chuen, &c., the pages in the body of the Work are divided into two parts. In the lower part there are given the text and Tso's Commentary, with the comments of Too Yu at length, Luh Tih-ming's pronunciation of characters, and the glosses of Lin Yaou-sow (林

堯叟) of the Sung dynasty, these last often abbreviated, but of real value. There are occasionally quotations from K'ung Ying-tah, and from Koo Yen-woo's Work, the first of those mentioned above from the 皇清經解. The upper part of the page is occupied with Fung and Luh's own remarks, mostly designed to show the force and beauty of Tso's style. These give the name to the Work.

51. 讀左補義, 'Aids to the reading of Tso.' In 50 Books; by K'ang Ping-chang, whose Work on the She King I have noticed in the proleg. to vol. IV., p. 175. The present Work, first published in 1,768, deserves much of the praise which I gave to the former. He differs from Too Yu on the laws of style in the classic, and thinks that Confucius simply copied the historiographers of Loo without altering or abbreviating their text.

From the first chapter of these prolegomena it will be seen that I have very much adopted these views myself, though aware of the objections that can be urged against them. Keang appends short essays or disquisitions of his own on the events related to the narratives of Tso.

52. 春秋左氏傳集釋, 'Explanations of the Ch'un Ts'ëw and the Tso Chuen from all Sources.' In 60 Books. This Work is still in manuscript, having been prepared, with a special view to my own assistance, by my friend Wang T'aou. It is entitled to the praise which I have bestowed, in the proleg. to vol. IV., p. 176, on his Work on the She.

53. 春秋朔閏考辨, 'An Examination into the first days of the moon, and the intercalary months, during the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period.' In 3 Books; also by Wang T'aou, and in manuscript. He shows the unsatisfactory nature of the chronological schemes proposed by Too Yu, Koo Tung-kaou, and Ch'in How-yaou (陳厚耀), and then proceeds to his task, taking his data—now from the text, and now from the Chuen. His mind was first thoroughly stimulated on the subject by the Rev. Mr. Chalmers. There is certainly no Work in Chinese on the chronology of the Ch'un-Ts'ëw period at all equal to this. He has also prepared in Chinese a table of the days of new moon and of the winter solstice for the whole period (春秋至朔表).

54. 春秋日食圖說, 'The Eclipses mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ëw, with Plates, and Disquisitions.' In 1 Book. Also by Wang T'aou, and in manuscript. For the matter in this treatise, as for that in the above, Wang is mainly indebted to Mr. Chalmers.

55. 春秋問答, 'Difficulties with regard to the Ch'un Ts'ëw, by way of Question and Answer.' In 1 Book; by Wang T'aou, and

in manuscript. This treatise may be considered as Wang's endeavour to reply to questions proposed by myself, while engaged in the preparation and printing of this volume. It embraces most of the subjects which I have discussed in the previous chapters of these prolegomena. His answers are more or less satisfactory, but show the conservative character of the Chinese mind in regard to the views on the classics which have been current since the Han dynasty.

56. 左傳經世鈔, 'Extracts from the Tso Chuen.' In 23 Books; by Wei He (魏禧; styled 冰叔), of the Ming dynasty. This Work contains the greater number of the narratives in Tso, those of them belonging to the same subject, which in his commentary are scattered over several years, being brought together. Explanatory glosses from Too Yu, Lin Yaou-sow, and Wei He himself are occasionally interspersed throughout Tso's text, and each paragraph is followed by reflections of a general or historical character from the compiler. It has been useful to me from the large characters, finely cut, in which the copy that I have is printed; and which is probably a reprint from an edition published in 1,748 by P'ang K'ea-ping (彭家屏; styled 樂君). The 經世 of the title is hardly translatable, and is taken from a remark by Chwang-tsze of the Chow dynasty about the Ch'un Ts'ew (春秋經世先王之志).

57. 古文析義, 'Ancient Compositions, with Notes on their meaning.' In 16 Books; by Lin Yun-ming (林雲銘; styled 西仲), who took his third degree in 1,658. The Work is a little of the same nature as some volumes of "Elegant Extracts" from our English masters, which I have seen. A selection is made of the most celebrated pieces of composition from the Chow dynasty downwards, with explanations of the meaning and notes on the style interspersed, with a disquisition at the end on the subject-matter by the compiler. The first two Books are occupied with pieces from the Tso Chuen. Lin Yun-ming was called a bibliomaniac (書癡) by his neighbours; but scholars speak contemptuously of his Works. Wang T'aou calls the one before us 'a series of Lessons for a village school (鄉塾課蒙之本).' The foreign student, however, is glad to get hold of it, especially at the commencement of his studies in the Tso Chuen.

The class of Works represented by the preceding is numerous. I have consulted the 古文析義新編; the 古文快筆; the 古文分編集評; the 古文觀止; the 古文評註; the 古文翼; the 古文眉詮; and the 古文淵鑑. Unfortunately they all deal with nearly the same pieces in Tso's Work.

I have not felt it necessary to introduce in the above list the Dictionaries and Works of general reference, with many others on the classics in general, which were mentioned in the lists in my preceding volumes, and have again been referred to as occasion required.

## SECTION II.

### TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER FOREIGN WORKS.

I have not to add to the Works of this class mentioned in my former volumes.

Dr. Bretschneider of Peking having stated in the Chinese Recorder for December 1870, p. 173, that the Ch'un Ts'ew had been translated into European languages, I made inquiry on the subject, to which that gentleman replied in the Recorder for July, 1871, pp. 51, 52. 'Some 40 years ago,' he says, 'Father Daniel, of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking, translated the Ch'un-ts'iu into Russian; but, so far as I know, this translation has never been published. The manuscript exists still. Besides this, parts of the Ch'un-ts'iu were translated into Russian, and published by other Russian Sinologues.' I have not seen these translations. Dr. Bretschneider refers also to a translation of the first book of the Ch'un Ts'ew by Bayer, with a Latin translation, which appeared in the '*Commentaria Academiæ Petropolitaneæ*,' vol. 7; but neither have I met with this.

THE CH'UN TS'EW;  
WITH THE TSO CHUEN.

BOOK I. DUKE YIN.

First year.

春秋 附左傳

隱公

元年春王正月。<sup>二章</sup>  
三月，公及邾儀父盟于蔑。<sup>三章</sup>  
夏五月，鄭伯克段于鄢。<sup>四章</sup>  
秋七月，天王使宰咺來歸  
惠公仲子之賵。<sup>五章</sup>  
九月，及宋人盟于宿。<sup>六章</sup>  
冬十有二月，祭伯來。<sup>七章</sup>  
公子益師卒。

左傳曰：惠公元妃孟子，孟子卒，繼室以聲子，生隱公。宋武公生仲子，仲子生而有文在其手，曰為魯夫人，故仲子歸于我，生桓公而惠公薨，是以隱公立而奉之。

元年春王周正月，不書即位，攝也。

三月，公及邾儀父盟于蔑，邾子克也，未王命，故不書爵，曰儀父，貴之也。公攝位而欲求好於邾，故為蔑之盟。

夏四月，費伯帥師城郕，不書，非公命也。

初，鄭武公娶于申，曰武姜，生莊公及共叔段。莊公寤生，驚姜氏，故名曰寤生，遂惡之。愛

見公亦不書。鄭共叔之亂，公孫滑出奔衛，衛人爲之伐鄭，取廩延，鄭人以師號師伐衛，南鄙請師于邾，邾子使私于公，弗許，遂行及邾，人鄭人盟于翼，不書，非公命也。書，亦非公命也。十二月祭伯來，非王命也。衆父卒，公不與小斂，故不書日。

- I. 1 [It was his] first year, the spring, the king's first month.
- 2 In the third month, the duke and E-foo of Choo made a covenant in Meeh.
- 3 In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Ch'ing overcame Twan in Yen.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the [sub-] administrator Heuen with a present of [two] carriages and their horses for the funerals of duke Hwuy and [his wife] Chung Tsze.
- 5 In the ninth month, [the duke] and an officer of Sung made a covenant in Suh.
- 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, the earl of Chae came [to Loo].
- 7 Kung-tsze Yih-sze died.

**TITLE OF THE WORK.—春秋附左傳**  
 'The Spring and Autumn; with the Tso Chuen.' 'Spring and Autumn' is equivalent to 'Annals, digested under the four seasons of every year,' only two seasons being given for the sake of brevity. The subject of the name is fully discussed in the Prolegomena, ch. I. I have printed all the text of Tso K'ew-ming, immediately after the year of the Classic to which it belongs. Where his remarks are simply comments on the text, I have embodied them with my own notes. His narratives, however, are all translated entire, and the additional narratives which he gives, not belonging to events referred to in the text, and indicated by a ⊕, are included in the notes, within brackets.

**TITLE OF THE BOOK.—隱公, 'Duke Yin.'**  
 Of the 12 dukes of Loo, whose years are chronicled in the Ch'un Ts'ew, Yin is the first, his rule extending from B.C. 721—711. From the establishment of Pih-k'in, son of the famous duke of Chow, as marquis of Loo, in B.C. 1,114, there had been 13 chiefs. Yin's father and predecessor, duke Hwuy (惠公), married first a daughter of the House of Sung (孟子); and on her death he supplied her place with Shing Tsze (聲子), one of her relatives who had followed her from Sung to the harem of Loo. This lady was the mother of Yin; but duke Hwuy by and by took as a second wife the daughter of the duke Woo (武) of Sung, called 仲子. Acc. to Tso-she, she had been born with some remarkable lines on one of her hands, which were read as meaning that she would become marchioness of

Loo. By her Hwuy had a son of higher dignity than Yin, in consequence of the superior position of his mother, and who afterwards made himself duke Hwan. This child being too young to take charge of the State on his father's death, was set aside in favour of Yin, who, however, only considered himself as occupying in room of his younger brother till the latter should come of age.

Yin's name was Seih-koo (息姑), Yin being the honorary or sacrificial title conferred after his death, and meaning, — 'Sorrowfully swept away, unsuccessful (隱拂不成).'

Loo was only a marquissate. Its chiefs were not dukes. Throughout the Ch'un Ts'ew, however, we find the chiefs even of the smaller States all dignified with the title of 'duke' after their death. Maou K'e-ling ingeniously explains this as an instance of the style of the 'historiographers,' referring to the commencing words in 'The Speech at Pe' (Shoo V. xxix.)

—公曰, whereas, in the Preface to the Shoo, par. 68, instead of 公, we read 魯侯, 'the marquis of Loo.' The confusion which is caused, however, by the practice, in the narratives of Tso K'ew-ming is very great, as he uses now the name with the title of rank, and now the honorary name and title of duke, with the most entire indifference.

Yin's 1st year synchronized with the 49th of king Ping (平王); the 9th year of He of Ts'e (齊僖公); the 2d of Goh of Tsin (晉鄂侯); the 11th of Chwang of K'eh-yuh (曲沃莊伯); the 13th of Hwan of Wei

共叔段欲立之，亟請於武公，公弗許。及莊公即位，爲之請制，公曰：「制，巖邑也，虢叔死焉，他邑唯命。」請京，使居之，謂之京城大叔。祭仲曰：「都城過百雉，國之害也。」先王之制，大都，不過參國之一，中五之一，小九之一。今京不度，非制也。君將不堪。公曰：「姜氏欲之，焉辟害？」對曰：「姜氏何厭之有？不如早爲之所，無使滋蔓，蔓難圖也。蔓草猶不可除，況君之寵弟乎？」公曰：「多行不義，必自斃，子姑待之。」既而大叔命西鄙北鄙貳於己，公子呂曰：「國不堪貳，君將若之何？」欲與大叔，臣請事之。若弗與，則請除之，無生民心。公曰：「無庸將自及。」大叔又收貳以爲己邑，至于廩延。子封曰：「可矣，厚將得衆。」公曰：「不義不暱，厚將崩。」大叔完聚，繕甲兵，具卒乘，將襲鄭。夫人將啟之，公聞其期，曰：「可矣，命子封帥車二百乘以伐京。」京叛大叔段，段入于鄆，公伐諸鄆。五月辛丑，大叔出奔共。書曰：「鄭伯克段于鄆。」段不弟，故不言弟。如二君，故曰克。稱鄭伯，譏失教也。謂之鄭志，不言出奔，難之也。遂寘姜氏于城穎，而誓之曰：「不及黃泉，無相見也。」既而悔之，穎考叔爲穎谷封人，聞之，有獻于公，公賜之食，食舍肉，公問之，對曰：「小人有母，皆嘗小人之食矣，未嘗君之羹，請以遺之。」公曰：「爾有母遺，繫我獨無。」穎考叔曰：「敢問何謂也？」公語之故，且告之悔，對曰：「君何患焉？若闕地及泉，隧而相見，其誰曰不然？」公從之，公入而賦，大隧之中，其樂也。融融，姜出而賦，大隧之外，其樂也。洩洩，遂爲母子如初。君子曰：「穎考叔純孝也，愛其母，施及莊公。詩曰：『孝子不匱，永錫爾類。』其是之謂乎。」

秋七月，天王使宰咺來歸惠公仲子之賵，緩且子氏未薨，故名。天子七月而葬，同軌畢至，諸侯五月，同盟至。大夫三月，同位至，士踰月，外姻至，贈死不及尸，弔生不及哀，豫凶事，非禮也。

八月，紀人伐夷，夷不告，故不書。有蜚，不爲災，亦不書。

惠公之季年，敗宋師于黃，公立而求成焉。九月，及宋人盟于宿，始通也。

冬十月，庚申，改葬惠公，公弗臨，故不書。惠公之薨也，有宋師，太子少，葬故有關，是以改葬。衛侯來會葬，不



(衛桓公); the 28th of Seuen of Ts'ae (蔡宣公); the 22d of Chwang of Ch'ing (鄭莊公); the 35th of Hwan of Ts'aou (曹桓公); the 23d of Hwan of Ch'in (陳桓公); the 29th of Woo of Ke (杞武公); the 7th of Muh of Sung (宋穆公); the 44th of Wän of Ts'in (秦文公); and the 19th of Woo of Ts'oo (楚武王).

Par. 1. This paragraph, it will be seen, is incomplete, the adjunct merely of a 公即位, which is found at the beginning of nearly every other book. The reason of the incompleteness will be considered below.

元年, 'the 1st year.' The Urh-ya explains 元 by 始 'the beginning,' 'first,' and Kung-yang makes the phrase simply = 君之始年, 'the prince's 1st year.' Too Yu tries to find a deeper meaning in the phrase, saying that the 1st year of a rule stands to all the following years in the relation of the original chaos to the subsequent kosmos, and is therefore called *yuen*, to intimate to rulers that from the first moment of their sway they are to advance in the path of order and right. This consideration explains also, he thinks, the use of 正月, 'the right month,' for 'the 1st month (凡人君即位欲其體元以居正故不言一年一月也).' The Urh-ya, however, gives 正 as = 長, 'the most elevated,' 'the senior.' But in the denomination of the 1st month as 'the right or correct month,' we must acknowledge a recognition of what are called 'the three *ching* (三正),—the three different months, with which the dynasties of Hëa, Shang, and Chow commenced the year. Hëa began the year with the 1st month of spring; Shang, a month, and Chow, 2 months earlier. It became so much a rule for the beginning of the year to be changed by every new dynasty, that Ts'in made its first month commence a lunation before that of Chow. To a remark of Confucius, Ana. XV. x., we are indebted for the disuse of this foolish custom, so that all dynasties have since used 'the seasons of Hëa.'—After all, there remains the question why the first month of the year should be called *ching* (正).

王正月, 'the king's first month.' The 'king' here can hardly be any other than P'ing, the king of Chow for the time then being, as Too Yu says;—and in this style does the account of very many of the years of the Ch'un Ts'ew begin, as if to do homage to the supremacy of the reigning House. Kung-yang makes the king to be Wän; but though he was the founder of the Chow dynasty, the commencement of the year was not yet changed in his time.

The remaining character in this par. occasions the foreign student considerable perplexity. The commencement of the year was really in the 2d month of winter, and yet it is here said to have been in the spring.—春王正月. We have spring when it really was not spring. It must be kept in mind that the usual names for the seasons—春夏秋冬, only denote in the Ch'un Ts'ew the four quarters of the Chow year, beginning with the 2d month of winter. It was, no doubt, a perception of the inconvenience of such a calendar which made Confucius, loyal as he was to the dynasty of Chow, say that he preferred that of Hëa to it. Strange as it is to read of spring, when the time is really winter, and of winter when the season is still autumn, it will appear, as we go on, that such is really the style of the Ch'un Ts'ew. Maou, fully admitting all this, yet contends for a strange interpretation of the text, in which he joins 春 and 王 together, making the phrase to stand for the kings of Chow, 'Spring kings,' who reigned by the virtue of wood, the first of the five elements (五行之首). He presses, in support of this view, the words of Tso-she on this paragraph,—元年春王周正月, which show, he says, that Tso-she joined 春 with 王, as he himself would do; but Tso-she's language need not be so construed, and 春 evidently stands by itself, just as the names of the other seasons do.

We come now to the incompleteness of the par., already pointed out. According to the analogy of the style in the first years of other dukes, it should be stated that in his 1st year and the 1st month of it, the duke took the place (即位) of his predecessor. According to the rule of Chow, on the death of a sovereign—and all the princes were little kings in their several States—his successor, acknowledged to be such as the chief mourner on the occasion and taking the direction of the proper ceremonies for the departed, 'ascended the throne by the bier.' There is an interesting account of such an accession in the Shoo, V. xxii. The thing was done so hurriedly because 'the State could not be a single day without a sovereign (國家不可一日無君),' or because, as we phrase it, 'the king never dies.' What remained of the year, however, was held to belong to the reign of the deceased king, and the new reign began with the beginning of the next year, when there was a more public 'taking of the place,' though I do not know that we have any account of the ceremonies which were then performed. The first 'place-taking' was equivalent to our 'accession'; the second, to our 'coronation.' The proper explanation, therefore, of the incompleteness of the paragraph is that Yin omitted the ordinary 'place-taking' ceremonies, and of course there could be no record of them. Perhaps he made the omission, having it in mind to resign ere long in favour of his younger brother (so, Tso-she); but to say that the usual 公即位 was

here omitted by Confucius, either to show his approval or disapproval of Yin, as Kuh-lëang does, followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh (胡安國, A.D. 1,074—1,138) and a hundred other commentators, is not to explain the text, but to perplex the reader with vain fancies.

Par. 2. There was nothing proper for record in the 1st and 2d months of the year, and we come here to the third month. Choo (we have Choo-low, 邾婁, in Kung-yang) was a small State, nearly all surrounded by Loo,—the pres. dis. of Tsow (鄒), dep. Yen-chow. At this time it was only a Foo-yung (附庸), attached to Loo (see Mencius, V. 下, ii. 4.); but in a few years after this its chief was raised to the dignity of viscount (子). The House had the surname of Ts'aou (曹), and had been invested with the territory by king Woo, as being descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-hëuh. The chief's name, as we learn afterwards from the Ch'un Ts'ew, was K'ih (克); E-foo (父, read in the 2d tone, found appended to many designations, by way of honour) is his designation (字), given to him here, says Tso-she, 'by way of honour,' for which remark there seems to be no ground. Mëeh (Kuh and Kung both have 昧, with the same sound) was a place belonging to Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy (泗水), dep. Yen-chow. We know nothing of any special object sought by the 'covenanting' here. Tso-she merely says that the duke arranged for it to cultivate friendly relations with his neighbour, at the commencement of his temporary administration. 公 heads the record, here and in most other accounts of meetings and covenants on the part of the marquises of Loo with other princes;—an order proper in the historiographers of that State. I can think of no better word for 盟 than 'covenant,' 'to covenant.' On all occasions there was the death of a victim, over which the contracting parties appealed to superior Powers, wishing that, if they violated the terms of their covenant, they might meet with a fate like that of the slain animal. One definition of the term is 誓約, 'an agreement with an oath.' Compare the account of Jacob and Laban's covenant, Genesis, xxxi.

The 及 after 公 is to be taken as simply = 與, 'with,' 'and.' Kung, Kuh, and others find recondite meanings in it, which will not bear examination. [Tso-she, after this paragraph, gives an incident of the 4th month, in summer, that 'the earl of Pe led a force, and walled Lang,' adding that no record of it was made, because it was not done with the duke's order. See the 1st note on 'The speech at Pe' in the Shoo. I have translated the notice according to the view of Ch'in Sze-k'ae given there; but Tso-she could not have intended 費伯 to be taken as mean-

ing 'Earl of Pe,' but merely 'Pih (some scion of the House of Loo) of Pe.']

Par. 3. Ch'ing was an earldom which had not been of long duration. In B.C. 805, king Seuen had invested his brother Yëw (友) with the lands of Ch'ing, in the pres. Hwa Chow (華州), dep. T'ung-chow, Shen-se. Yëw's son, Keueh-tuh (掘突), known as duke Woo (武公), conquered a territory more to the east,—the country of Kwoh and Kwei (虢鄆之地)—and settled in it, calling it 'New Ch'ing';—the name of which is still retained in the district of Sin-ch'ing (新鄭), dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan. Woo's son, Woo-shang (寤生), known as duke Chwang (莊) and born in B.C. 756, is the earl of this par. Twan was his younger brother. Yen has left its name in the dis. of Yen-ling (鄆陵). Tso-she's account of the event in the text is the following:—

'Duke Woo of Ch'ing had married a daughter of the House of Shin, called Woo Këang, who bore duke Chwang and his brother Twan of Kung. Duke Chwang was born as she was waking from sleep [the meaning of the text here is uncertain], which frightened the lady so that she named him Woo-shang (= born in waking), and hated him, while she loved Twan, and wished him to be declared his father's heir. Often did she ask this of duke Woo, but he refused it. When duke Chwang came to the earldom, she begged him to confer on Twan the city of Che. "It is too dangerous a place," was the reply. "The Younger of Kwoh died there; but in regard to any other place, you may command me." She then requested King; and there Twan took up his residence, and came to be styled T'ae-shuh (= the Great Younger) of King city. Chung of Chae said to the duke, "Any metropolitan city, whose wall is more than 3,000 cubits round, is dangerous to the State. According to the regulations of the former kings, such a city of the 1st order can have its wall only a third as long as that of the capital; one of the 2d order, only a fifth as long; and one of the least order, only a ninth. Now King is not in accordance with these measures and regulations. As ruler, you will not be able to endure Twan in such a place." The duke replied, "It was our mother's wish;—how could I avoid the danger?" "The lady Këang," returned the officer, "is not to be satisfied. You had better take the necessary precautions, and not allow the danger to grow so great that it will be difficult to deal with it. Even grass, when it has grown and spread all about, cannot be removed;—how much less the brother of yourself, and the favoured brother as well!" The duke said, "By his many deeds of unrighteousness he will bring destruction on himself. Do you only wait a while."

'After this, T'ae-shuh ordered the places on the western and northern borders of the State to render to himself the same allegiance as they did to the earl. Then Kung-tszé Leu said to the duke, "A State cannot sustain the burden of two services;—what will you do now? If you wish

to give *Ch'ing* to T'ae-shuh, allow me to serve him as a subject. If you do not mean to give it to him, allow me to put him out of the way, that the minds of the people be not perplexed." "There is no need," the duke replied, "for such a step. His calamity will come of itself."

T'ae-shuh went on to take as his own the places from which he had required their divided contributions, as far as Lin-yen. Tsze-fung [the designation of Kung-tsze Leu above] said, "Now is the time. With these enlarged resources, he will draw all the people to himself." The duke replied, "They will not cleave to him, so unrighteous as he is. Through his prosperity he will fall the more."

T'ae-shuh wrought at his defences, gathered the people about him, put in order buff-coats and weapons, prepared footmen, and chariots, intending to surprise Ch'ing, while his mother was to open to him from within. The duke heard the time agreed on between them, and said, "Now we can act." So he ordered Tsze-fung, with two hundred chariots, to attack King. King revolted from T'ae-shuh, who then entered Yen, which the duke himself proceeded to attack; and in the 5th month, on the day Sin-ch'ow, T'ae-shuh fled from it to Kung.

"In the words of the text,—'The earl of Ch'ing overcame Twan in Yen,' Twan is not called the earl's younger brother, because he did not show himself to be such. They were as two hostile princes, and therefore we have the word 'overcame.' The duke is styled the earl of Ch'ing simply, to condemn him for his failure to instruct his brother properly. Twan's flight is not mentioned, in the text, because it was difficult to do so, having in mind Ch'ing's wish that Twan might be killed."

"Immediately after these events, duke Chwang placed his mother K'ang in Shing-ying, and swore an oath, saying, 'I will not see you again, till I have reached the yellow spring [i.e., till I am dead, and under the yellow earth].'" But he repented of this. By and by, Ying K'au-shuh, the border-warden of the vale of Ying, heard of it, and presented an offering to the duke, who caused food to be placed before him. K'au-shuh put a piece of meat on one side; and when the duke asked the reason, he said, "I have a mother who always shares in what I eat. But she has not eaten of this meat which you, my ruler, have given, and I beg to be allowed to leave this piece for her." The duke said, "You have a mother to give it to. Alas! I alone have none." K'au-shuh asked what the duke meant, who then told him all the circumstances, and how he repented of his oath. "Why should you be distressed about that?" said the officer. "If you dig into the earth to the yellow springs, and then make a subterranean passage, where you can meet each other, who can say that your oath is not fulfilled?" The duke followed this suggestion; and as he entered the passage sang,

"This great tunnel, within,  
With joy doth run."

When his mother came out, she sang,

"This great tunnel, without,  
The joy flies about."

[After this, they were mother and son as before.

'A superior man may say, "Ying K'au-shuh was filial indeed. His love for his mother pass-

ed over to and affected duke Chwang. Was there not here an illustration of what is said in the Book of Poetry,

"A filial son of piety unfailing,  
There shall for ever be conferred blessing on you?"

Space would fail me were I to make any remarks on the criticisms interspersed by Tso-she in this and other narratives, or vindicate the translation of his narratives which I give. The reader will perceive that without the history in the Chuen, the Confucian text would give very little idea of the event which it professes to record; and there are numberless instances, more flagrant still, in the Book. The 君子, who moralizes, is understood to be Tso-she himself. We have no other instance in the Ch'un Ts'ew of 克 used as in this paragraph.

Par. 4. 天王, 'Heaven's king,' or 'king by Heaven's grace,' is of course king P'ing. The sovereign of China, as Heaven's vice-gerent over the empire, is styled 天子, 'Heaven's son;' in his relation to the feudal princes as their ruler, he was called 天王, 'Heaven's king.'

仲子 is 'the second Tsze,' i.e., the daughter of the duke of Sung, who became the 2d wife of duke Hwuy as mentioned in the note on the title of this book; not Hwuy's mother, as Kuh-l'ang absurdly says. 贈 is explained in

the dict. as 贈死者, 'presents to the dead,' and 所以助主人送葬者, 'aids to the presiding mourner to bury his dead.' But such presents were of various kinds, and 贈 denotes the gift specially of one or more carriages and their horses. So both Kung and Kuh.

The king sent such presents on the death of any of the princes or their wives; and here we have an instance in point. But there is much contention among the critics as to who the messenger was;—whether the king's chief Minister 冢宰, or some inferior officer of his department. The former view is taken by Kuh-l'ang, and affirmed by the editors of the K'ang-he Ch'un Ts'ew;—but, as I must think, erroneously. Under the 冢宰 or 太宰, were two 小宰, and four 宰夫, called by Biot *Grand-administrateur general*, '*Sous-administrateurs généraux*,' and *aides-administrateurs généraux*. It belonged to the department of the last, on all occasions of condolence, to superintend the arrangements, with every thing that was supplied by way of presents or offerings,—the silks, the utensils, the money, &c. (see the Chow Le, I, iii. 56—73).

The officer in the text was, no doubt, one of these aid-administrators; and this removes all difficulty which the critics find in the mention of an officer of higher rank by his name. The rule was that princes should be buried five months after their death, and Tso-she says that the king's message and gift arrived too late, so far as duke Hwuy was concerned. This criticism may be correct; but he goes on to say

that Chung Tsze was not yet dead, and the message and gift were too early, so far as she was concerned. The king could never have been guilty of such an impropriety as to anticipate the lady's death in this way, and the view of Tso-she can only provoke a smile. He adds:—'The king's burial took place 7 months after his death, when all the feudal princes were expected to be present. The prince of a State was buried 5 months after his death, when all the princes, with whom he had covenanted, attended. The funeral of a great officer took place 3 months after his death, and was attended by all of the same rank; that of an officer, at the end of a month, and was attended by his relatives by affinity. Presents on account of a death were made before the burial, and visits of condolence were paid before the grief had assumed its greatest demonstrations. It was not proper to anticipate such occurrences.'

On first translating the Ch'un Ts'ew, I construed the par. as if these were a 之 between 公 and 仲, and supposed that only one carriage and its horses were sent for the funeral of Chung Tsze, who had been the wife of Hwuy. I gave up the construction in deference to the prevailing opinion of the commentators; but it had been adopted by no less a scholar than Ch'ing E (程頤; A. D. 1033—1107).

[Tso-she has here two other entries under this season:—'In the 8th month an officer of Ke attacked E;' and 'There were locusts.' He adds that E sent no official announcement of the attack to Loo, and that therefore it was not recorded; and that no notice was entered of the locusts, because they did not amount to a plague.]

Par. 5. Sung was a dukedom,—having its chief city in the pres. dis. of Shang-k'ew (商邱), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. The charge given to the viscount of Wei on his being appointed to the State is still preserved in the Shoo, V. viii. The dukes of Sung were descended from the kings of Yin or Shang; and of course their surname was Tsze (子). Suh was a small State, in the present Tung-p'ing (東平) Chow, dep. T'ae-gan, Shan-tung. It was thus near Loo, but a good way from Sung. Its chiefs were barons with the surname Fung (風).

Tso-she tells us that in the last year of duke Hwuy, he defeated an army of Sung in Hwang, but that now duke Yin sought for peace. It was with this object that the covenant in the text was made.

I translate as if 公 preceded 及, for so the want must generally be supplied throughout the classic. Kung and Kuh both understand some inferior officer of Loo (微者), but in other places they themselves supply 公. By 宋人, however, we must understand an officer of

Sung. It is better to translate so than to say simply —'a man of Sung.'

[Between this par. and the next Tso-she has the three following narratives:—

'In winter, in the 10th month, on the day K'ang-shin, the body of duke Hwuy was removed and buried a second time.' As the duke was not present, the event was not recorded. When duke Hwuy died, there was war with Sung, and the heir-prince was young, so that there was some omission in the burial. He was therefore now buried again, and in another grave. The marquis of Wei came to be present at the burial. He did not have an interview with the duke, and so his visit was not recorded.'

'After the confusion occasioned by Kung-shuh of Ch'ing, Kung-sun Hwah [Twan or Kung-shuh's son] fled to Wei, and the people of Wei attacked Ch'ing in his behalf, and requested Lin-yen for him. Ch'ing then attacked the southern border of Wei, supported by a king's army and an army of Kwoh, and also requested the aid of troops from Choo. The viscount of Choo sent a private message to Kung-tsze Yu of Loo, who asked leave from the duke to go. It was refused; but he went and made a covenant with an officer of Choo and an officer of Ch'ing in Yih. No record was made of this, because Yu's going was against the duke's order.'

'The southern gate of the city was made new.' It was done without the duke's order, and so was not recorded.]

Par. 6. Chae [so 祭 is here read] was an earldom, in the present Ch'ing Chow (鄭州), dep. K'ae-fung, held by the descendants of one of the duke of Chow's sons. Acc. to Tso-she the earl here was a minister at court, and came to Loo, for what purpose we know not, without the orders of the king. Kung-yang, indeed, thinks he came as a refugee, and that 伯 is the designation of the individual merely (字), and not his title; while Kuh-l'ang makes the coming to have been to do a sort of homage to duke Yin. But this is simply guess work.

Par. 7. Of Yih-sze we know nothing but what this brief par. tells. He was 'a duke's son,' but whether the son of Hwuy, or of Hwuy's father, we cannot tell. It is best in such a case to take 公子 as if it were the surname. So Ho H'ew (何休) says here, 公子者氏也. Kuh-l'ang finds a condemnation of Yih-sze in the omission of the day of his death; but the old method of interpretation which found praise or blame in the mention of or silence as to days, in the use of the name, the designation, the title, and such matters, is now discarded. 卒 is the proper term to use for the death of an officer.

Tso-she gives the designation of Yih-sze as Chung-foo, and says that the day of his death is not recorded, because the duke did not attend at the ceremony of dressing the corpse, to it into the coffin.

## Second year.

二年春公會戎于潛。  
 夏五月莒人入向。  
 無駭帥師入極。  
 秋八月庚辰公及戎盟于唐。  
 九月紀履緌來逆女。  
 冬十月伯姬歸于紀。  
 紀子伯莒子盟于密。  
 十有二月乙卯夫人子氏薨。  
 鄭人伐衛。

左傳曰二年春公會戎于潛修惠公之好也戎請盟公莒子娶于向向姜不安莒而歸夏莒人入向以姜氏還司空無駭入極費季父勝之戎請盟秋盟于唐復修我好也九月紀履緌來逆女卿爲君逆也冬紀子帛莒子盟于密魯故也鄭人伐衛討公孫滑之亂也

- II. 1 In his second year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with the [chief of the] Jung at Ts'een.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, an army of Keu entered Hëang.  
 3 Woo-hëae led a force and entered Keih.  
 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, [on the day] Käng-shin, the duke made a covenant with the Jung at T'ang.  
 5 In the ninth month, Le-seu of Ke came to meet the bride [for his prince].  
 6 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Ke.  
 7 Tsze-pih of Ke and the count of Keu made a covenant at Meih.  
 8 In the twelfth month, on the day Yih-maou, the [duke's] wife, the lady Tsze, died.  
 9 An army of Ch'ing invaded Wei.

Par. 1. There is wanting here the character 王, 'king,' after 春, probably because no month is specified under whose regimen it should be. Jung is properly the name of the wild tribes on the west of 'the Middle State (西戎);' but in the time of Chow there were many of these tribes, and not those of the west only, settled in China along the seaboard and by the rivers,—remnants of the older inhabitants, not yet absorbed by the Chinese proper. We know, from the Shoo, V. xxix., that Loo was troubled even in the days of Pih-k'in by the E of the Hwae and the Jung of Seu. The Jung in the text may have been a remnant of the latter. Too Yu says their settlement was in what is now the dis. of Ts'aou (曹), dep. Ts'aou-chow. He says also that Ts'een was a town of Loo, somewhere in the southwest of Ts'aou-chow dep. 會戎 is—'met with the Jung.' Kuh-leang says the term 會 implies that the meeting originated with the other party, and not with Loo, and that the duke went out of his own State to it. Ho Hëw on Kung-yang also advocates this view. But the meaning of 會 is not to be so determined; and, acc. to Too Yu, the place of meeting was in Loo. Tso-she says the duke's object was to cultivate the old friendship which his father had maintained with the Jung, but that he declined to enter into a covenant, which the Jung wished him to make.

Par. 2. Keu has left its name in Keu Chow, dep. E-chow (沂州). It extended east from Loo to the seaboard. Its chiefs were viscounts, and claimed to be descended from the old Shaou-haou, Hwang-to's successor. There is some difficulty about their surname, whether it was Ying (贏) or Sze (巳). Hëang was a small State, within the boundaries of Keu. Too Yu, indeed, would place it in the pres. dis. of Hwae-yuen (懷遠), dep. Fung-yang (鳳陽), Gan-hwuy. There was a Hëang there, but it was too far from Keu to be that in the text. And there were two Hëang in the pres. Shan-tung, one of them 70 le from Keu Chow, which was, probably, that here. The chief of Hëang had the surname Këang (姜), as we learn from what Tso-she says on the par.:—'The viscount of Keu had married a daughter of Hëang, but she could not rest in Keu, and went back to Hëang. This summer, an army from Keu entered Hëang, and took the lady Këang back to Keu.' I translate 莒人者莒之師, who lays down the canon that, in the Ch'un Ts'ew, wherever mention is made of troops under the command of any officer, high or low, who is not specified by name or designation, we find simply 人, 'the men' of such and such a State. Too Yu says, somewhat to the same effect, that we find 人 where the force is small, and the leader only

of low rank. The term 入, 'entered,' occurs frequently of military expeditions; implying, says Kuh, that 'the entering is against the will of the invaded party (內弗受);' 'that the country or city is entered, but not retained,' says Kung. But there are instances in which the entering was followed by the entire subjugation and occupancy of the place or State; and this was probably the case in regard to Keu and Hëang, though the language of Tso-she translated above has been pleaded against this conclusion. 入 implies invasion and capture in the present; what was done subsequently cannot be learned from the term.

Par. 3. Woo-hëae (Kuh reads, here and subsequently, 佗) was an officer of Loo,—a scion of the ruling House, belonging to a branch which had not yet received a surname of its own. Tso-she says he was Loo's minister of Works, and adds that at this time he was defeated by K'in-foo of Pe,—the same who walled Lang in the previous year. Keih was a small attached State,—referred to the dis. of Yu-t'ae (魚臺), dep. Yen-chow. The incident given here is said to be the first in the Ch'un Ts'ew of officers taking it upon themselves to institute warlike movements. It certainly shows how loosely the reins of government were held by the marquises of the State.

Par. 4. T'ang was a place belonging to Loo,—its site 12 le east from the pres. dis. city of Yu-t'ae. Tso-she says that the Jung at the meeting in spring had requested a covenant which the duke then refused, granting it now, however, on a second application. The text says this covenant was made on the day Käng-shin, the 17th of the cycle; and Too Yu observes that in the 8th month of this year there was no Käng-shin day, and concludes that there is an error in the text of the 8th month for the 7th, the 9th day of which was Käng-shin. His calculation, however, proceeds on the supposition that the 1st year of Yin began with the day Sin-sze (辛巳). If we make it begin a month

later, with the day Sin-hae (辛亥), according to another scheme, we get the day Käng-shin in the 8th month of this 2d year. But the Sin-hae scheme fails in other instances. The chronologers of China have toiled admirably on the months and days of the Ch'un Ts'ew; but thus far with only partial success. The dates in the classic and those in Tso-she's Chuen are often irreconcilable. Two data are necessary to a complete scheme,—that the day on which the 1st year of Yin began be known with certainty, and that the intercalary months in subsequent years be ascertained. Neither of these data can be got. See Mr. Chalmers' essay on the Astronomy of the ancient Chinese, in the prolegomena to the Shoo, pp. 90—102.

Par. 5. Ke was a small State, a marquise, in the dis. of Show-kwang (壽光), dep. Ts'ing-chow. It lay between Ke (杞) on the south and Ts'e on the north; and we shall find, ere long, that it was absorbed by Ts'e. Le-seu (Tso-she has 裂繻) was the name of a minister

of Ke. We know that he comes here to meet his prince's bride from the phrase 逆女, for, when a minister is described as coming to Loo to meet a lady of the House for himself, he is said 逆某姬, 'to meet such and such a lady Ke.' He comes of course because he was sent, but it was not proper, according to the 'rules for marriage,' that that should be stated.

Par. 6. This is the sequel of the last par. As it is the first par. of a season, it seems proper that it should stand by itself, and not make one with the other as in the K'ang-he edition. 歸一嫁, 'to be married,' spoken of the lady. Her husband's house becomes her home.

Par. 7. Tsze-pih, (in Tso-she 子帛) is explained by Too Yu as the designation of Le-seu in par. 5. Kung says he had not heard who 子伯 was; and Kuh makes 伯 a verb and construes thus:—'The viscount of Ke, considering himself an earl, took precedence and covenanted with the viscount of Keu.' This is sufficiently absurd, and besides, the chiefs of Ke were marquises, which makes Woo Ch'ing (A. D. 1249 — 1333) suppose that 子伯 may have got, by some mistake, into the text instead of 侯. Too Yu's view may be accepted as most likely. He says also that Meih was a town belonging to Keu;—in dis. of Ch'ang yih (昌邑), dep. Lae-chow. This places it a considerable way from Keu, though near to Ke. The identification of the site may be accepted, but one does not see how a place at such a distance from Keu should have belonged to it. My

friend, the scholar Wang Taou, has suggested that the chiefs of Keu themselves occupied originally in the territory of Lae-chow, and might claim jurisdiction over places there after they moved to the south. There was another Meih which is mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ew;—in Honan. Tso-she says that the meeting was 'on Loo's account,' which Too-yu explains as meaning that the count of Ke, kindly disposed to Loo through his recent marriage, arranged for the meeting, to heal a long-standing alienation between Loo and Keu.

Par. 8. I have translated 夫人子氏 by 'the duke's wife,' meaning, of course, duke Yin. Too supposes the second wife of Hwuy to be the lady meant, in anticipation of whose death the king sent a funeral present in the previous year;—a view which confutes itself. Kung thinks the lady was Yin's mother. Kuh takes the view I have done. The term 薨 is appropriate to narrate the death of one of the princes. It is here applied to the death of a prince's wife;—'the honour due to the husband passing to her.'

Par. 9 Wei was a marquisate held by the descendants of K'ang-shuh, one of the sons of king Wan, whose investiture with it is described in the Shoo, V. ix. It may be roundly said to have embraced the pres. dep. of Wei-hwuy (衛輝) Ho-nan,—lying, most of it, north of the Ho; but it extended eastwards, across part of Chih-le, into Shan-tung as well. Its capital—subsequently changed—was the old Ch'iaou-ko (朝歌) of Shang, in pres. dis. of K'uei (淇). The reason of Ch'ing's invasion of Wei is sufficiently indicated in one of the supplementary notices by Tso-she of the occurrences in the 10th month of last year. 鄭人,—as 莒人 in par. 2.

### Third year.

三年春王二月己巳  
日有食之。  
三月庚戌天王崩。  
夏四月辛卯尹氏卒。  
秋武氏子來求賻。  
八月庚辰宋公和卒。  
冬十有二月齊侯鄭  
伯盟于石門。  
癸未葬宋穆公。

左傳曰：三年春王三月壬戌平王崩。赴以庚戌，故書之。

夏君氏卒，聲子也。不赴于諸侯，不反哭于寢，不耐于姑，故不曰薨。不稱夫人，故不言葬。不書姓，為公故，曰君氏。鄭武公莊公，為平王卿士。王貳于虢，鄭伯怨王。王曰：無之。故周鄭交質。王子狐為質于鄭，鄭公子忽為質于周。王崩，周人將畀虢公政。四月，鄭祭足帥師，取溫之麥。秋，又取成周之禾。周鄭交惡。君子曰：信不由中，實無益也。明恕而行，要之以禮，雖無有質，誰能閒之？苟有明信，澗谿沼沚之毛，蘋蘩蕰藻之菜，筐筥錡釜之器，潢汙行潦之水，可薦于鬼神，可羞于王公，而況君子結二國之信，行之以禮，又焉用質？風有采芣采蘋，雅有行葦沔酌，昭忠信也。

武氏子來求賻，王未葬也。

宋穆公疾，召大司馬孔父，而屬殤公焉。曰：先君舍與夷而立寡人，寡人弗敢忘。若以大夫之靈，得保首領以沒，先君若問與夷，其將何辭以對？請子奉之，以主社稷。寡人雖死，亦無悔焉。對曰：羣臣願奉馮也。公曰：不可。先君以寡人為賢，使主社稷。若棄德不讓，是廢先君之舉也。豈曰能賢？光昭先君之令德，可不務乎？吾子其無廢先君之功。使公子馮出居于鄭。八月，庚辰，宋穆公卒，殤公即位。君子曰：宋宣公可謂知人矣。立穆公，其子饗之，命以義夫。商頌曰：殷受命咸宜，百祿是荷。其是之謂乎。

冬，齊鄭盟于石門，尋廬之盟也。庚戌，鄭伯之車償于濟。

衛莊公娶于齊東宮得臣之妹，曰莊姜，美而無子。衛人所為賦碩人也。又娶于陳，曰厲嬀，生孝伯，早死。其娣戴嬀，生桓公。莊姜以為己子。公子州吁，嬖人之子也。有寵而好兵，公弗禁。莊姜惡之。石碏諫曰：臣聞愛子，教之以義方，弗納於邪。驕奢淫泆，所自邪也。四者之來，寵祿過也。將立州吁，乃定之矣。若猶未也，階之為禍。夫寵而



可州弗之禍禍順所子君義舊長夫能降不  
 桓吁聽無是也效謂孝義所小遠賤眈而驕  
 公游其乃務君逆六兄臣謂加間妨者不驕  
 立禁子不去人所順愛行六親貴鮮憾而  
 乃之厚可而者以也弟父逆淫新少矣憾能  
 老不與乎速將速去敬慈也破間陵且而降

- III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on the day Ke-sze, the sun was eclipsed.  
 2 In the third month, on the day Käng-seuh, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.  
 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on the day Sin-maou, [an officer of] the Yin family died.  
 4 In autumn, a son of the Woo family came [to Loo] to ask for the contribution of money towards the [king's] burial.  
 5 In the eighth month, on the day Käng-shin, Ho, duke of Sung, died.  
 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant at Shih-mün.  
 7 [On the day] Kwei-we, there was the burial of duke Muh of Sung.

Par. 1. This is the 1st of the 36 eclipses of the sun mentioned in the Ch'un T'sew. From the table in the proleg. to the Shoo, pp. 103, 104, it will be seen that it occurred on the 14th February, B. C. 719, being the 6th cycle day, or Ke-sze, of the 3d month of the Chow year. There is an error therefore in the text of 2 for 3. The mathematicians of China were themselves aware of this, as early as the Suy dynasty (A. D. 589-617). Evidently this year commenced on January 16th, instead of a month earlier, by some previous error of intercalation. Generally, the character 朔, 'the 1st day of the moon,' follows the name of the day of the eclipse; and as it is wanting here, Kung and Kuh conclude that the eclipse was really on the last day of the previous month. But this involves much greater difficulty than to suppose that the 朔 was omitted through inadvertence of the historiographers, or has dropt somehow out of the text. 日有食之=日有所食之者. 'The sun had something which was devouring it.' The phenomenon had suggested this idea to the earliest Chinese, and the phrase became stereotyped in the language. On the ceremonies observed at an eclipse, 'to save the sun,' see the Shoo, III. iv. 4, and note. Kung-yang thinks eclipses were recorded as extraordinary events (異); but the K'ang-he editors approve rather the view that it was as calamitous presages (災).

Par. 2. 崩, 'the fall of a mountain,' is the appropriate term for the death of a sovereign. Tso-she says that king P'ing really died on the day Jin-seuh, i. e., 12 days before Käng-seuh, but that the official communication of the event

gave the wrong date, which was therefore recorded; and Too Yu thinks the date was wrongly communicated to hurry the princes to the capital. But there must be some other way of explaining Tso-she's statement, if it be correct.—The death of the sovereign was communicated to all the princes of the States, whose duty it then was to send off to the capital a high minister to take part in the preliminary funeral rites, and present the various offerings of money, silk, &c., required on such an occasion. The princes themselves did not go to the capital till the time of burial was arrived.

Par. 3. Who is denoted by the 尹氏 here is all-undetermined. Tso-she reads 君 instead of 尹, and 君氏 is something like our 'royal lady,' meaning duke Yin's mother. Kung-yang and Kuh-läng both have 尹 and suppose that by 尹氏 is intended some minister at the court of Chow of that surname, 氏 intimating that whatever office he held had become hereditary in his family. Many other explanations of the words have been attempted. The most probable appears to be that of Kin Le-ts'äng (A. D. 1,232-1,303), which is strongly advocated by Maou,—that the person intended was an officer of Ch'ing, of whom we shall read in Tso-she's Chuen, on the duke's 11th year, where the text here will again be touched on. Tso-she says that the term 卒 is used here for the lady's death, instead of 薨 for three reasons: because 1st, no notice of her death was sent to other States in covenant with Loo; 2d, duke Yin, on

returning at mid-day from her burial, did not weep for her in his state apartment; 3d, he did not place her Spirit-tablet in the same shrine with that of Hwuy's grandmother. He adds that her burial is not recorded, because she is not styled 夫人, or [Hwuy's] wife; and that she is merely styled 君氏, without her surname, out of regard to the duke. [Much of this is needless trifling.]

[The Chuen has here the following narrative:—The dukes Woo and Chwang of Ch'ing had been high ministers at the court of king P'ing, and the king wished to divide the authority of Chwang between him and the duke of Kwoh. The earl resented the idea, and the king disclaimed it; and in consequence of this Chow and Ch'ing exchanged hostages, the king's son Hoo going as one to Ch'ing, and the earl's eldest son Hwuh going to Chow. On the king's death, the other ministers at the court proposed giving Ch'ing's office to Kwoh; and in the 4th month Chae Tsuh [the same as Chung of Chae in the narrative under the 3d p. of 1st year] led a force and carried away the wheat of Wun, and in the autumn, also the rice about Ching-chow, from which ensued enmity between Chow and Ch'ing.—A superior man may say, "If there be not good faith in the heart, hostages are of no use. If parties act with intelligence and with mutual consideration, their actions under the rule of propriety, although there be no exchange of hostages, they cannot be alienated. When there are intelligence and sincerity, what is grown by streams in the valleys, by ponds, and in pools, the gatherings of duck-weed, white southernwood, and pond-weed, in baskets round and square, and cooked in pans and pots with the water from standing pools and road hollows, may be presented to the Spirits, and set before kings and dukes;—much more may we conclude that when two princes are contracting their States in good faith, and their proceedings are according to the proper rules, there is no good in hostages. In the 'Lessons from the States' we have the Ts'ae fan (She, I. ii. II.), and the Ts'ae pin (ib., IV.), and in the Ya we have the Hing Wei (III. ii. II.), and the H'ung choh (ib., VII.);—pieces which all show how truthfulness of heart and good faith may be manifested with slight things."]

Par. 4. We saw, in p. 4 of the 1st year, how the king sent funeral presents to Loo;—that was according to propriety. Now, on hearing of the king's death, Loo ought to have sent the proper presents to the court, and of money among them (錢財曰賻). The duke had not done so, failing in duty; and the court showed its weakness and want of self-respect in sending to ask for the contribution. The Wools must have been a family holding some hereditary office at court.

Par. 5. The death of the duke of Sung was communicated to Loo, and so the historiographers put it on record. The proper word for the death of the prince of a State is 薨, but here we have 卒; the reason being that, in the records of Loo, 薨 could be used only of its own princes.

Here the Chuen has:—"Duke Muh [Ho's sacrificial title] of Sung being ill, he called to him K'ung-foo, his minister of War, and charged him to secure the succession to duke Shang, saying, "My predecessor passed by his son Yu-e, and left the State to unworthy me. I dare not forget his deed; and if by your powerful influence I succeed in preserving my head till I die in peace, should my brother ask about Yu-e, what answer shall I be able to return? I beg you to secure him the appointment to be lord of the altars, and then I shall be able to die without regret." The other replied, "All the officers wish to support your son P'ing." "That must not be," said the duke. "My brother deemed me worthy, and made me lord of the altars. If I now throw away my virtue, and do not yield the State to his son, I shall be nullifying his promotion of me, and not worthy to be deemed honourable. Should it not be my chief object to illustrate brightly the excellent virtue of my brother? Do not you, my friend and minister, nullify his merit." On this duke Muh's son, P'ing, was sent away to reside in Ch'ing; and when Muh died on the day Käng-shin, in the 8th month, duke Shang, succeeded him.—A superior man may say, "It may be pronounced of duke Seuen (who preceded Muh) of Sung that he knew men. He made Muh possess the State, and his own son came afterwards to the enjoyment of it;—the charge was according to righteousness. Are not the words in the sacrificial odes of Shang."

"Right is it that Yin should have the appointment,

And sustain all the dignities (She, IV. iv. III.)," descriptive of such a case?]

Par. 6. Ts'e was one of the most powerful States, a marquise, whose capital was Ying-k'ew (營邱), in pres. dis. of Lin-tsze (臨淄), dep. Ts'ing-chow; but it extended much beyond the boundaries of that department. Its princes had the surname of K'ang (姜), and traced their lineage up to the chief minister of Yaou. Shih-mün belonged to Ts'e;—in the south-west of Ch'ang-ts'ing (長清) dis., dept. Tse-nan. It probably took its name from some 'Stone-gate' or embankment of the river Tse. Tso-she says that in connection with this meeting, 'the carriage of the earl of Ch'ing was overturned in the Tse.'

Par. 7. The duke of Sung is mentioned here, with his honorary or sacrificial title of Muh (Kung and Kuh have 繆), the burial taking place, of course, in his own State. We might translate—'We buried,' it being the rule that friendly States should send a great officer to represent them on such occasions;—and this Loo had here done.

[The Chuen appends here the following narrative about Wei:—

'Duke Chwang of Wei had married the sister of Tih-shin, the heir-son of the marquis of Ts'e, known as Chwang K'ang. She was beautiful but childless, and it was of her that the people of Wei made the song of "the Great Lady (She, I. v. III.)." The duke then married a daughter of the House of Ch'in, called Le Kwei, who had a son called



Hsiao-pih that died early. Tae Kwei, who had accompanied her to the harem, had a son, who was afterwards duke Hwan, and who was cherished by Chwang K'ang as her own child. There was also Chow-yu, another son of the duke by a favourite concubine, a favoured child, and fond of his weapons, not restrained by the duke, but hated by Chwang K'ang. Shih Ts'eh remonstrated with the duke, saying, "Your servant has heard that, when you love a son, you should teach him righteous ways, and not help him on in the course of depravity. There are pride, extravagance, lewdness, and dissipation, by which one depraves himself; but these four vices come from over-indulgence and allowances. If you are going to make Chow-yu your successor, settle him in that position; if you have not yet decided on such a step, you are paving the way for him to create disorder. Few there are who can be favoured without getting arrogant; few arrogant who can submit themselves to others; few who can submit themselves without being indignant at their position; and

few who can keep patient under such a feeling of indignancy. And moreover, there are what are called the six instances of insubordination, —when the mean stand in the way of the noble; or the young presume against their elders; or distant relatives cut out those who are near; or new friends alienate from the old; or a small Power attacks a great one; or lewdness defeats righteousness. The ruler righteous and the minister acting accordingly; the father kind and the son dutiful; the elder brother loving and the younger respectful:—these are what are called the six instances of what should be. To put away what should be and follow what should not be, is the way to accelerate calamity; and when a ruler of men accelerates the calamity which it should be his object to keep off, is not the case a deplorable one?" The duke did not listen to this remonstrance; and Ts'eh's son, How, became a companion of Chow-yu. The father tried to restrain him, but in vain. When duke Hwan succeeded to his father, Ts'eh withdrew from public life on the plea of old age.]

## Fourth year.

四年<sup>一章</sup>春王二月莒人伐杞取牟婁<sup>二章</sup>戊申衛州吁弑其君完<sup>三章</sup>夏公及宋公遇于清<sup>四章</sup>宋公陳侯蔡人衛人伐鄭<sup>五章</sup>秋翬帥師會宋公陳侯蔡人衛人伐鄭<sup>六章</sup>九月衛人殺州吁于濮<sup>七章</sup>冬十有二月衛人立晉

四年春衛州吁弑桓公而立公與宋公爲會將尋宿之盟未及期衛人來告亂夏公及宋公遇于清宋殤公之即位也公子馮出奔鄭鄭人欲納之及衛州吁立將修先君之怨于鄭而求寵于諸侯以和其民使告于宋曰君若伐鄭以除君害君爲主敝邑以賦與陳蔡從則衛國之願也宋人許之于是陳蔡方睦于衛故宋公陳侯蔡人衛人伐鄭圍其東門五日而還公問

于衆仲曰衛州吁其成乎對曰臣聞以德和民不聞以亂以亂猶治絲而棼之也夫州吁阻兵而安忍阻兵無衆安忍無親衆叛親離難以濟矣夫兵猶火也弗戢將自焚也夫州吁弑其君而虐用其民于是乎不務令德而欲以亂成必不免矣秋諸侯復伐鄭宋公使來乞師公辭之羽父請以師會之公弗許固請而行故書曰翬帥師疾之也諸侯之師敗鄭徒兵取其禾而還州吁未能和其民厚問定君于石子石子曰王觀爲可曰何以得觀曰陳桓公方有寵于王陳衛方睦若朝陳使請必不可得也厚從州吁如陳石碯使告于陳曰衛國福小老夫耄矣無能爲也此二人者實弑寡君敢即圖之陳人執之而請泄于衛九月衛人使右宰醜泄殺州吁于濮石碯使其宰獮羊肩泄殺石厚于陳君子曰石碯純臣也惡州吁而厚與焉大義滅親其是之謂乎衛人逆公子晉于邢冬十二月宣公即位書曰衛人立晉衆也

- IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army of Keu invaded Ke, and took Mow-low.  
2 [On the day] Mow-shin, Chow-yu of Wei murdered his ruler, Hwan.  
3 In summer, the duke and the duke of Sung met at Ts'ing.  
4 The duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, an army of Ts'ae, and an army of Wei invaded Ch'ing.  
5 In autumn, Hwuy led a force, and joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the army of Ts'ae, and the army of Wei, in the invasion of Ch'ing.  
6 In the ninth month, the people of Wei put Chow-yu to death in Puh.  
7 In winter, in the twelfth month, the people of Wei raised Tsin [to be marquis of the State].

Par. 1. Ke was a marquisate (its chiefs are also called earls and sometimes viscounts) whose capital at this time was Yung-k'ew (雍邱) in dis. of Ke, dept. K'ae-fung. It lay between Keu on the south, and Ts'e and Ke (紀) on the north. Its chiefs were descendants of the great Yu, and of course had the surname Sze (姒);—see Ana. III.v. The capital was changed more than once in the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew. Mow-low was on its southern border, near to Keu;—in dis. Choo-shing (諸城).

取, 'took,' is said to denote that the place was easily taken. Keu seems to have retained it. Kung and Kuh say that this capture, being altogether foreign to Loo, should not have been recorded; but that Confucius entered it, to show his hatred of such an outrage on the part of Keu, especially as this is the 1st instance of the capture by one State of a city of another, recorded in this classic. But, no doubt, the capture was announced by Keu to Loo, and the record of it was *en regle*.

Par. 2. 弑 is the term appropriate to the murder of a ruler by a minister, or of a father

by a son. To understand the record fully, refer to the last narrative under last year from the Chuen. Kuh-lêng, here and below, has 祝 for 州; and deep meanings are found in the omission of 公子. 'duke's son,' before the name;—about which we need not be particular. 完 was the name of the son of duke Chwang of Wei, mentioned as himself duke Hwan (桓) in the narrative referred to. It might appear that this par. belonged to the 2d month, but Too Yu remarks that in that month there was no Mow-shin day. The characters 三月 should be at the commencement of the par.

Par. 3. 遇 is simply 'to meet,' as if without previous agreement, and this is the meaning put on the term here; but such an interpretation would be meaningless. Why should a casual incident of that nature be recorded? In the Le Ke, I. Pt. II. ii. 12, we are told that 'interviews between the princes before the time agreed upon were called 遇.' So Tso-she interprets the word here, and Too Yu calls the interview 草次之期, 'a hurried arrangement.' Tso-she says:—In spring Chow-yu of Wei had murdered duke Hwan, and taken his place. The duke and the duke of Sung had arranged for a meeting as a sequel to their covenant at Suh [in the 1st year]; but before the time came, they got the news of the confusion in Wei. In consequence of this, it would follow, they had only a hurried meeting. T'sing was in Wei,—in dis. of Tung-o (東阿), dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 4. Ch'in was a marquissate, having its chief city in Yuen-k'ew (宛邱),—in pres. dis. of Hwae-ning (淮寧), dep. Ch'in-chow (so called from the ancient State), Ho-nan. Its chiefs were Kweis (僇), descended from Shun. Ch'in and Ts'ae were the most southern of the States of China proper in this period, and exposed consequently to danger from the barbarous Ts'oo, by which they were ultimately absorbed. Ts'ae also was a marquissate, with which king Woo invested his brother Shuh-too at the commencement of the dynasty;—in dep. Joo-ning (汝寧), Ho nan. Its capital at this time was in Shang-ts'ae (上蔡) dis. To understand the par., we must keep in mind the Chuen under par. 5, last year. Tso-she adds here:—When Shang came to the dukedom of Sung, P'ing, the son of duke Muh, fled to Ch'ing, where there was a wish to vindicate his right to Sung. And now, when Chow-yu had made himself marquis of Wei, he thought at once of putting to rights his father's grudge against Ch'ing [see the 2d Chuen after p. 5, 1st year], and of getting for himself the favour of the princes, in order to make his people better affected. He sent a message, therefore, to the duke of Sung, saying, "If you will invade Ch'ing to remove the danger that is there to yourself [i.e. Muh's son P'ing], you shall be chief of the expedition; and all my

levies, as well as Ch'in and Ts'ae, will follow you:—this is the desire of the State of Wei." They acceded in Sung to the request; and as Ch'in and Ts'ae were then friendly with Wei, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, an army of Ts'ae, and an army of Wei, invaded Ch'ing, and laid siege for five days to the eastern gate of its capital;—when they returned.

"The duke of Loo asked Chung-chung whether Chow-yu of Wei would accomplish his ambition. "Your servant has heard," said the officer, "that the people may be made well affected by virtue; I have not heard that they can be made so by violence. To use violence with that view is like trying to put silk in order and only raveling it. Chow-yu relies on his military force, and can do cruel things. For his military likings the multitude will not cleave to him; and for his cruelty his relatives will not. With the multitude rebellious, and his friends leaving him, it will be difficult for him to be successful. Military weapons are like fire; if you don't lay the fire aside, it will burn yourself. Chow-yu murdered his prince, and he uses his people oppressively, thus not making excellent virtue his pursuit, but wishing to succeed by violence;—he will certainly not escape calamity."

Par. 5. This Hwuy was an officer of Loo, a son, indeed, of the previous duke. He was afterwards concerned in the murder of duke Yin; and Kung and Kuh think that he is here mentioned simply by his name, denuded of the 'duke's son,' as the sage's punishment of him for his share in that deed. But this view is quite inadmissible. Tso-she thinks the omission shows Confucius' dislike of him in the incident here mentioned; but neither need we suppose that. The historiographers had merely entered his name. The 會 is little more than the 及 of other paragraphs. The Chuen is:—In the autumn, the princes again invaded Ch'ing, and the duke of Sung sent to ask the assistance of a force from Loo. Yu-foo [the designation of this Hwuy] asked leave to join them with a force. The duke refused, when he strongly urged his request, and went. Hence the brief record of the text, expressive of dislike to his conduct. The army of the princes defeated the footmen of Ch'ing, carried off the paddy from the fields, and returned.

Par. 6. Here and in p. 7, 衛人 denotes 'the people of Wei,' as if the things recorded had the consent, and were, indeed, the doing of them all. Chow-yu might have been mentioned as 衛侯, being the ruler *de facto*; but he had had occupied his position only for a short time, and the marquis Hwan was not yet buried. Puh was in Ch'in, near a river so named. Tso-she gives the following account of Chow-yu's death:—

"Chow-yu finding himself unable to attach the people to himself, Shih Ts'oh's son How asked his father how to establish the prince in the State. Shih said, "It may be done by his going and having an audience of the king." "But how can this audience be obtained?" "Duke Hwan of Ch'in," replied the father, "is now in favour with the king, and Ch'in and Wei are on friendly terms. If the marquis go to the court of Ch'in, and get the duke to ask an

audience for him, it may be got." On this How went with Chow-yu to Ch'in; but Shih Ts'oh sent information to Ch'in, saying, "The State of Wei is narrow and small, and I am aged and can do nothing. These two men are the real murderers of my prince, and I venture to ask that you will instantly take the proper measures with them." The people of Ch'in made them prisoners, and requested Wei to send and manage the rest. In the 9th month, the people of Wei sent Ch'ow, the superintendent of the Right, who put Chow-yu to death, at Puh, and Shih Ts'oh sent his steward, Now Yang-

kên, who put Shih How to death in the capital of Ch'in. A superior man may say, "Shih Ts'oh was a minister without blemish. He hated Chow-yu, with whom his own son How was art and part;—and did he not so afford an illustration of the saying that great righteousness is supreme over the affections?"

Par. 7. Tsin was a brother of duke Hwan, and had fled to the State of Hing (邢). They now sent to Hing for him, and raised him to the marquissate.

## Fifth year.

五年春，公觀魚于棠。夏四月，葬衛桓公。秋，衛師入郕。九月，考仲子之宮，初獻六羽。邾人伐宋。冬十有二月，辛巳，公子彊卒。宋人伐鄭，圍長葛。

左傳曰：五年春，公將如棠觀魚者，臧僖伯諫曰：凡物不足以講大事，其材不足以備器用，則君不舉焉。君將納民于軌物者也，故講事以度軌量，謂之軌。取材以章物，謂之物。不軌不物，謂之亂政。亂政亟行，所以敗也。故春蒐、夏苗、秋獮、冬狩，皆於農隙以講事也。三年而治兵，入而振旅，歸而飲至，以數軍實，昭文而治兵，入而振旅，歸而飲至，以數軍實，昭文則公不射。古之制也。若夫山林川澤之寶，器用之資，阜隸之事，官司之守，非君所及也。公曰：吾將畧地焉。遂往，陳魚而觀之。傳伯稱疾不從。書曰：公矢魚于棠，非禮也。且言遠地也。○曲沃莊伯以鄭人邢人伐翼，王使尹氏武氏助之，翼侯奔隨。○夏葬衛桓公，衛亂是以緩。○四月，鄭人侵衛牧，以報東門之役，衛人以燕師伐鄭，鄭祭足原繁洩駕以三軍軍其前。

使曼伯與子元潛軍其後，燕人畏鄭三軍，而不虞制人。六月，鄭二公子以制人敗燕師于北制。君子曰：不備不虞，不可以師。

○曲沃叛王，秋，王命虢公伐曲沃，而立哀侯于翼。衛之亂也，邠人侵衛，故衛師入邠。

九月，考仲子之宮，將萬焉。公問羽數于衆仲，對曰：天子用八，諸侯用六，大夫四，士二，夫舞，所以節八音而行八風，故自八以下，公從之。于是初獻六羽，始用六佾也。

宋人取邾田，邾人告于鄭，曰：請君釋憾于宋，敝邑爲道。鄭人以王師會之，伐宋，入其郛，以報東門之役。宋人使來告命，公聞其入郛也，將救之，問于使者曰：師何及？對曰：未及國，公怒，乃止。辭使者曰：君命寡人，同恤社稷之難，今問諸使者，曰：師未及國，非寡人之所敢知也。

冬十二月，辛巳，臧僖伯卒。公曰：叔父有憾于寡人，寡人弗敢忘。葬之，加一等。

宋人伐鄭，圍長葛，以報入郛之役也。

- V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke [went] to see the fishermen at T'ang.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Wei.
- 3 In autumn, an army of Wei entered Shing.
- 4 In the ninth month, [the duke] completed the shrine-palace of Chung Tsze. For the first time he exhibited [only] six rows of pantomimes.
- 5 An army of Choo and an army of Ch'ing invaded Sung.
- 6 There were the *ming*-insects.
- 7 In winter, in the twelfth month, duke [Hsiao's] son K'ow died.
- 8 An army of Sung invaded Ch'ing, and besieged Ch'ang-koh.

Par. 1. Instead of 觀 Tso-she has 矢, with the meaning of 陳, 'to set in order,' 'to arrange.' Then 魚 is taken as 漁者, 'fishermen.' T'ang was in the dis. of Yu-t'ae, a long way from K'eh-fow where the court of Loo was. The name Yu-t'ae, (魚臺), 'fishermen's tower,' remains, indeed, since A. D. 762, when the district was so called, a monument of the incident in this par. Tso-she's view of it then is, that the duke, neglecting the business of govt., went off for his own pleasure to T'ang, and there had the fishermen drawn up with all their equipments, and watched them as they proceeded to catch their prey. A great scholar, Yeh Mung-tih (A. D. 1077—1138), and others,

take 矢 as 射, 'to shoot,' and think that duke Yin, really seeking his own pleasure, went off to T'ang on the pretence that he was going to shoot fish for use in sacrifice!

The Chuen says:—'The duke being about to go to T'ang, to see the fishermen, Tsang He-pih remonstrated with him, saying, "All pursuit of creatures in which the great affairs of the State are not illustrated, and when they do not supply materials available for use in its various requirements, the ruler does not engage in. Into the idea of a ruler it enters that he lead and help the people on to what should be observed, and all the ramifications thereof. Hence the practice of exercises in admeasurement of the degrees of what should be observed is called fixing the rule, and the obtaining the materials

supplied thereby for the ornament of the various requirements of the State, is the guiding principle to show what creatures should be pursued. Where there are no such admeasurement and no such materials, the government is one of disorder; and the frequent indulgence in a government of disorder is the way to ruin. In accordance with this there are the spring hunting, the summer hunting, the autumn hunting, and the winter hunting:—all in the intervals of husbandry, for the illustration of one great business of States. Then every three years, there is the grand military review; when it is over, the troops are all led back; and their return is announced by the cup of spirits in the temple:—all to take reckoning of the accoutrements and spoils; to display the various blazonry; to exhibit the noble and the mean; to distinguish the observance of order and ranks; to show the proper difference between the young and the old; to practise the various observances of discipline. Now when the birds and beasts are such that their flesh is not presented in the sacrificial vessels, and their skins, hides, teeth, bones, horns, feathers, and hair are not used in the furniture of the State, it was the ancient rule that our dukes should not shoot them. With the creatures found in the mountains, forests, streams and marshes; with the materials for ordinary articles of use; with the business of underlings; and with the charges of inferior officers:—with all these the ruler has nothing to do." The duke said, "I will walk over the country;" and so he went, had the fishermen drawn up in order, and looked at their operations. He-pih gave out that he was ill, and did not accompany him. The text, "The duke reviewed a display of the fishermen at T'ang," intimates the impropriety of the affair, and tells moreover how far off the place was.'

[The Chuen adds here a note about Tsien (晉):—

'Earl Chwang of K'eh-yuh, with an army of Ch'ing and an army of Hing, invaded Yih. The king sent his officers, the Heads of the Yin and Woo families, to assist him. The marquis of Yih fled to Suy.'

Par. 2. This burial was very late, more than double the regular 5 months after the prince's death;—owing to the confusion in which the State had been.

[The Chuen adds here—

'In the 4th month, an army of Ch'ing fell suddenly on the city Muh of Wei, to revenge the siege of its eastern gate [see the Chuen on p. 4 of last year]. An army of Wei, aided by one of [the southern] Yen invaded Ch'ing in return. The officers of Ch'ing,—Chae Tsuh, Yuen Fan, and Szech K'ea, with three bodies of men, withstood them in front, and made the earl's two sons,—Mam-pih and Tsze-yuen, with another body, get stealthily behind them. The men of Yen were afraid of the three armies in their front, but had no anxiety about danger from the men of Che [a town of Ch'ing in their rear]; so that in the 6th month, the two princes, with the men of Che, defeated the army of Yen near the city. A superior man may say that without preparation and anxiety an army cannot be properly conducted.'

Par. 3. Shing (Kung has 盛) was a small State, an earldom, held by the descendants of Shuh-woo (叔武), one of king W'an's sons;—

in dis. of W'an-shang (汶上), dep. Yen-chow. Acc. to Tso-she, during the troubles of Wei, Shing had made an incursion into it; hence this retributive expedition.

Par. 4. 考 is explained in the Urh-ya by 成, 'to complete;—see the Shoo, V. xiii 24.

Fuh K'een (服虔; towards the end of the Han dyn.) contends that '考 is the name of the sacrifice offered immediately after the completion of the shrine-house (宮廟初成祭之名考);' which seems to be the view also of T'oo Yu. But the sacrifice was the sequence of the finishing of the temple; and we need not extend the meaning of 考 beyond

that of the erection of the building. Chung Tsze was the mother of duke Hwan, who was now heir to the State; but she was only the second wife of duke Hwuy. The tablet of the 1st and proper wife had already received its proper place; and the erection of a separate house for that of Chung Tsze was a device to please the young prince, but not according to rule. A feeling of this seems to have prompted the exhibition of six rows of pantomimes, as recorded in the last part of the par. 羽, 'feathers,' is here= feather-wavers, i. e., the pantomimes, who waved the feathers of pheasants in harmony with the music which was played. Of such performers the kings used 8 rows, each consisting of 8 men, at their sacrifices, while the princes of States could only use 6 rows, each of 6 men. But it had been granted to the princes of Loo to use the kingly number in sacrifice to the duke of Chow, their great ancestor, and they had usurped the privilege so as to use it in sacrificing to his descendants;—and on the occasion in the text duke Yin employed only the ordinary number used in sacrificing to the prince of a State. The Chuen says:—'In the ninth month, having completed the shrine-palace for Chung Tsze, the pantomimes were about to be exhibited. The duke asked Chung-chung about their number, who replied, "The emperor uses 8 rows; princes of States, 6; great officers, 4; and scholars, 2. Now the dancing is employed in harmony with the instruments of music, and the motion of the 8 winds of the year; the number of them therefore descends in gradation from 8 rows." On this the duke for the 1st time exhibited only 6 feather-wavers, and used 6 rows.'

Par. 5. The Chuen on this has:—

'The people of Sung had taken some fields from Choo; and the people of Choo informed the earl of Ch'ing, saying, "If you will now vent your indignation on Sung, our poor town will lead the way for you." An officer of Ch'ing, aided by a king's army, joined the forces of Choo, and attacked Sung, penetrating to the suburbs of its capital;—in revenge again for the siege of the eastern gate of Ch'ing. They sent off an account of their circumstances from Sung to Loo; and when the duke heard that the enemy was in the suburbs of its capital, he was about to proceed to the relief of Sung. Asking the messenger, however, how far the enemies'

army had got, the man replied, "They have not yet reached our city." The duke was angry, and stopped his measures, dismissing the messenger with the words, "Your prince in his message requested me to have compassion on the peril in which his altars were, and now you tell me that the enemy has not reached your city;—I dare not take any notice of the case."

Par. 6. This is the record of a plague (災);—'some evil caused by the misconduct of men (災, 人之害也).' The *ming* is described as a grub that eats the heart of the growing grain (蟲食苗心曰螟);—it develops into the locust (即蝗也). It is named from the place of its injurious action, lying hid in the heart of the plant (冥冥難知).

Par. 7. This Kung-tze K'ow is the same as the Tsang He-pih in the Chuen on p. 1. K'ow was his name, and his designation was Tsze-tsang (子臧). His grandchildren would first receive the clan-name of Tsang, from his designation; and he is so surnamed in the Chuen as the ancestor of the Tsang family.

He (僖) is the honorary title given after his death. On this par. the Chuen says:—'On the death of Tsang He-pih, the duke said, "My uncle was angry with me [i. e., for not listening to his remonstrance]; but I dare not forget his faithfulness." He caused him to be buried with the honours of one rank above what was his due.'

Par. 8. Ch'ang-koh was a town of Ch'ing;—its name remains in the dis. of Ch'ang-koh, in Heu (許) Chow, Ho-nan. This expedition, Tso-she observes, was in return for Ch'ing's attack of Sung mentioned in par. 5.

Sixth year.

六年春，鄭人來渝平。夏五月，辛酉，公會齊侯，盟于艾。秋七月，宋人取長葛。

左傳曰：六年春，鄭人來渝平，更成也。  
 翼九宗五正頃父之子嘉父，逆晉侯于隨，納諸鄂，晉人謂之鄂侯。  
 夏，盟于艾，始平于齊也。  
 五月，庚申，鄭伯侵陳，大獲。往歲，鄭伯請成于陳，陳侯不許。五父諫曰：親仁善鄰，國之寶也。君其許鄭。陳侯曰：宋衛實難，鄭何能為？遂不許。君子曰：善不可失，惡不可長。其陳桓公之謂乎！長惡不悛，從自及也。雖欲救之，其將能乎？商書曰：惡之易也，如火之燎于原，不可鄉邇，其猶可撲滅。周任有言曰：為國家者，見惡如農夫之務去草焉。芟夷蘊崇之，絕其本根，勿使能殖，則善者信矣。  
 秋，宋人取長葛。  
 冬，京師來告饑，公為之請糴于宋衛齊鄭，禮也。  
 鄭伯如周，始朝桓王也。王不禮焉。周桓公言于王曰：我周之東遷，晉鄭焉依，善鄭以勸來者，猶懼不飭，況不禮焉，鄭不來矣。

- VI. 1 In [the duke's] sixth year, in spring, an officer of Ch'ing came [to Loo] with overtures of peace.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Sin-yëw, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Gae.  
 3 [It was] autumn, the seventh month.  
 4 In winter, an army of Sung took Ch'ang-koh.

Par. 1. The text here has 輪平, with Kung and Kuh, while Tso-she reads 渝平. But both the former commentators explain their phrase by 墮成, 'to the ruin of peace.' Tso-she explains his by 更成, 'which changed their relations of enmity, and there was peace,' 渝 meaning 變, 'to change.' Later critics have taken 輪 in the sense of 納, 'to present,' 'to offer,' and thus a meaning is got out of the more likely reading, which comes to the same as the view of Tso-she. There was reason for the overture of peace on the part of Ch'ing. Before Yin succeeded his father, he had been taken prisoner in an expedition against Ch'ing, and detained there. He made his escape, but might be supposed to be ill-affected towards it. When, however, he rejected the application from Sung the year before for assistance against Ch'ing, that State thought the time a favourable one for initiating proposals that Loo and it should be at amity.

[The Chuen has here another note about the affairs of Tsin:—

The nine original clan-branches of Yih [i. e., Tsin], with the representatives of the five ministers of the time of Yin, and K'ea-foo, son of K'ing-foo, went to meet the marquis of Tsin in Suy [see the Chuen after 1st par of last year], and escorted him back to Goh. The people of Tsin called him the marquis of Goh].

Par. 2. Gae was a hill in Loo;—in the north-west of the dis. of Mung-yin (蒙陰), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Loo and Ts'e had been at feud before the time at which the Ch'un Ts'ew opens. This meeting and covenant were the commencement of peace between them.

[The Chuen here adds:—'In the 5th month, on the day K'ang-shin, the earl of Ch'ing made a sudden raid into Ch'in, and got great spoil. The year before, the earl had requested peace from Ch'in, when his proposals were rejected. Woo-foo remonstrated with the marquis of Ch'in, saying, "Intimacy with the virtuous and friendship with its neighbours are the jewels of a State. Do you grant Ch'ing's request." The marquis replied, "My difficulties are with Sung and Wei; what can Ch'ing do?" And so he repulsed Ch'ing.

'A superior man may say, Good relations should not be lost, and evil relations should not be prolonged;—does not this seem to be illustrated in the case of duke Hwan of Ch'in? When a man goes on to prolong enmity, the consequences naturally come upon himself; and though he may wish deliverance from them, he will not obtain it. The Shang Shoo says, "The evil issues of enmity develop easily, as when there is a fire blazing on a plain. It cannot be approached, and still less can it be beaten out (Shoo, IV. vii. Pt. i. 12)." Chow Jin [see Ana. XVI. i. 6.] has said, "The Head of a State or of a clan looks upon evil relations as a husbandman looks upon weeds or grass, which must be removed. He cuts down, kills them, collects them, and heaps them up, extirpating their roots that they may not be able to grow; and then the good grain stretches itself out."']

Par. 3. There was nothing to record in all the autumn of this year; but still it was necessary, according to the scheme of these annals, to indicate the season and the 1st month of it.

Par. 4. See the siege of this place in the last par. of last year. Too Yu says that the siege had then been unsuccessful, but that Sung returned this year, and took the place by surprise. He says also, after Tso-she, that the capture was made in autumn, but was only communicated in winter to Loo, so that the historiographers entered it under that season. But as Sung was held by the representatives of the House of Shang, its months would be those of that dynasty, and part of its autumn would be Chow's winter.

[Tso-she appends here the following two Chuen:—

'In winter, an announcement came from the capital of famine there, to meet which the duke asked the courts of Sung, Ts'e, Wei, and Ch'ing, to be allowed to purchase grain in their States. This was proper.'

'The earl of Ch'ing went to Chow, and for the first time sought an audience of king Hwan. The king did not receive him courteously, when the duke Hwan of Chow said to him, "Our Chow's removal to the east was all through the help of Tsin and Ch'ing. You should treat Ch'ing well, to encourage other princes to come to court;—and still there is fear that they will not come. Now when he receives discourtesy, Ch'ing will not come again."']



## Seventh year.

七年<sup>一章</sup>春王三月叔姬  
歸于紀<sup>二章</sup>。  
滕侯卒<sup>三章</sup>。  
夏城中丘<sup>四章</sup>。  
齊侯使其弟年來聘<sup>五章</sup>。  
秋公伐邾<sup>六章</sup>。  
冬天王使凡伯來聘<sup>七章</sup>。  
戎伐凡伯于楚丘以<sup>八章</sup>。

左傳曰：七年春，滕侯卒，不書名，未同盟也。凡諸侯同盟，于是稱名，故薨則赴以名，告終稱嗣也。以繼好，息民，謂之禮經。  
夏城中丘，書不時也。  
齊侯使夷仲年來聘，結艾之盟也。  
秋，宋及鄭平。七月，庚申，盟于宿。公伐邾，爲宋討也。  
初，戎朝于周，發幣于公卿。凡伯弗賓，冬，王使凡伯來聘，還戎伐之于楚丘，以歸。  
○陳及鄭平。十二月，陳五父如鄭，澶盟。壬申，及鄭伯盟。欽如，忘洩伯曰：五父必不免，不賴盟矣。鄭良佐如陳，澶盟。辛巳，及陳侯盟。亦知陳之將亂也。  
○鄭公子忽在王所，故陳侯請妻之，鄭伯許之，乃成昏。

- VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, in the king's third month, the duke's third daughter went to the harem of Ke.  
2 The marquis of T'ang died.  
3 In summer, we walled Chung-k'ew.  
4 The marquis of Ts'e sent his younger brother Nēn [to Loo] with friendly inquiries.  
5 In autumn, the duke invaded Choo.  
6 In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Fan to Loo with friendly inquiries.  
7 The Jung attacked the earl of Fan at Ts'oo-k'ew, and carried him back with them.

Par. 1. The marriage of the duke's eldest daughter to the marquis of Ke is entered in the 2d year, pp. 5, 6. There the 歸 = 'went to be married to,' 'went as the wife;' here the 歸 has only the significance which appears in the translation. When the daughter of a State was married, the rule was that she should be accompanied by a half-sister and a cousin (一姊一姪). Then two other States sent each a princess to attend her (二國來勝), each of whom was similarly accompanied by two relatives. Thus altogether a prince's marriage brought nine ladies to his harem (諸侯一娶九女). In the case in the text, the girl had been too young to accompany her sister in the 2d year, and had waited five years, till she reached the statutory age of 15, and could proceed to Ke. She appears twice again in the classic; and it is contended that such prominence was given to her, humble though her rank, to mark the sage's sense of her worthiness.

Par. 2. T'ang was a small State:—in dis. of T'ang, dept. Yen-chow, held by the descendants of Shuh-sēw (叔繡), one of king Woo's brothers. Its chief is here styled marquis, but afterwards he appears only as viscount, his rank having been reduced. According to the general practice of the Ch'un Ts'ew, the name as well as the title should be given in the notice of the death. The want of the name here is probably an omission of the historiographer; but Tso-she says that it is in rule, because duke Yin and the marquis had never covenanted together.

He adds: 'At covenants between the princes, they were mentioned by name; and therefore on the death of one of them, his name was given when the event was communicated to other States. At the same time his successor was also mentioned,—for the continuance of friendship, and the assurance of the people. This was one of the standing regulations of the kingdom.'

Par. 3. Chung-k'ew was in dis. of Lan-shan (蘭山), dep. E-chow. No doubt there was some exigency requiring it to be fortified. Tso-she, however, says the record is made, because of the unseasonableness of the undertaking, calling the people off from their field labours.

Par. 4. Tso-she tells us that this Nēn's designation was E-chung (夷仲), and that the visit in the text was to cement the covenant made the year before (p. 2) by Loo and Ts'e. These p'ing or missions of friendly inquiries were regular institutions, by which the princes maintained a good understanding with one another;—see the Le Ke, I., Pt. II. ii. 12, 諸侯使大夫問於諸侯曰聘. The employment by Ts'e of the prince's brother, instead of the officer usually charged with such a mission, was a special honour done to Loo. From the Chow Le. Bk. XXXVIII., p. 24, we

learn that among States in the same quarter of the empire, there ought to have been every year 'the interchange of inquiries (相問),' and every two years 'the interchange of p'ing (殷相聘).' Conciliatory offerings of silk and pieces of jade were made at such times.

Par. 5. Acc. to the Chuen, this attack of Choo was a cowardly proceeding on the part of Loo; and a covenant of peace had been made between the two States, not long before;—see the 1st year, p. 2.—'This autumn, Sung and Ch'ing made peace, and in the 7th month, on the day Kang-shin, covenanted at Suh. The duke proceeded to attack Choo,—so punishing it to gratify Sung.'

Par. 6. This earl of Fan was a high minister and noble at the court. Fan was in the pres. dis. of Hwuy (輝), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Not only was there an interchange of friendly missions among the princes themselves, but also between them and the king. Indeed, the king was supposed to send annually to every one of them to inquire about his welfare (王之所撫邦國諸侯者歲徧存; Chow Le, XXXVIII. 17); but as Ch'ing E observes, for the king to send such a mission to Yin, who had never sent one to court, was derogatory to his dignity (非王體).

Par. 7. These Jung are probably the same as those mentioned in the 2d year, pp. 1, 5. Ts'oo-k'ew was in the east of the pres. dis. of Ts'aou, dept. Ts'aou-chow. The incident shows how lawless the time was. The Chuen relates that, some time before, the Jung had presented themselves at Chow in homage, and distributed presents among the high ministers, but that the earl of Fan had not received them courteously. They took advantage therefore of the opportunity presented by his return from Loo, attacked him, and carried him off. 以歸, according to Kung-yang means that the Jung made the earl prisoner (執之); but Too Yu says that they did not seize him (非執也), influenced, probably, by a remark of Kuh-l'ang that the phrase denotes something lighter than seizure (愈於執). And the K'ang-he editors say this interpretation is much the better of the two. They are also stumbled at the use of the word 'attacked' in p. 6, as too weighty for the occasion. There, however, 伐 is; and I apprehend 以歸 also is only a gentle way of telling that the earl was captured and carried off.

[The Chuen has here:—

'Ch'in and Ch'ing made peace. In the 12th month, Woo-foo of Ch'in went to Ch'ing, and on the day Jin-shin made a covenant with the earl,



and smeared his mouth with the blood of the victim, as if he were forgetting what he was doing. Sseh Pih said, "Woo-foo will not escape a violent death. This covenant will be of no use to him." Léang Tso of Ch'ing went to Ch'in, and on the day Sin-sze made a covenant with the marquis, when he also perceived the disorders which were imminent in Ch'in.'

'Hwuh, son of the earl of Ch'ing, had lived at the king's [as a hostage; see the Chuen, after p. 3 of the 3d year]; and on this account [i.e., according to Too Yu, thinking it likely he would be a favourite with the king] the marquis of Ch'in proposed to give him his daughter to wife. The earl acceded to the proposal, and the marriage was determined on.'

*Eighth year.*

冬十有二月，無駭卒。  
 九章 八月，葬蔡宣公。  
 九章 九月，辛卯，公及莒人盟于浮來。  
 七章 秋，七月，庚午，宋公齊侯衛侯盟于瓦屋。  
 六章 辛亥，宿男卒。  
 五章 夏，六月，己亥，蔡侯考父卒。  
 四章 庚寅，我入祊。  
 三章 三月，鄭伯使宛來歸祊。  
 二章 八年，春，宋公衛侯遇于垂。  
 一章 左傳曰：八年，春，齊侯將平宋衛，有會期，宋公以幣請于衛，請先相見，衛侯許之，故遇于犬丘。鄭伯請釋泰山之祀，而祀周公，以泰山之祊，易許田。三月，鄭伯使宛來歸祊，不祀泰山也。  
 ①夏，虢公忌父始作卿士于周。  
 ②四月，甲辰，鄭公子忽如陳，逆婦嬀，辛亥，以嬀氏歸。甲寅，入于

鄭、陳鍼子送女。先配而後祖。鍼子曰：「是不為夫婦，誣其祖矣，非禮也。」何以能育。  
 齊人卒平宋衛于鄭。秋，會于溫，盟于瓦屋，以釋東門之役。禮也。  
 ①八月丙戌，鄭伯以齊人朝王。  
 公及莒人盟于浮來，以成紀好也。  
 ②冬，齊侯使來告成三國，公使眾仲對曰：「君釋三國之圖，以鳩其民，君之惠也。寡君聞命矣，敢不承受君之明德。」  
 無駭卒。羽父請謚與族，公問族于眾仲。眾仲對曰：「天子建德，因生以賜姓，胙之土而命之氏，諸侯以字為謚，因以為族，官有世功，則有官族，邑亦如之。公命以字為展氏。」

- VIII. 1 In [the duke's] eighth year, in spring, the duke of Sung and the marquis of Wei met at Chuy.  
 2 In the third month, the earl of Ch'ing sent Yuen [to Loo] to give up Päng.  
 3 On [the day] Käng-yin we entered Päng.  
 4 In summer, in the sixth month, on [the day] Ke-hae, K'au-foo, marquis of Ts'ae, died.  
 5 On [the day] Sin-hae, the baron of Suh died.  
 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] Käng-woo, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'e, and the marquis of Wei made a covenant at Ya-uh.  
 7 In the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ts'ae.  
 8 In the ninth month, on [the day] Sin-maou, the duke and an officer of Keu made a covenant at Fow-lae.  
 9 There were the *ming*-insects.  
 10 In winter, in the twelfth month, Woo-häe died.

Par. 1. On this paragraph Tso-she says:—'The marquis of Ts'e wanted to bring about peace between Sung and Wei on the one hand and Ch'ing on the other, and had fixed a time for a meeting with the princes of the two former States. The duke of Sung, however, sent presents to Wei, and begged that the marquis and himself might have a previous meeting between themselves. The marquis agreed, and they met accordingly at K'euen-k'ew.' Regulated by this account, the meaning of 遇 differs slightly from that laid down on par. 3 of the 4th year. The idea, however, of a 'hurried' meeting remains. The meeting proposed by Ts'e was held in the 7th month; this was a preliminary meeting of Sung and Wei to consider how they should receive Ts'e's proposals. K'euen-k'ew in the Chuen, and Chuy in the text, are two names of the same place;—Too-yu says it was in Wei, on the north of the dep. city of Ts'au-chow; but see on II. i. 2.

Par. 2. Tso-she says here:—'The earl of Ch'ing intimated his wish to give up the sacrifice at mount T'ae, and to sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to exchange therefore Päng near mount T'ae for the fields of Heu. In the 3d month, accordingly, he sent Yuen to give up Päng to Loo, and no more used the mount T'ae sacrifice.' But to understand this, an explanation is necessary, which is supplied by Too Yu.—When king Ching built the city of Loh, and was meditating the removal of his capital to it, he granted to the duke of Chow the lands of Heu (in the south-west of the present Heu Chow, dep. K'ae-fung), where the princes of Loo might reside when they visited Loh on state occasions; and subsequently a temple was built there to the duke of Chow. But the first earl of Ch'ing, as a brother of king Seuen, had the town of Päng, near mount T'ae, where he and his successors might rest, when called there on occasion of the king's eastern progresses, and having then to assist at the sacrifices on or to the mountain.

Owing to the decay of the royal House, there was now an end of the kingly progresses. The earl concluded that Ch'ing had no farther occasion for P'ang, and therefore offered it to Loo, to which it was near, in exchange for Heu, which was near to Ch'ing, volunteering to maintain there Loo's sacrifice to the duke of Chow.—If all this be correct, yet we know that Loo's part of the arrangement did not take effect for some time;—see the 1st year of duke Hwan, p. 2. Yuen, of course, was an officer of Ch'ing.

Par. 3. Kung and Kuh lay great stress on the mention of the day here;—but without reason. The use of 入, however, seems strange, as that character should denote a hostile entry.

[The Chuen appends here:—  
‘In summer, Ke-foo, duke of K'woh, for the first time became a high minister and noble at the court of Chow.’]

‘In the 4th month, on the day K'eah-shin, Hwuh, son of the earl of Ch'ing, went to Ch'in, and met his Kwei bride. On the day Sin-hae, he commenced his return with her. On the day K'eah-yin, they entered the capital of Ch'ing, the officer K'een of Ch'in acting as escort to the lady. The prince was first mated, and then announced the thing in the ancestral temple. The officer K'een said, “These are not husband and wife;—he is imposing on his fathers. The proceeding is improper. How can they expect to have children?”’]

Par. 5. Suh;—see on p. 5 of 1st year. The name of the baron should follow the title, but is wanting;—through an omission of the historiographer.

Par. 6. The meeting here is that spoken of in the Chuen on par 1, as called by Ts'e. Attention is called to it by critics as the first meeting in the Ch'un-Ts'ew when more than two princes came together to consult and covenant on the affairs of the time. As it was called by the marquis of Ts'e, he should appear 1st on the list; but, says Too Yu, he did honour to the duke of Sung, ceding the presidency of the meeting to him. Tso-she says they first met at W'än, and then covenanted together at Ya-uh. A reconciliation was effected between Sung and Wei and Ch'ing, and the siege of Ch'ing's eastern gate was condoned. Ya-uh was in the king's domain,—20 里 south of the dis. city of Wei-ch'uen (洧川), dep. K'ae fung.

Par. 7. [To this the Chuen appends:—

“In the 8th month, on the day Ping-seuh, the earl of Ch'ing, through the marquis of Ts'e, appeared at court. This was proper.”]

Par. 8. Fow (Kung and Kuh read 包)-lae was in Keu;—20 里 west of the pres. city of Keu Chow. In the 2d year, p. 7, we have a meeting between the count of Keu and an officer to bring about a good understanding between Keu and Loo. This was the sequel of that,—‘to carry out the good wishes of Ke.’]

Par. 9. See on paragraph 5, 5th year.

[The Chuen adds here:—‘In winter, the marquis of Ts'e sent a messenger to inform the duke that he had effected the pacification of the three States [Sung, Wei, and Ch'ing]. The duke sent Chung-chung to reply to him, “That you have reconciled the conflicting schemes of the three States, and given rest and settlement to their people, is your kindness, O prince. I

have heard your message, and dare not but accept and acknowledge your bright virtue.”’]

Par. 10. Woo-h'ae;—see paragraph 3 of the 2d year. The Chuen has here:—‘On the death of Woo-h'ae, Yu-foo [the designation of Hwuy, IV., 5] requested for him an honorary title and a clan-name. The duke asked Chung-chung about the clan-name, who replied, “When the Son of Heaven would ennoble the virtuous, he gives them surnames from their birth-places (or the birth-places of their ancestors); he rewards them with territory, and the name of it becomes their clan-name. The princes again confer the clan-name from the designation of the grandfather, or from his honorary title [the text is here difficult to construe]. Or when merit has been displayed in one office by members of the same family for generations, the name of that office may become the clan-name, or the name of the city held by the family may become so.” The duke determined that Woo-h'ae's clan-name should be Chen, from the designation of his grandfather (公子展).’]

Too Yu illustrates what the Chuen says about the procedure of the king by the case of the chiefs of Ch'in. They were descended from Shun, who was born near the river Kwei; hence they got the surname of Kwei. When they were invested with Ch'in, that became their clan-name, to distinguish them from other branches of Shun's descendants. He says further, that the princes of States could not confer surnames (姓), but only clan-names (氏), which they did in the way described.

But while the theory of surnames and clan-names in ancient China may have been as here described, they were often assumed and acknowledged without any conferring on the part of the king or the princes. See Maou K'e-ling in loc. He says:—‘When a ruler of Loo died, the event was recorded; when the ruler of another State died, that also was recorded, when the announcement of it arrived. The deaths of great officers, scions of the ruling family, were sometimes recorded and sometimes not; with the accompaniment of their clan-names or without; and with the mention of the month and day of the death or without it:—all this proceeded from the historiographers of Loo, and the Master simply transcribed their record without making any change in it himself. We have here the mention of Woo-h'ae's death, without his clan-name, just as we have similar records of other officers in IV. 5; IX. 3; &c.

‘Now according to the ordinary view of the matter, the clan-name was only conferred on men who had been distinguished for their virtue. But on this principle few officers mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ew could have received it, whereas we find it given to many of the worst characters, and to be abhorred for their flagrant wickedness. It is impossible to suppose that the clan-names of the officers of Loo were all given by the marquises. The general rule was that the son of a deceased ruler was styled 公

子, or “duke's son;” his son again, 公孫 or “duke's grandson.” But in the next descent, the son took as a matter of course the designation of his grandfather, or his honorary title, or the name of his office, or of his city, and

made it his own clan-name. One surname branched out into many clan-names, and one clan-name branched out again into many family names (姓分而爲氏, 氏又分而爲族). Tso-she would make it ap-

pear here that Woo-h'ae had no clan-name till after his death;—which is not to be believed. His record of events is very much to be relied on; but as to every ten of his devices to explain the style of the classic, he is sure to be mistaken in five or six of them.’]

Ninth year.

九年春，天王使南季來聘。三月，癸酉，大雨震電。庚辰，大雨雪。挾卒。夏，城郎。秋，七月，公會齊侯，于防。

左傳曰：九年春，王三月，癸酉，大雨霖，以震書始也。庚辰，大雨雪，亦如之。書時失也。凡雨，自三日以往爲霖。平地尺爲大雪。夏，城郎。書不時也。宋公不王，鄭伯爲王左卿士，以王命討之。伐宋。宋以入郕之役怨公，不告命。公怒，絕宋使。秋，鄭人以王命來告伐宋。冬，公會齊侯于防，謀伐宋也。北戎侵鄭，鄭伯禦之，患戎師，曰：彼徒我車，懼其侵軼我也。公子突曰：使勇而無剛者，嘗寇而速去之。君爲三覆以待之。戎輕而不整，貪而無親，勝不相讓，敗不相救。先者見獲，必務進，進而遇覆，必速奔，後者不救，則無繼矣。乃可以逞。從之。戎人之前，遇覆者奔，祝聃逐之，東戎師，前後擊之，盡殪。戎師大奔。十一月甲寅，鄭人大敗戎師。

- IX. 1 In [the duke's] ninth year, in spring, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Nan Ke to Loo with friendly inquiries.  
2 In the third month, on the day Kwei-y'ew, there was great rain, with thunder and lightning. On [the day] K'ang-shin there was a great fall of snow.  
3 H'eh died.  
4 In summer, we walled Lang.  
5 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
6 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Fang.

Par. 1. See on p. 6 of 7th year. Nan is the clan-name, and Ke the designation of the officer, the king's messenger.

Par. 2. The Chuen says on this:—'In spring, in the king's 3d month, on the day Kwei-yew, there was great rain without ceasing, accompanied with thunder;—this describes the beginning of the storm. On the day Kang-shin, there was a great fall of snow;—this also in the same way describes its unseasonableness. When rain continues for more than three days, it is called a great rain (霖). When it lies a foot deep on the ground, there has been a great fall of snow.' The 3d month of Chow's spring was only the 1st month of spring, when thunder and much snow were certainly unseasonable phenomena.

Par. 3. Hēh (Kung and Kuh have 俠) was an officer of Loo, a scion of the ruling House, belonging, Tso-she would say, to a branch which had not yet received a clan-name.

Par. 4. See the Chuen after p. 2, 1st year. Lang was in the north-east of pres. dis. city of Yu-t'ae (魚臺). The walling Lang at this time, Tso-she says, was unseasonable.

Par. 5. See on VI. 3.

Par. 6. Fang (Kung and Kuh have 邲) was in Loo;—in dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. As preliminary to the meeting here, the Chuen has:—'The duke of Sung had not been discharging his duty to the king [by appearing at court], and the earl of Ch'ing, as the king's minister of the Left, assumed a king's order to punish him, and invaded Sung, the duke of which, resenting our duke's conduct when his suburbs were entered, [see Chuen on V. 5], sent no information of his present difficulties. Our duke

was angry, and broke off all communication with Sung. In autumn, an officer of Ch'ing came announcing the king's command to attack Sung; and in winter the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Fang, to arrange for doing so.'

[The Chuen appends here the following narrative:—'The northern Jung [their seat was in pres. dep. of Yung-p'ing, Chih-le] made a sudden raid into Ch'ing. The earl withstood them, but was troubled by the nature of their troops, and said, "They are footmen, while we have chariots. The fear is lest they fall suddenly upon us." His son Tuh said, "Let a body of bold men, but not persistent, feign an attack upon the thieves, and then quickly draw off from them; and at the same time place three bodies in ambuscade to be ready for them. The Jung are light and nimble, but have no order; they are greedy and have no love for one another; when they conquer, no one will yield place to his fellow; and when they are defeated, no one tries to save another. When their front men see their success [in the retreat of our skirmishers], they will think of nothing, but to push forward. When they are thus advancing, and fall into the ambush, they will be sure to hurry away in flight. Those behind will not go to their rescue, so there will be no support to them; and thus your anxiety may be relieved." The earl followed this plan. As soon as the front men of the Jung met with those who were in ambuscade, they fled, pursued by Chuh Tan. Their detachment was surrounded; and smitten both in front and in rear, till they were all cut to pieces. The rest of the Jung made a grand flight. It was in the 12th month, on the day Kēah-yin that the army of Ch'ing inflicted this great defeat on the Jung.']

### Tenth year.

十年春，王正月，公會齊侯，  
夏，鄭伯于中丘。  
宋，宋人衛人入鄭。  
秋，宋人衛人伐戴，鄭伯  
伐之。  
冬，十月，壬午，齊人鄭人入  
邲。

左傳曰：十年春，王正月，公會齊侯，  
伯于中丘。癸丑，盟于鄆，爲師期。  
夏五月，羽父先會齊侯，鄭伯伐宋。  
六月，戊申，公會齊侯，鄭伯于老桃。  
壬戌，公敗宋師于菅。  
庚午，鄭師入郕。  
辛未，歸于我，庚辰，鄭師入防，辛巳，歸  
于我。君子謂鄭莊公于是乎可謂正  
矣，以王命討不庭，不貪其土，以勞王  
爵，正之體也。  
○蔡人衛人邲人不會王命。  
秋七月，庚寅，鄭師入郊，猶在郊，宋人  
衛人入鄭，蔡人從之，伐戴。八月，壬戌，  
鄭伯圍戴，癸亥，克之，取三師焉。宋衛  
既入鄭，而以伐戴召蔡人，蔡人怒，故  
不和而敗。  
○九月，戊寅，鄭伯入宋。  
冬，齊人鄭人入邲，討違王命也。

- X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing in Chung-k'ew.
- 2 In summer, Hwuy led a force, and joined an officer of Ts'e and an officer of Ch'ing in an invasion of Sung.
- 3 In the sixth month, on [the day] Jin-seuh, the duke defeated an army of Sung at Kwan.
- 4 On the day Sin-we, we took Kaou; on the day Sin-sze, we took Fang.
- 5 In autumn, an army of Sung and an army of Wei entered Ch'ing.
- 6 The army of Sung, the army of Ts'ae, and the army of Wei attacked Tae. The earl of Ch'ing attacked and took them [all.]
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on the day Jin-woo, an army of Ts'e and an army of Ch'ing entered Shing.

Par. 1. Chung-k'ew.—see VII. 3. This meeting was a sequel to that in p. 6 of last year. The Chuen says on it:—'In the 1st month, the duke had a meeting with the princes of Ts'e and Ch'ing in Chung-k'ew, and on the day Kwei-ch'ow they made a covenant in Tang, settling the time when they should take the field.' From this it appears they made a covenant at this time; and to the question why it is not recorded in the text, all that Too Yu can say is that the duke only mentioned the meeting in the report he took back to his ancestral temple. Too also observes that the day Kwei-ch'ow was the 26th of the 1st month, and that second month in the text must be an error. But all through this year, as often in other years, the months and days of the King and Chuen do not accord.

Par. 2. The Chuen on this is:—'In summer, in the 5th month, Yu-foo, preceding the duke, joined the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing in invading Sung.' If this be correct, then both

the marquis and earl are simply styled 人, 'man' in the text;—contrary to the general usage of the Work, where 人 either denotes an officer, not of very high rank, or a force under the command of such an officer. Agreeing with the Chuen, Too Yu says that Hwuy hurried away, ambitious of joining the two princes, and without waiting for orders from the duke, and that therefore his name only is mentioned by the sage. But this is not more reasonable than the theory of Kung and Kuh mentioned on p. 5 of the 4th year. The text leads us to suppose that the princes of Loo, Ts'e, and Ch'ing all sent officers and troops against Sung, in anticipation of their own advance.

Par. 3. The Chuen is:—'In the 6th month, on the day Mow-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing at Laou-t'au, and on the day Jin-seuh he defeated an army of Sung at Kwan.' Too Yu from

this concludes that Ts'ae and Ch'ing were dilatory, and had not united their forces with Loo, when the duke seized an advantage presented by the army of Sung, unprepared for action, and defeated it. The situation of Kwan does not appear to have been identified. Too says it was in Sung.

Par. 4. The Chuen is:—'On the day K'ang-woo, the army of Ch'ing entered Kaou, and on Sin-we the earl gave it over to us. On K'ang-shin his army entered Fang, and on Sin-sze he gave it also over to us.' From the text we should infer that both Kaou and Fang were taken by the troops of Loo. Tso-she, however, goes on to moralize over his narrative:—'The superior man will say that in this matter duke Ch'wang of Ch'ing may be pronounced a correct man. With the king's command he was punishing a prince who had forsaken the court. Not coveting his territory for himself, he rewarded with it the higher nobility of Loo:—this was a fine instance of correctness.' Kaou was 80 *le* to the south-east from the pres. dis. city of Shing-woo (城武, dep. Yen-chow. Fang was also in Yen-chow, west of the dis. city of Kin-h'ang (金鄉).

[The Chuen adds here:—'The people of Ts'ae, of Wei, and of Shing, did not unite with Ch'ing and the others at the king's command.']

Par. 5. This was intended as a diversion, to compel Ch'ing to withdraw from Sung.

Par. 6. Tae was a small State, having its chief city in pres. dis. of K'au-shing (考城, dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. Its lords had the surname of 子, and must have been some branch, therefore, of the old House of Sung. It would appear that the officers of Sung and Wei, after entering Ch'ing, had been joined by a body of

troops from Ts'ae, and then turned aside to attack Tae. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, the army of Ch'ing entered its own borders and was still there, when the troops of Sung and Wei entered the State. These were joined by a force from Ts'ae, and proceeded to attack Tae. In the 8th month, on the day Jin-seuh, the earl of Ch'ing surrounded Tae; on Kwei-hae, he reduced it; taking at the same time the three armies. After Sung and Wei had entered Ch'ing, and then taken occasion to attack Tae, they called the forces of Ts'ae to co-operate with them. The men of Ts'ae were angry, so that there was discord among themselves, and they were defeated.' Kung and Kuh both understand 之, as many students do

on a first look at the text, as referring to Tae, and seem to think that Ch'ing all at once made common cause with Sung, Wei, and Ts'ae and with their help took the city. But this is quite inconsistent with the relations of these States and Ch'ing. Hoo Gan-kwoh is of opinion that Ch'ing took advantage of the open strife and secret dissatisfaction between Tae, Sung, Wei, and Ts'ae, and so took the city and defeated the forces of the other three States. This is the view, followed in the 'History of the Divided States,' in its lively account of the affair. Upon the whole, the narrative in the Chuen is to be preferred, though it would be more easy to understand 取之 if it were spoken of the capture of a city.

[There is a short Chuen appended here, that 'in the 9th month, on the day Mow-yin, the earl of Ch'ing again entered Sung.']

Par. 7. This is understood from the Chuen appended to p. 4. Tso says here that the allies 'entered Shing to punish its disobedience to the king's command.' Shing,—see on p. 3 of the 5th year.

### Eleventh year.

十有一年春，滕侯薛侯來朝。夏公會鄭伯于時來。秋七月壬午，公及齊侯鄭伯入許。冬十有一月，壬辰，公薨。

左傳曰：十一年，春，滕侯薛侯來朝，爭長。薛侯曰：我先封。滕侯曰：我周之卜正也。薛庶姓也，我不可以後之。公使羽父請于薛侯曰：君與滕君辱在寡人，周諺有之曰：山有木，工則度之，賓有禮，主則擇之。周之宗盟，異姓爲後。寡人若朝于薛，不敢與諸任齒。君若辱貶寡人，則願以滕君爲

請。薛侯許之，乃長滕侯。夏公會鄭伯于邾，謀伐許也。鄭伯將伐許，五月甲辰，授兵于大宮，公孫闕與穎考叔爭車，穎考叔挾轡以走。子都拔棘以逐之，及大逵，弗及，子都怒。秋七月，公會齊侯鄭伯伐許，庚辰，傳于許，穎考叔取鄭伯之旗，螫弧以先登，子都自下射之，顛。瑕叔盈又以螫弧登，周麾而呼曰：君登矣。鄭師畢登，壬午，遂入許，許莊公奔衛。齊侯以許讓公，公曰：君謂許不共，故從君討之。許既伏其罪矣，雖君有命，寡人弗敢與聞。乃與鄭人。鄭伯使許大夫百里奉許叔以居許東偏，曰：天禍許國，鬼神實不逞于許君，而假手于我寡人。寡人唯是一二父兄，不能共億，其敢以許自爲功乎？寡人有弟，不能和協，而使餽其口于四方，其況能久有許乎？吾子其奉許叔，以撫柔此民也。吾將使獲也佐吾子，若寡人得沒于地，天其以禮悔禍于許，無寧茲許公復奉其社稷，唯我鄭國之有請謁焉，如舊昏媾，其能降以相從也，無滋他族，實偪處此，與我鄭國爭此土也。吾子孫其覆亡之不暇，而況能禋祀許乎？寡人之使吾子處此，不唯許國之爲，亦聊以固吾圉也。乃使公孫獲處許西偏，曰：凡而器用財賄，無寘于許，我死，乃亟去之。吾先君新邑于此，王室而既卑矣，周之子孫，日失其序，夫許，大岳之胤也，天而既厭周德矣，吾其能與許爭乎？君子謂鄭莊公于是乎有禮，禮，經國家，定社稷，序民人，利後嗣者也。許無刑而伐之，服而舍之，度德而處之，量力而行之，相時而動，無累後人，可謂知禮矣。

鄭伯使卒出穀，行出大雞，以詛射穎考叔者。君子謂鄭莊公失政刑，矣政以治民，刑以正邪，既無德政，又無威刑，是以及邪。邪而詛之，將何益矣。

王取鄆，劉蕢，邦之田于鄭，而與鄭人蘇忿生之田，溫，原，緇，樊，隰，郕，欒，茅，向，盟，州，陘，潰，懷。君子是以知桓王之失鄭也，怒而行之，德之則也。禮之經也，已弗能有，而以與人人之不至，不亦宜乎。



公而討焉氏有死者不書葬不成喪也。桓  
子爲氏壬辰羽父使賊弑公子爲氏立桓  
而主其十一月公祭鍾巫遂與尹氏歸  
氏也與鄭人戰于狐壤止焉鄭人囚諸尹  
子懼反譖公于桓公而請弑之公之爲公  
父也與鄭人戰于狐壤止焉鄭人囚諸尹  
故也吾將授之矣使營菟裘吾將老焉羽  
策之雖及滅國滅不告敗勝不告克不書于

息師大敗而還君子是以知息之將亡也  
不度德不量力不親親不徵辭不察有罪  
犯五不韙而以伐人其喪師也不亦宜乎  
冬十月鄭伯以虢師伐宋壬戌大敗宋  
師以報其入鄭也宋不告命故不書凡諸  
侯有命告則書不然則否師出臧否亦如  
之雖及滅國滅不告敗勝不告克不書于

鄭息有違言息侯伐鄭鄭伯與戰于竟  
息師大敗而還君子是以知息之將亡也  
不度德不量力不親親不徵辭不察有罪  
犯五不韙而以伐人其喪師也不亦宜乎  
冬十月鄭伯以虢師伐宋壬戌大敗宋  
師以報其入鄭也宋不告命故不書凡諸  
侯有命告則書不然則否師出臧否亦如  
之雖及滅國滅不告敗勝不告克不書于

- XI. 1 In [the duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the marquis of T'ang and the marquis of S'eh appeared at the court [of Loo].
- 2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing at She-lae.
- 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on the day Jin-woo, the duke, with the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing, entered Heu.
- 4 In winter, in the eleventh month, on [the day] Jin-shin, the duke died.

Par. 1. 朝 is here, of course, a verb; but it is difficult to give an exact rendering of it. Kung-yang says that the *ch'au* was of the same nature as the *p'ing*,—a friendly visit, the difference being that the visitors in the *p'ing* were officers, representing the princes, whereas in the *ch'au*, the princes appeared themselves (諸侯來曰朝大夫來曰聘). According to the rules of the Chow dynasty, every prince within 'the five tenures' was required to appear at the king's court, at least once, every six years;—see the Shoo V. xx. 14, and note; but this statute was little observed in the time of the Ch'un Ts'ew. The princes were also required to appear at one another's courts. Tso-she says, on p. 3 of the 15th year of duke W'an, that they did so once in 5 years; but acc. to the Chow Le, XXXVIII. 24, a prince visited his brother princes at their courts only once (世相見). Whatever the rule was, there was now no consistency in the observance of it.

S'eh was a marquisate, near to T'ang, having its chief town 40 le south of the pres. dis. city

which still bears the name of T'ang. Its lords were recognized as descended from Hwang-te, and had the surname of Jin (任).

In connection with this par., the Chuen says;—'The two princes contended which should have the precedence. The marquis of S'eh said, "My fief is the older." The marquis said, "My ancestor was the chief minister of divination to Chow. Yours is a different surname from that of our royal House. I cannot go after you." The duke sent a request by Yu-foo to the marquis of S'eh, saying, "Your lordship and the lord of T'ang have condescended to visit me. There is a common saying in Chow, "The mountain has trees, but the workman measures them; Guests have certain rules, but the host selects them." Now the House of Chow at covenants first records the princes of its own surname, and those of different surnames come after. If I were at the court of S'eh, I should not dare to take rank with the Jin. If your lordship will condescend to confer kindness on me, allow me to make a request in favour of T'ang in this matter." The marquis of S'eh agreed, and gave the precedence to the marquis of T'ang.'

Par. 2. After 夏 Kung and Kuh have 五月. For 時來 Kung has 祁黎, and Tso simply 祁. She-lae was in Ch'ing, 40 le to the east of the dep. city of K'ae-fung. The meeting was preliminary to the invasion of Heu, the result of which we have in the next par. The Chuen says:—"The duke and the earl of Ch'ing met at Lae, to make arrangements for the invasion of Heu. The earl being about to attack Heu, in the 5th month, on the day K'eah-shin he took his weapons of war out of the grand temple. Kung-sun Oh and Ying K'au-shuh contended for a chariot [a prize offered by the earl to the strongest of his officers]. K'au-shuh took the curved end of the chariot pole under his arm, and ran off with it, while Tsze-too [the designation of Kung-sun Oh] seized his spear, and pursued him as far as the highway, without coming up with him. Tsze-too was enraged.' See this Chuen and the next told graphically in the 列國志 第七回.

Par. 3. Heu was a small State, which has left its name in the pres. Heu Chow, Ho-nan. Its lords were barons, having the surname K'ang (姜), and being descended from Yaou's chief minister, the 'Four Mountains' of the 1st Book of the Shoo. The State was on the south of Ch'ing, and suffered much from that greater Power, being often reduced to the verge of extinction, but manifesting a wonderful tenacity of life. Its capital at this time was Heu-ch'ang (許昌), 30 le to the east of the pres. Chow city. The Chuen is:—"On the day K'ang-shin, the three princes were close to Heu, when Ying K'au-shuh took the flag *mow-hoo* of the earl of Ch'ing, and was the first to mount the wall. Tsze-too pierced him with an arrow from below, and he fell down dead. Hea Shuh-ying took up the flag, and again mounting the wall with it, he waved it all about, and shouted, "Our lord has mounted." All the army of Ch'ing then forced their way up; and on the day Jin-woo the princes entered Heu, duke Chwang of which fled to Wei. The marquis of Ts'e refused to accept Heu, and wished the duke to take it; but the duke said, "You said, my Lord, that the baron of Heu did not perform his duty, and I therefore followed you to punish him. He has paid the penalty of his crime; but, as to his State, I dare not take any notice even of your commands." Heu therefore was given to Ch'ing, the earl of which made Pih-le, an officer of Heu, take charge of a younger brother of the baron who had fled, and reside with him in the eastern border of the State, saying, "Heaven has sent calamity on Heu;—it must be that the Spirits were not pleased with its lord, and made use of me, unworthy as I am, to punish him. But I have not been able to secure the repose of my uncles and cousins in Ch'ing;—dare I consider that Heu has come to me from my merit? I had a younger brother, whom I could not retain in harmony, and whom I caused to wander about filling his mouth in different States;—can I long enjoy the possession of Heu? Do you, Sir, maintain this youth, and help him to soothe and comfort the people of Heu; and I will send my officer Hwoh to as-

sist you. If I live out my days in the land, and Heaven then graciously repent of the calamities inflicted on Heu, shall not the lord of Heu again worship at his altars? Then when Ch'ing has requests and messages to send to Heu, he will condescend to accede to them as intermarriages that have existed between our States might suggest, and there will be no people of other families allowed to settle here, and press upon Ch'ing, contending with it for the possession of this territory. In that case my descendants would have all their time occupied with defending themselves from overthrow, and could in no wise maintain the sacrifices of Heu. When I appoint you, Sir to dwell here, I do so not only for the sake of the State of Heu, but also to strengthen my own borders." Accordingly the earl sent Kung-sun Hwoh to reside in the western border of Heu, charging him, "Do not place your equipments and various wealth in Heu, but when I am dead, quickly leave it. My predecessor was the first to establish his capital here in Ch'ing. Even the royal House has become small, and the descendants of Chow are daily losing their patrimonies. Now the lords of Heu are the posterity of T'ae-yoh; and since Heaven is manifesting its dissatisfaction with the virtue of Chow, am I able to go on contending with Heu?" The superior man may say that in this matter duke Chwang of Ch'ing behaved with propriety. It is propriety which governs States and clans, gives settlement to the tutelary altars, secures the order of the people, and provides for the good of one's future heirs. Because Heu transgressed the law, the earl punished it, and on its submission he left it. His arrangement of affairs was according to his measurement of his virtue; his action proceeded on the estimate of his strength; his movements were according to the exigency of the times:—so as not to embarrass those who should follow him. He may be pronounced one who knew propriety.

'The earl of Ch'ing made every hundred soldiers contribute a pig, and every five and twenty contribute a fowl and a dog, and over their blood curse the man who had shot Ying K'au-shuh. The superior man may say here that duke Chwang of Ch'ing failed in his methods of government and punishment. Government is seen in the ruling of the people, and punishment in dealing rightly with the bad. As he showed neither the virtue of government, nor the terrors of punishment, his officers became depraved. Of what benefit was it simply to curse the man who had so become depraved?

[There are here appended three other Chuen:—'From Ch'ing the king took Woo, L'ew, and the fields of Wei and Yu; and he gave to Ch'ing the fields which had been granted to Soo Fun-sang, containing the towns of Wan, Yuen, He, Fan, Seih-shing, Ts'wan-maou, H'ang, Mang, Chow, Hing, T'uy, and H'wae. The superior man from this transaction may know that king Hwan had lost Ch'ing. To act towards another on the principle of reciprocity is the pattern of virtue, the standard rule of propriety. But when the king took what he could not hold himself to give to another, was it not to be expected that that other would not come to his court?'

'Ch'ing and Seih had some strife of words, on which the marquis of Seih invaded Ch'ing.



The earl fought with him in the borders, when the army of Seih received a great defeat, and retreated. The superior man from this transaction may know that Seih would soon perish. *Its lord* did not consider the virtue of his opponent; he did not estimate his own strength; he did not cherish the regard which he should have done to his relative [the chiefs of Ch'ing and Seih were of the same surname]; he made no examination into the language which was causing the strife; he did not try to ascertain whose the wrong was;—but guilty in all these five points, he proceeded to attack the other side. Was it not right that he should lose his army?

'In winter, in the tenth month, the earl of Ch'ing, aided by an army of Kwoh, invaded Sung, and on the day Jin-seuh inflicted a great defeat on its army, thus taking revenge for Sung's entrance into Ch'ing the year before. Sung made no announcement of this to Loo, and therefore it was not entered in the historiographer's tablets. Whatever announcements were received from other princes were so entered; but where there was no announcement, no official record was made. The rule was also observed in regard to the good and evil, the success and defeat, of all military expeditions. Though the issue should be the extinction of a State, if the extinguished State did not announce its ruin, and the victor did not announce his conquest, the event was not written in the tablets.'

Par. 4. The reader supposes from this paragraph that duke Yin died a natural death, instead of being murdered, as was really the case. And numerous other instances will occur throughout the classic, which make the foreign student think very doubtfully of the merits of Confucius as a historian. The Chinese critics, however, can see no flaw in the sage. It was his duty, they say, to conceal such a nefarious transaction which reflected dishonour on his native State. And yet, they think, there are intimations of the real nature of the event, in its not being stated where he died, and in no entry being made of his burial! Of this and analogous peculiarities of the Ch'un Ts'ew I have spoken in the prolegomena.

The account of Yin's death, as given in the Chuen is:—'Yu-foo asked leave to put duke

Hwan [Yin's younger brother and successor] to death, intending thereon to ask to be made chief minister. The duke said, "I shall resign in his favour;—I have not done so yet simply because of his youth. I have caused T'oo-k'ew to be built, and mean there to spend my old age." Yu-foo was frightened at what he had done, and went and slandered the duke to Hwan, requesting leave to murder him. When he was a young man, the duke had fought with an army of Ch'ing at Hoo-jang, and was taken prisoner. Ch'ing kept him in confinement in the house of the officer Yin. He bribed this Yin, and prayed to Chung-woo, the Spirit whose shrine Yin had set up in his house. After this he and Yin returned together to Loo, and there he set up an altar to Chung-woo. In the eleventh month he was in the habit of going to sacrifice to this Chung-woo, fasting in the enclosure of the altar to the Spirits of the land, and lodging in the house of the officer Wei. On the day Jin-shin, Yu-foo employed ruffians to murder the duke in the house of the officer Wei. He then raised duke Hwan to the marquise, and punished several members of the Wei family with death.'

Tso-she adds that the burial of duke Yin does not appear in the text, because the funeral rites were not paid to him.

The K'ang-he editors have a note here on the circumstance that only in the first of Yin's eleven years is the 'first month (正月)' recorded. Kung and Kuh see in the omission an intimation that Yin 不自正, or 不有

正, 'did not consider himself, or was not, the rightful holder of the State.' Disclaiming this view, the editors seem to think that the omission is in condemnation of Yin's never having returned any of the king's friendly messages, and never having gone himself to the capital, thereby being the first to set the example of not doing honour to the ruling monarch by going or sending to receive the calendar for the year from him. This is being wise above what is written. To seek for meanings in the Ch'un Ts'ew in this way makes the whole book a riddle, which two men will not guess alike.

## BOOK II. DUKE HWAN.

First year.

桓公第二  
元年春王正月公即位。  
三月公會鄭伯于垂。  
夏四月丁未公及鄭伯盟于越。  
秋大水。  
冬十月。

左傳曰：元年春，鄭公即位，修好于鄭。鄭人請復祀周公，卒易祔田。公許之。三月，鄭伯以璧假許田。夏四月丁未，公及鄭伯盟于越。及鄭伯盟于越。結祔成也。盟曰：渝盟無享國。秋大水，凡平原出水為大水。冬，鄭伯拜盟。宋華父督見孔父之妻于路，目逆而送之，曰：美而黠。

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke succeeded duke Yin.
- 2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing in Chuy.
- 3 The earl of Ch'ing borrowed the fields of Heu for a *pei*h symbol.
- 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on [the day] Ting-we, the duke and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant in Yueh.
- 5 In autumn there were great floods.
- 6 It was winter, the tenth month.

THE TITLE OF THE BOOK. 桓公, 'Duke Hwan.' See what is said on the title of the former book, where it is related how this Hwan was a younger brother of Yin, and would have succeeded to the marquise on their father's death but for his youth. It appears that Yin

had always intended to resign the dignity in his favour, when he should have grown up. The young man, however, was impatient, or perhaps he was doubtful of his brother's intentions; so he lent a ready ear to the slanders of their near relative Kung-tze Hwuy, and gave his sanction to the murder of Yin. He thus became marquise

of Loo by a deed of atrocious guilt.—Sze-ma Ts'ien gives his name as Yun (允), while other authorities say that it was Kwei (軌). The honorary title Hwan denotes—'Extender of cultivation and Subjugator of the distant' (辟土服遠曰桓).  
Hwan's rule lasted 18 years, B. C. 710—693. His 1st year synchronized with the 9th year of king Hwan; the 20th year of He of Ts'e; the 7th year of Gae (哀) of Tsin; the 8th of Seuen (宣) of Wei; the 4th of Hwan (桓) of Ts'ae; the 33d of Chwang of Ch'ing; the 46th of Hwan of Ts'aou; the 34th of Hwan of Ch'in; the 40th of Woo of Ke (杞); the 9th of Shang (殤) of Sung; the 5th of Ning (寧) of Ts'in; and the 30th of Woo of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. After what has been said on all the phrases in this par. in the notes on the 1st par. of the former Book, it is only necessary to deal here, rather more at large, with the characters 即位. They are somewhat difficult to translate. To say 'came to the throne' would be inaccurate, because Loo was only one of the feudal States of the kingdom; and 'came to the place' or 'to the seat,' would be awkward. The reader will see how I have dealt with it. On the death of duke Yin, in the 11th month of the year before, his brother had immediately taken his place; still what remained in that year was counted to Yin, and the first day of the next, his successor announced the beginning of the new rule in the ancestral temple,—'changed the beginning (改元)' as it is called,—and took solemn possession of the vacant dignity. This is the accession in the text; but here comes a great questioning with the critics. It seems to be a rule in the Ch'un Ts'ew that the phrase 'came to the place' is not used where the preceding marquis has been murdered. So we find it at the accessions of Chwang, Min, and He. How is it that we find the phrase here, describing the accession of Hwan, chargeable with being accessory to the murder of his brother? The answer given by Choo He is the only sensible one. The paragraph simply relates what took place. Hwan omitted no ceremony that should have been proper on the occasion. He denied that he had been a party to the murder, and would have his accession gone about, as if Yin had died a natural death. No contrivances of Confucius, to construct his record so as to brand the new marquis, were necessary. His own conduct was the strongest condemnation of him.

Par. 2. Chuy,—see on I. viii. 1; but if Chuy belonged to Wei, as is stated there, Too Yu thinks it would hardly have been the meeting place of the marquis of Loo and the earl of Ch'ing. K'ea Kwei (賈逵) thought it was in Loo, which seems more likely,—it is easier to suppose that the lords of Sung and Wei might have met in Loo on the occasion in I. viii. 1.

This point, however, need not affect the identification of the place, for Loo and Wei were continuous on the north-west of Loo. Hwan would be glad to get the countenance of Ch'ing, considering the circumstances in which he had just succeeded to Loo, and it appears from the next par. that Ch'ing had also something to gain by the meeting.

Par. 3. See the Chuen on I. viii. 2, and Too Yu's explanation of it. Tso-she says here:—'The duke on his accession would cultivate the friendship of Ch'ing, and the earl (鄭人) again requested liberty to sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to complete the exchange of the fields of P'ang. The duke acceded, and in the 3d month the earl borrowed the fields of Heu for a *pei*-stone,—with reference to the sacrifice to the duke of Chow, and to P'ang.' It would appear that the exchange of the lands of P'ang and Heu, proposed by Ch'ing to duke Yin, had not as yet taken full effect. Loo had taken possession of P'ang, but Heu had not been given over to Ch'ing. Whatever difficulty there was in the matter was now adjusted. K'ung Ying-tah thinks that Heu was of more value than P'ang, and that Loo required something additional for it; and Soo Ch'eh and Hoo Gan-kwoh follow his view. Ch'in Foo-l'ang (陳傅良; of the Sung dynasty) thinks that the addition of the *pei* and the word 'borrowing' were simply to gloss over the transaction. This is more likely. For the two princes to exchange lands granted to their States by an act of the royal House, without any reference to the reigning king, shows how his authority was reduced.

The *pei* was one of the five sceptres or symbols of rank held by the princes from the king. Counts and barons received *pei*, differentiated by the figures engraved upon them. But the princes carried other *pei*, called 珽璧, in their visits among themselves; and it was, no doubt, one of these which was given at this time to Loo. All the *pei* were made round.

Par. 4. Yueh is the same as Chuy; and the place had thus three names;—Chuy, Yueh, and K'eu-en-k'ew. This covenant was the sequel of the meeting in p. 2, 'to settle finally the exchange of P'ang and Heu.' Tso-she says that among the words of the covenant were these,—'May he who departs from this covenant not enjoy his State!'

Par. 5. Acc. to Tso-she, the phrase 大水, 'great floods,' is used when the water is out all over the level plains.

Par. 6. See on I. vi. 3.

The Chuen appends here:—

['In winter, the earl of Ch'ing [came, or sent] to render thanks for the covenant.'

'Hwa-foo Tuh of Sung happened to see the wife of K'ung-foo [Confucius' ancestor] on the way. He gazed at her as she approached, and followed her with his eyes when she had passed, saying, "How handsome and beautiful!"']

Second year.

二年春王正月戊申宋督弑其君與夷及其大夫孔父。  
滕子來朝。  
三月公會齊侯陳侯鄭伯于稷以成宋亂。  
夏四月取郕大鼎于宋戊申納于大廟。  
秋七月杞侯來朝。  
蔡侯鄭伯會于鄧。  
九月八杞。  
公及戎盟于唐。  
冬公至自唐。

左傳曰二年春宋督攻孔氏殺孔父而取其妻公怒督懼遂弑殤公君子以督爲有無君之心而後動於惡故先書弑其君會于稷以成宋亂爲路故立華氏也宋殤公立十年十一戰民不堪命孔父嘉爲司馬督爲大宰故因民之不堪命先宣言曰司馬則然已殺孔父而弑殤公召莊公于鄭而立之以親鄭以郕大鼎路公齊陳鄭皆有路故遂相宋公。  
夏四月取郕大鼎于宋戊申納于大廟非禮也臧哀伯諫曰君人者將昭德塞違以臨照百官猶懼或失之故昭令德以示子孫是以清廟茅屋

大路越席，犬羹不致，菜食不鑿，昭其儉也。衮冕黻珽，帶裳幅舄，衡紱紃紃，昭其度也。藻率鞞鞞，擊厲游纓，昭其數也。火龍黼黻，昭其文也。五色比象，昭其物也。錫鸞和鈴，昭其聲也。三辰旂旗，昭其明也。夫德儉而有度，登降有數，文物以紀之，聲明以發之，以臨照百官，百官于是乎戒懼，而不敢易紀律。今滅德立違，而寘其路器于太廟，以明示百官，百官象之，其又何誅焉？國家之敗，由官邪也，官之失德，寵賂章也。邨鼎在廟，章孰甚焉？武王克商，遷九鼎于維維，義士猶或非之，而況將昭違亂之賂器於太廟，其若之何？公不聽。周內史聞之曰：滅孫達其有後于魯乎？君違，不忘諫之以德。

秋七月，杞侯來朝，不敬，杞侯歸，乃謀伐之。

蔡侯鄭伯會于鄧，始懼楚也。

九月入杞，討不敬也。

公及戎盟于唐，修舊好也。

冬，公至自唐，告于廟也。凡公行，告于宗廟，反行飲至，舍爵策勳焉，禮也。特相會，往來稱地，讓事也。自參以上，則往稱地，來稱會，成事也。

初，晉穆侯之夫人姜氏，以條之役生太子，命之曰仇。其弟以千畝之戰生，命之曰成師。師服曰：異哉！君之名子也，夫名以制義，義以出禮，禮以體政，政以正民，是以政成而民聽。易則生亂，嘉耦曰妃，怨耦曰仇，古之命也。今君命太子曰仇，弟曰成師，始兆亂矣，兄其替乎？惠之二十四年，晉始亂，故封桓叔于曲沃，靖侯之孫欒賓傅之。師服曰：吾聞國家之立也，本大而末小，是以能固，故天子建國，諸侯立家，卿置側室，大夫有貳宗，士有隸子弟，庶人工商各有分親，皆有等衰，是以民服事其上，而下無覬覦。今晉甸侯也，而建國，本既弱矣，其能久乎？惠

之三十年，晉潘父弑昭侯而納桓叔，不克。晉人立孝侯。十五年，曲沃伯伐翼，弑孝侯。翼人立其弟鄂侯。鄂侯生哀侯，哀侯侵庭之田，庭南鄙，啟曲沃伐翼。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, on [the day] Mow-shin, Tuh of Sung murdered his ruler Yu-e, and the great officer K'ung-foo.
- 2 The viscount of T'ang appeared at the court of Loo.
- 3 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, at Tseih, to settle the confusion of Sung.
- 4 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke brought the tripod of Kaou from Sung, and on [the day] Mow-shin deposited it in the Grand temple.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Ke came to the court of Loo.
- 6 The marquis of Ts'ae and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting at T'ang.
- 7 In the ninth month we entered Ke.
- 8 The duke and the Jung made a covenant in T'ang.
- 9 In winter the duke arrived from T'ang.

Par. 1. The Chuen at the end of last year was preliminary to this par. Tso-she adds here:—'In the duke's 2d year, in spring, Tuh attacked the K'ung family, killed K'ung-foo, and carried off his wife. The duke was angry, and Tuh, in fear, proceeded also to murder him. The superior man understands that Tuh was one who had no regard for his ruler in his heart, and that thence proceeded his wicked movements. It is on this account that the text mentions first his murder of his ruler, though it was second in point of fact.' See farther on par. 3.

Hwa-foo Tuh was a grandson of duke Tae (戴) of Sung (died B. C. 765). See about Kung-foo K'ea in the proleg. to vol. I, p. 57. The 父, written sometimes 甫, is a respectful adjunct sometimes of the clan-name, and sometimes of the designation.

Par. 2. See on I. xi. 1. The only thing to be noticed here is the descent of the title from 'marquis' to 'viscount,' which has given rise to an immense amount of speculation and writing. Hoo Gan-kwoh's view may be mentioned,—that Confucius here degrades the marquis to condemn him for visiting a villain like the duke of Loo! The only satisfactory account of the difference of the titles is that given by Too Yu, that, for some reason or other, the lord of T'ang had been degraded in rank by king Hwan.—The visit was, no doubt, to congratulate duke Hwan on his succession. According to the rule in the Chow Le (see on I. xi. 1), all the other princes in this part of the kingdom should in the same way have come to Loo.

Par. 3. Tseih was in Sung;—somewhere in the pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. Tso-she says that

though the meeting is cautiously said in the text to have been 'to settle the confusion of Sung,' it was really brought about by bribes (see on next par.), to maintain the power of the Hwa family. He adds:—'During the 10 years of duke Shang's rule in Sung, he had fought 11 battles, so that the people were not able to endure the constant summonses to the field. K'ung-foo K'ea was the minister of War, and Tuh was the premier of the State. Taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people, Tuh first set on foot a report that the constant fighting was owing to the minister of War, and then, after killing K'ung-foo, he murdered duke Shang. Immediately after, he called duke Chwang (the Kung-tsze Ping; see the Chuen on I. iii. 5) from Ch'ing, and raised him to the dukedom;—in order to please Ch'ing, bribing also the duke of Loo with the great tripod of Kaou. Ts'e, Ch'in, and Ch'ing all received bribes, and so Tuh acted as chief minister to the duke of Sung.'

Par. 4. We have met with a city of Kaou already in Sung;—see I. x. 4. If Kaou mentioned here were not the same, it is yet placed by Too in the same dis., that of Shing-woo in Yen-chow dep. Perhaps there had been a small State of this name, which had been absorbed by Sung. The tripod in the text had belonged to it, either made in Kaou, or more probably presented to it by king Woo, when he distributed among the princes many of the spoils of Shang. It was now held by Sung, and as a valuable curio was given at this time by Hwa Tuh as a bribe to Loo. I have translated 取 by 'brought,' without seeking to find any mysterious implication in its employment,—that the 'marquis of Loo was taking from Sung what Sung had no

right to give, and he had no right to receive.' The 'grand temple' was that of the duke of Chow.

There is here a long Chuen:—'This act of the duke was not proper, and Tsang Gae-pih [son of Tsang He-pih, famous for his remonstrance addressed to duke Yin;—see I. v. 1] remonstrated with him, saying, "He who is a ruler of men makes it his object to illustrate his virtue, and to repress in others what is wrong, that he may shed an enlightening influence on his officers. He is still afraid lest in any way he should fail to accomplish these things; and moreover he seeks to display excellent virtue for the benefit of his posterity. Thus it is that his ancestral temple has a roof of thatch; the mats in his grand chariot are only of grass; the grand soups [grand, as used in sacrifice] are without condiments; the millets are not finely cleaned;—all these are illustrations of his thrift. His robe, cap, knee-covers, and mace; his girdle, lower robe, buskins, and shoes; the cross-piece of his cap, its stopper pendants, its fastening strings, and its crown;—all these illustrate his observance of the statutory measures. His gem-mats, and his scabbard, with its ornaments above and below; his belt, with its descending ends; the streamers of his flags and the ornaments at his horses' breasts:—these illustrate his attention to the regular degrees of rank. The flames, the dragons, the axes, and the symbol of distinction represented on his robes:—these illustrate the elegance of his taste. The five colours laid on in accordance with the appearances of nature;—these illustrate with what propriety his articles are made. The bells on his horses' foreheads and bits, and those on his carriage pole and on his flags:—these illustrate his knowledge of sounds. The sun, moon and stars represented on his flags:—these illustrate the brightness of his intelligence.

"Now when thus virtuously thrifty and observant of the statutes, attentive to the degrees of high and low; his character stamped on his elegant robes and his carriage; sounded forth also and brightly displayed:—when thus he presents himself for the enlightenment of his officers, they are struck with awe, and do not dare to depart from the rules and laws. But now you are extinguishing your virtue, and have given your support to a man altogether bad. You have placed moreover the bribe received from him in the grand temple, to exhibit it to your officers. If your officers copy your example, on what ground can you punish them? The ruin of States and clans takes its rise from the corruption of the officers. Officers lose their virtue, when the fondness for bribes on the part of their ruler is displayed to them; and here is the tripod of Kaou in your temple, so that this could not be more plainly displayed! When king Woo had subdued Shang, he removed the nine tripods to the city of Loh, and the righteous Pih-e and others, it would appear, condemned him for it; but what can be said when this bribe is seen in the grand temple,—this bribe of wickedness and disorder?" The duke did not listen to the remonstrance, but when Chow's historiographer of the Interior heard of it, he said, "Tsang-sun Tah shall have posterity in Loo! His prince was doing wrong, and he neglected not to administer to him virtuous reproof."

Parr. 5, 7. See I. iv. 1; and p. 2. Tso-she says that the marquis of Ke behaved at this time disrespectfully, and that it was to punish him for this that the expedition in p. 7 was undertaken. Kung-yang and Kuh-léang, however, read 紀 instead of 杞 in p. 5.

Par. 6. There was a small State called T'ang, a long way off to the west near the river Han; but the T'ang here was a city of Ts'ae, 35 *le* south-east from the pres. dis. city of Yen-shing (鄆成), dep. K'ae-fung. Acc. to Tso-she, the lords of Ts'ae and Ch'ing met here, in fear for the first time of the encroachments and growing power of Ts'oo.

Parr. 8, 9. See I. ii. 1, 4. The duke and the Jung met now, says Tso-she, to renew the good relations between the Jung and Loo. The 至 in p. 9, intimates that the duke on his return to Loo gave notice of his arrival in his ancestral temple. Tso-she says:—'On setting out on any expedition, the duke announced the movement in the ancestral temple. On his return, he drank in celebration of that (飲至) in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had the transaction entered in the tablets;—this was the rule. When only two parties were concerned at a meeting [as in these parr.], the place of it is mentioned both in the account of the setting out and of the return, as if to signify how each had declined to take the presidency. When three or more parties were concerned, then the place is mentioned in the account of the going, and on the return it is said, "The duke came from the meeting," intimating that there was a president, and the business was completed.'

[Tso-she has here a narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—"Years back, the wife of Muh, marquis of Tsin (B. C. 811—784), a lady K'ang, gave birth to her eldest son, at the time of the expedition against T'eaou, and on that account there was given him the name of K'ew (仇—'enemy'). His brother was born at the time of the battle of Ts'een-mow, and he got with reference to it the name of Ching-sze (成師—'grand success'). Sze-fuh said, "How strange the names our lord has given to his sons! Now names should be definitions of what is right; the doing of what is right produces rules of what is proper; those rules again are embodied in the practice of government; and government has its issues in the rectification of the people. Therefore when government is completed in this way, the people are obedient; when this course is changed, it produces disorder. A good partner is called Fei (妃—'consort'); a grumbling partner is called K'ew (仇—'enemy')—these are ancient designations. Now our lord has called his eldest son Enemy, and his second son Grand Success;—this is an early omen of disorder, as if the elder brother would be superseded." In the 24th year of duke Hwuy of Loo (B. C. 744), Tsin began to be in confusion, and the marquis Ch'au [son of K'ew above] appointed Hwan Shuh [his uncle, the above Ching-sze] to K'eh-yuh, with Lwan Pin, grandson of the marquis Tsing, as his minister. Sze-fuh said,

"I have heard that in the setting up of States and clans, in order to the security of the parent State, while its root is large, the branches must be small. Therefore the son of Heaven establishes States; princes of States establish clans. Heads of clans establish collateral families; great officers have their secondary branches; officers have their sons and younger brothers as their servants; and the common people, mechanics and traders, have their different relatives of various degrees. In this way the people serve their superiors, and inferiors cherish no ambitious designs. Now Tsin is a marquise in the

T'een (甸) domain; and, establishing this State, can it continue long, its root so weak? In the 30th year of duke Hwuy, Fan-foo killed the marquis Ch'au, and endeavoured without success to establish Hwan-shuh in Ts'in. The people of Tsin appointed the marquis H'eaou. In the 45th year of duke Hwuy, Chwang, earl of K'eh-yuh, attacked Yih, and murdered the marquis H'eaou. The people of Tsin set up his younger brother, the marquis Goh. Goh begat the marquis Gae. Gae overran the lands of Hing-ting, which were on his southern border, and so opened the way for K'eh-yuh to attack Yih.]"

### Third year.

三年春正月公會齊侯于贏。夏齊侯衛侯胥命于蒲。六月公會杞侯于郕。秋七月壬辰朔日有食之既。公子翬如齊逆女。九月齊侯送姜氏于謹。公會齊侯于謹。夫人姜氏至自齊。冬齊侯使其弟年來聘。有年。

左傳曰三年春曲沃武公伐翼次于陘庭韓萬御戎梁弘爲右遂翼侯于汾隰驂絙而止夜獲之及欒共叔會于贏成昏于齊也。夏齊侯衛侯胥命于蒲不盟也。公會杞侯于郕杞求成也。秋公子翬如齊逆女脩先君之好故曰公子齊侯送姜氏非禮也凡公女嫁于敵國姊妹則上卿送之以禮於先君公子則下卿送之於天子則諸卿皆行公不送之於小國則上大夫送之自送於小國則上大夫送之冬齊仲年來聘致夫人也。○芮伯萬之母芮姜惡芮伯之多寵人也故逐之出居于魏。



- III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Ying.  
 2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e and the marquis of Wei pledged each other at P'oo.  
 3 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke in Shing.  
 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] Jin-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was totally eclipsed.  
 5 Duke [Hëaou's] son, Hwuy, went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.  
 6 In the ninth month, the marquis of Ts'e escorted his daughter to Hwan.  
 7 The duke and the marquis of Ts'e had a meeting in Hwan.  
 8 The [duke's] wife, the lady Këang, arrived from Ts'e.  
 9 In winter, the marquis of Ts'e, sent his younger brother Nëen with friendly inquiries.  
 10 There was a good year.

[Tso-she here continues his narrative of events in Ts'in:—'In the 3d year, in spring, duke Woo of K'ëuh-yuh [son of earl Chwang], proceeded against Yih, and halted in Hing-t'ing. [His uncle], Han Wan drove his chariot, having on his right Lëang Hwang. They pursued the marquis of Yih [i.e., Ts'in] to the banks of the Fun, when the trace of one of his outside horses got entangled about the yoke, and the carriage stopped. They caught him in the night, and Kung-shuh of Lwan with him.']

Par. 1. The absence of 王, 'king's,' after 春 and before 正月, has given rise to endless speculation and conjecture, especially as the character is wanting in most of the years of Hwan. Too Yu thinks that the king had not sent round the calendar to the princes on those years. Kuh-lëang thinks the omission is to mark the sage's condemnation of duke Hwan's character. But then it should have been omitted every year,—especially in the 1st. Even Too's explanation cannot be admitted in all the omissions of the term throughout the classic. We can only accept the omission without trying to account for it. Ying belonged to Ts'e,—50 里 to the south-east of the pres. dep. city of T'ae-gan. The object of the meeting here was to settle a marriage between the duke and a princess of Ts'e. The K'ang-he editors say here that as 會 intimates that the mover to the meeting was not Loo but the outside party, and we must suppose here that the mover was really the marquis of Loo, wishing to strengthen himself in his ill-acquired dignity by an alliance with a powerful House, the term is used to mark Confucius' condemnation of Ts'e. But the thing itself was the condemnation of Ts'e, and we need not look for it in the simple term.

Par. 2. P'oo was in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang-yuen (長垣) dis. dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. 胥命—相命, 'charged each other;' i.e., the subject about which the two

princes had met was put in writing, and read out in the hearing of them both; but they separated, simply pledged to each other in a certain line of conduct, without having gone through the formalities of making a covenant.

Par. 3. Tso and Kuh both have here 杞, while Kung-yang reads 紀. The K'ang-he editors think Kung's reading is right. Both Ke (紀) and Shing, they say, were afraid of Ts'e, and were cultivating the friendship of Loo as a counterpoise to the other powerful State. Shing,—see I. v. 3.

Par. 4. See on I.iii.1. 既—盡, 'totally.' There was a total eclipse in this year, on the day Jin-shin; but the month, acc. to Mr. Chalmers' table, should be the 8th, and not the 7th. See prolegg. to the Shoo, p. 103.

Par. 5—8. See on I.iii.5. The ancient practice of the princes going themselves to meet their brides had long fallen into disuse, though it might sometimes be observed, especially by the lord of a small State intermarrying with a larger. Hwuy (I. iv. 5; x. 2) appears here with his full title of 'duke's son,'—acc. to Tso-she out of respect to his father, a former marquis of Loo, and who, it might be presumed, was pleased with the match; but the reader need not weary himself in trying to account for the difference of style in this matter between this and former paragraphs.

Hwan was in Loo,—in pres. dis. of Fei-shing (肥城) dep. Ts'e-nan. It was contrary to the regular rule for the marquis himself to escort his daughter; but probably he had some business of another kind to discuss with the marquis of Loo. Tso-she says:—'It was contrary to the rule for the marquis of Ts'e to escort his daughter. In all cases of the marriages of the daughters of princes:—if the intermarriage were with a State of equal dignity and power, and the ladies were sisters of the ruling prince, a minister of the highest rank escorted

them, out of respect to their father, the former lord of the State; but if they were daughters of the ruling prince, only a minister of a lower rank escorted them; if the intermarriage were with a greater State, even in the case of a daughter of the ruling prince, a minister of the highest rank escorted her; if the intermarriage were with the son of Heaven, all the ministers of the State went, only the ruler himself did not go; and if it were with a smaller State, then the escort was only a great officer of the 1st class.' Observe the bride is here called 姜氏 'lady Këang,' as being still in Ts'e and with her father.

The duke may be said to have observed the ancient ceremony of meeting his bride, as Hwan was on the borders between Loo and Ts'e.

Par. 8. Having now entered Loo, the bride has passed into the wife (夫人). On 至, see the last par. of the previous year.

Par. 9. See I. vii. 5, and note. Tso-she says that the object of this mission was to carry her parents' salutations to the wife (致夫人). Too Yu adds that it was to inquire also about her deportment, whether it was becomingly

modest and reverent, and to show the earnest regard which the union might be supposed to produce between the States. A mission of this kind sent from Loo would be called 致女; coming to Loo it has the general name of 聘. Such a mission was sent three months after the lady had left her parents. If she were not giving satisfaction, she might be returned. (So Ying-tah says:—其意言不堪事宗廟則欲以之歸.)

Par. 10. The phrase 有年 is expressive of a good year, no crop failing (五穀皆熟).

It is strange that the critics should find a mystery in this simple paragraph, as if the sage had preserved the record to show how things turned out in Loo as they ought not to have done under so bad a ruler as Hwan.

[Tso-she appends here:—'Juy Këang, the mother of Wan, earl of Juy, indignant at him because of his many favourites, drove him out of Juy, and he took up his residence in Wei (魏).']

#### Fourth year.

來伯宰王夏<sub>二</sub>郎<sub>一</sub>狩月春四<sub>二</sub>年<sub>一</sub>  
聘糾渠使大<sub>二</sub>于公正年<sub>一</sub>

歸執秦<sub>二</sub>小<sub>一</sub>侵<sub>二</sub>父<sub>一</sub>伯夏書公年左  
芮師冬<sub>二</sub>之<sub>一</sub>芮<sub>二</sub>秋<sub>一</sub>在<sub>二</sub>糾<sub>一</sub>周時狩春傳  
伯圍王也<sub>二</sub>敗<sub>一</sub>秦<sub>二</sub>故<sub>一</sub>來宰禮于正日  
以魏師焉<sub>二</sub>師<sub>一</sub>名聘渠也郎月四

IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke hunted in Lang.

2 In summer, the king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the [sub-] administrator, K'ëu Pih-këw, to Loo with friendly inquiries.

Par. 1. 狩 here is the name of the winter hunt celebrated, as Tso says, 'at the proper season;' for in reality Chow's 1st month, was the 2d month of winter. This is an instance in point to show that Chow's 'spring' did really include two months of the natural winter. Lang,—see I. ix. 4.

Par. 2. See I. i. 4, for the meaning of 宰. K'ëu was the name of a city in Chow, from which the official family to whom it was granted took their clan-name. Tso-she says the name (Pih-këw) of the messenger is given because his father was still alive. If he had not been so, we should have read 渠氏.

There is no entry here under autumn or winter; not even the names of those seasons and their first months. This is contrary to the rule

of the classic, and we must believe that a portion of the text is here lost. Of course many of the Chinese critics are unable to accept so simple a solution of the matter, and will have it that the sage left those seasons out of the year, to express his displeasure with duke Hwan, and his condemnation of the king for sending friendly inquiries to such a man as he was!

[Tso-she has two brief notes of events that happened in the second half of this year:—  
 'In autumn, an army of Ts'in made a raid on Juy, and was defeated. It was defeated through making too light of Juy.'

'In winter a king's army and an army of Ts'in besieged Wei. The army of Ts'in captured the earl of Juy, and carried him back to Ts'in with it.']



Fifth year.

冬州公如曹。  
 九章 螽  
 八章 大雩。  
 七章 秋蔡人衛人陳人從王伐鄭。  
 六章 城祝丘。  
 五章 葬陳桓公。  
 四章 天王使仍叔之子來聘。  
 三章 夏齊侯鄭伯如紀。  
 二章 鮑卒。  
 一章 五年春正月甲戌己丑陳侯

左傳曰五年春正月甲戌己丑陳侯鮑卒再赴也於是陳亂文公子佗殺太子免而代之公疾病而亂作國人分散故再赴。  
 夏齊侯鄭伯朝于紀欲以襲之紀人知之。  
 王奪鄭伯政鄭伯不朝秋王以諸侯伐鄭鄭伯禦之王爲中軍虢公林父將右軍蔡人衛人屬焉周公黑肩將左軍陳人屬焉鄭子元請爲左拒以當蔡人衛人爲右拒以當陳人曰陳亂民莫有鬪心若先犯之必奔王卒顧之必亂蔡衛不枝固將先奔既而萃於王卒可以集事從之曼伯爲右拒祭仲足爲左拒原繁高渠彌以中軍奉公爲魚麗之陳先偏後伍伍承彌縫戰于繻葛命二拒曰旆動而鼓蔡衛陳皆奔王卒亂鄭師合以攻之王卒大敗祝聃射王中肩王亦能軍祝聃請從之公曰君子不欲多上人況敢陵天子乎苟自救也社稷無隕多矣夜鄭伯使祭足勞王

復危度公冬書烝閉殺而郊啟也書秋右且  
 遂其如淳過蟄而嘗始見而祀時雩左  
 不國曹于則而嘗始見而祀時雩左

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the first month, on Kēah-seuh or Ke-ch'ow, Paou, marquis of Ch'in, died.  
 2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing went to Ke.  
 3 The king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the son of Jing Shuh to Loo with friendly inquiries.  
 4 There was the burial of duke Hwan of Ch'in.  
 5 We walled Chuh-k'ew.  
 6 In autumn, an army of Ts'ae, an army of Wei, and an army of Ch'in followed the king and invaded Ch'ing.  
 7 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
 8 There were locusts.  
 9 In winter the duke of Chow went to Ts'au.

Par. 1. There is here evidently some corruption of the text. Between Kēah-seuh and Ke-ch'ow there are 14 clear days. We can hardly conceive how the historiographers could have entered the death of the marquis as having occurred on the one day or the other. If by any possibility they had done so, here, if anywhere, there was need for the pruning pencil of Confucius (筆削). Tso-she says that two different announcements were communicated to Loo, and adds, 'At this time Ch'in was all in confusion. T'ao, the son of duke Wān, had killed the marquis's eldest son, Wān [so 免 is here read], and superseded him. The disorder arose when the marquis was very ill; the people got scattered; and so two announcements were taken to Loo.' But this is an explanation made to suit the text. Ch'ing E supposes that after Kēah-seuh some entry has dropped out which constituted the 1st par.; and then a second par. might commence with 己丑. This is a reasonable conjecture, but there is another difficulty in the text which renders it inadmissible. The day Ke-ch'ow was in the 1st month of this year, but Kēah-seuh was in the 12th month of the preceding. This error of the month, as preceding 甲戌, is equally fatal to the solution of Kung-yang and Kuh-lēang, that the marquis, in a fit of madness, or some other way, disappeared on the first of the days mentioned, and was found dead on the second. The text is evidently corrupt. Leave out the two characters 甲戌, and the difficulty disappears.

Par. 2. 如, as in III. 5, simply=往, 'to go to.' Tso says that 'the lords of Ts'e and Ch'ing went to the court of Ke wishing to surprise it, and that the people of Ke knew their design.' The marquis of Ke, it is understood, then communicated their visit and its object to Loo, to which alone he looked for help; and so the entry of a transaction, apparently foreign

to Loo, was made by its historiographers. We shall see, hereafter, that Ke's fear of Ts'e was well founded.

Par. 3. For 仍 Kuh-lēang has 任. Compare I. iii. 4. Jing Shuh must have been a great officer of Chow. The critics are much concerned to determine whether Jing Shuh himself were dead, or only old, so that his son was employed instead of him, and whether he took it upon him to send his son, or the son was directly commissioned by the king. The last point seems to be settled by the text; the others only give rise to uncertain speculations. Tso-she simply says the messenger was 'a youth (弱也).'

Par. 5. Chuh-k'ew is believed to have been 50 *le* to the south-east of the pres. dep. city of E-chow. Too thinks it was walled as a precaution, in consequence of the designs of Ts'e on Ke.

Par. 6. On this paragraph Tso-she gives us the following narrative:—

'The king deprived the earl of Ch'ing of all share in the government of the kingdom, and the earl in consequence no more appeared at court. In autumn the king led several of the princes to invade Ch'ing, when the earl withstood him. The king drew up his forces so that he himself was in the centre, while Lin-foo, duke of Kwoh, commanded the army of the right, having the troops of Ts'ae and Wei attached to him, and Hih-kēen, duke of Chow, commanded on the left, having the troops of Ch'in. Tsze-yuen of Ch'ing asked the earl to draw their troops up in squares, on the left opposed to the armies of Ts'ae and Wei, and on the right to the men of Ch'in. "Ch'in," said he, "is at this time all in confusion, and the people have no heart to fight. If we attack them first, they will be sure to run. The king's soldiers seeing this will fall into disorder, and the troops of Ts'ae and Wei will set them the example of flight without making any resistance. Let us then collect our troops

and fall upon the king;—in this way we may calculate on success." The earl followed this counsel. Man-pih commanded the square on the right; Chae Chung-tsuh that on the left; while Yuen Fan and Kaou K'eu-me, with the earl, led the centre, which was drawn up in fish-scale array. There was always a force of 25 chariots, supported by 5 files of 5 men each, to maintain a close and unbroken front. The battle was fought at Seu-koh. The earl commanded the squares on the right and left to wait till they saw his flag waved, and then to advance with drums beating. The troops of Ts'ae, Wei, and Ch'in all fled, while the king's were thrown into disorder. The forces of Ch'ing then united in an attack on the opposite centre. The king received a great defeat, and an arrow shot by Chuh Tan wounded him in the shoulder; but, notwithstanding this, he retreated, still maintaining an able fight. Chuh Tan asked leave to pursue him, but the earl said, "A superior man does not wish to be always showing superiority over others; much less dare he offer insult to the son of Heaven! If we manage to save ourselves, and the altars of Ch'ing take no damage, we have accomplished very much." At night he sent Tshuh of Chae to comfort the king, and to ask after the welfare of his officers.'

Par. 7. 雩 = 旱祭, 'a sacrifice in time of drought.' The Chuen says that to offer this sacrifice—or at least the grand sacrifice for rain—in the autumn was unseasonable, and therefore the record of it appears here. Tso-she adds:—'With regard to the sacrifices in general, at the season of K'ë-chih [the emergence of insects from their burrows;—the 1st month of Hëa, and the 3d of the Chow year], the border sacrifice [to Heaven] was offered; at the season of Lung-hëa [the appearance of the Dragon (see the Shoo, on Pt. I., par. 5);—the 4th month of Hëa, and the 6th of Chow], the sacrifice for rain; at the season of Ch'e-shah [commencement of death;—the 8th month of Hëa, and the 10th of Chow], the Shang or sacrifice of first fruits; and at the

season of Pei-chih [the closing of insects in their burrows;—the 10th month of Hëa, and 12th of Chow], the Ching or winter sacrifice. If any of those sacrifices were offered after the season for them, the historiographers made an entry of it.' According then to Tso-she, this sacrifice for rain was competent to Chow and its various States only in the 6th month, its object being to supplicate for rain in the beginning of summer, that there might be a good harvest;—of course it was out of season to offer this sacrifice in any month of Chow's autumn. But I believe, with Maou K'ë-ling, that, while there was the regular sacrifice at the beginning of the natural summer, special sacrifices might be offered at any season of prolonged drought, and it does not follow, therefore, that the sacrifice in the text was unseasonable. As to the name 'grand,' characterizing the sacrifice here, it has given rise to much controversy. Këa Kwei thought the sacrifice was addressed to Heaven or God by the princes of Loo, under sanction of the grant to their ancestor to use imperial rites, and is therefore here called 'grand.' This point we must leave.

Par. 8. 螽 (in Kung-yang, 螽) are described by Too Yu as 螽蟴之屬, 'a kind of locusts.'

Par. 9. Chow was a small State, in pres. dis. of Gan-k'ëw (安丘), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Its prince appears here with the title of duke;—it is supposed because some previous lord had been one of the three Kung or dukes at the king's court. His capital was Shun-yu (淳于). Ts'aou was an earldom, held by the descendants of one of the sons of king Wän;—its capital was Ts'aou-k'ëw (陶丘), in pres. dis. of Ting-t'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow. Tso-she says on the par:—'In winter, the duke of Shun-yu went to Ts'aou, reckoning that his State was in a perilous state; and he did not return to it.'

Sixth year.

六年春正月，左傳曰：六年春，自曹寔來，不復其國也。夏四月，公會。秋八月壬午，紀侯于郕。大閱。蔡人殺陳佗。九月丁卯，子同生。冬，紀侯來朝。

然我張吾三軍而被。也我則使志於漢東。言于楚子。成鬬伯比。使少師董待之。隨人軍於瑕。以章求成焉。侵隨，使蓬。寔來，不復其國也。楚武王。公與文姜宗婦命之。公問名於申繻。對曰：名有五，有信，有義，有象，有假，有類，以名生為信，以德命為義，以類命為象，取於物為假，取於父為類，不以國。

吾甲兵，以武臨之，彼則懼而協以謀我，故難間也。漢東之國隨為大，隨張，必棄小國，小國離，楚之利也。少師侈，請羸師以張之。熊率且比曰：季梁在，何益？鬬伯比曰：以為後圖，少師得其君。王毀軍而納少師，少師歸，請追楚師。隨侯將許之。季梁止之曰：天方授楚，楚之羸，其誘我也，君何急焉？臣聞小之能敵大也，小道大淫。所謂道，忠於民而信於神也。上思利民，忠也；祝史正辭，信也。今民餒而君逞欲，祝史矯舉以祭，臣不知其可也。公曰：吾牲綏肥腍，粢盛豐備，何則不信？對曰：夫民，神之主也，是以聖王先成民而後致力於神，故奉牲以告曰：博碩肥腍，謂民力之普存也，謂其畜之碩大蕃滋也，謂其不疾疫蠹也，謂其備腍咸有也，奉盛以告曰：絜粢豐盛，謂其三時不害而民和年豐也。奉酒醴以告曰：嘉栗旨酒，謂其上下皆有嘉德，而無違心也。所謂馨香，無諛慝也。故務其三時，脩其五教，親其九族，以致其禋祀，於是乎民和而神降之福，故動則有成。今民各有心，而鬼神乏主，君雖獨豐，其何福之有？君姑脩政而親兄弟之國，庶免于難，隨侯懼而脩政，楚不敢伐。

夏會于成，紀來諮，謀齊難也。

○北戎伐齊，齊侯使乞師于鄭，鄭大子忽帥師救齊。六月，大敗戎師，獲其二帥大良、少良，甲首三百，以獻於齊。于是諸侯之大夫成齊，齊人饋之餼，使魯為其班。後鄭，鄭忽以其有功也，怒，故有郕之師。公之未昏於齊也，齊侯欲以文姜妻鄭大子忽，大子忽辭，人問其故，大子曰：人各有耦，齊大非吾耦也。詩云：自求多福，在我而已。大國何為？君子曰：善自為謀及其敗戎師也，齊侯又請妻之，固辭，人問其故，大子曰：無事于齊，吾猶不敢，今以君命奔齊之急，而受室以歸，是以師昏也，民其謂我何？遂辭諸鄭伯。

秋，大閱，簡車馬也。

九月，丁卯，子同生。以犬子生之禮舉之，接以犬牢，卜士負之，士妻食之，公與文姜宗婦命之，公問名於申繻，對曰：名有五，有信，有義，有象，有假，有類，以名生為信，以德命為義，以類命為象，取於物為假，取於父為類，不以國。

告命冬命其不廢廢則牲山名諱以牲不以不以  
不能以求紀之生可廢司廢則川以之諱不隱官  
成侯日也司空徒禮廢則官故事以器疾不以  
于來同與命是先宋晉祀廢則廢國神幣不山  
齊朝請王公曰大獻武公侯幣畜以廢將人畜川  
公王物是物武公侯幣畜以廢將人畜川

- VI. 1 In the [duke's sixth year, in spring, in the first month, Shih came to Loo.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke in Ching.
- 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jin-woo, [the duke] held a grand military review.
- 4 The people of Ts'ae put to death T'o of Ch'in.
- 5 In the ninth month, on [the day] Ting-maou, the [duke's] son, T'ung, was born.
- 6 In winter, the marquis of Ke came to [our] court.

Par. 1. According to all the three Chuen, this is a continuation of the last par. in last year. Tso-she says:—'In the spring, he came from Ts'aou to the court of Loo. The text 寔來 intimates that he did not return again to his own State.' In this way, 寔='for good,' and Too Yu defines it by 實. Kung and Kuh explain it by 是 and 是人, 'this man.' Ch'ing E and Hoo Gan-kwō, however, suppose that Shih was the name of the duke of Chow. A prince, living, ought not to be called by his name, but this poor duke, a fugitive from his State, never to return to it, was in his princely character as good as dead, and might be named. The K'ang-he editors say both views are to be preserved. The point is one of trivial importance.

[There is appended here in the Chuen the following narrative:—'King Woo of Ts'oo [this viscount of Ts'oo had usurped the title of 'king'] burst suddenly into Suy, and sent Wei Chang to beg that Ts'oo and Suy might be on good terms with each other, meanwhile waiting with his army at Hēa for intelligence. The court of Suy sent Shaou-sze [少師; this is evidently the name of an office; but nothing can be ascertained about it. I have therefore followed the example of the Lēch-kwoh Ch which calls the phrase the name of the marquis of Suy's favourite] to manage the conclusion of a treaty of peace. Tow Pih-pe said to the viscount of Ts'oo, "That we have not got our will on the east of the Han is all owing to ourselves. We have displayed our three armies, our men all equipt with their buff coats and weapons, and so we have presented ourselves to the States in all our power. They have been afraid, therefore, and have united together to provide against our designs. It is this which makes it difficult to separate them. Of the States east of the Han Suy is the greatest. Let Suy once be elated, and

then it will spurn the smaller States, which will become alienated from it;—this will be to the advantage of Ts'oo. This Shaou-sze is a vain extravagant man; let us inflate him by making our army appear as if it were weak." Hēung Lēuh-tseu-pe said, "While Ke Lēang is in Suy, of what use will this be?" Tow Pih-pe replied, "It will serve as a basis for future measures;—Shaou-sze is his prince's favourite."

'The king, according to Pih-pe's counsel, gave his army a dilapidated appearance, and then received Shaou-sze, who on his return to Suy requested leave to pursue the army of Ts'oo. The marquis was about to grant it, when Ke Lēang stopt him saying, "Heaven is now giving power to Ts'oo. Its exhibition of weakness was only made to deceive us. Why, O ruler, be so hasty? I have heard that the condition in which a small State can match with a great one, is when the small one is ruled according to reason, and the great one is abandoned to wild excess. What I mean by being ruled according to reason, is showing a loyal love for the people, and a faithful worship of the Spirits. When the ruler thinks only of benefiting the people, that is loyal loving of them; when the priests' words are all correct, that is faithful worship. Now our people are famishing, and the prince indulges his desires; the priests are hypocrites in their sacrifices;—I do not know whether there is the condition of success." The marquis said, "My victims are the best, and well fattened; the millet in the vessels is good and all complete;—where is there any want of sincerity?" Ke Lēang replied, "The state of the people is what the Spirits regard. The sage kings therefore first secured the welfare of the people, and then put forth their strength in serving the Spirits. Thus when they presented their victims, and announced them as large and fat, they meant that the people's strength was all preserved; that to this was owing the large growth of the animals; that to this was owing their freedom from scab or itch; that to this it was owing

they were so fat, and amply sufficient. When they presented their vessels of millet, and announced it as clean and abundant, they meant that in all the three seasons no harm was done to the cause of husbandry; that the people were harmonious, and the years good. When they presented their distilled and sweet spirits, and announced them as admirable, strong, and good, they meant that superiors and inferiors were all of admirable virtue, and their hearts in nothing inclined to perverseness; what was termed the widely diffused fragrance was really that there were no slanderers nor wicked men. In this way it was that they exerted themselves that the labours of the three seasons should be performed; they cultivated and inculcated the five great duties of society; they cherished and promoted the affection that should exist among the nine classes of kindred: and from this they proceeded to their pure sacrifices. Thus their people were harmonious, and the Spirits sent down blessings, so that every movement they undertook was successful. Now the people's hearts are all at variance, and the Spirits have no lord [i.e., none whom they will serve, and serve by blessing]. Although you as an individual may be liberal in your acts of worship, what blessing can that bring? I pray you to cultivate good government, and be friendly with the States of your brother princes; then perhaps you will escape calamity."

'The marquis of Suy was afraid, and attended properly to his duties of government; and Ts'oo did not dare to attack him.'

Par. 2. Tso says the marquis of Ke came to this meeting to consult with Loo about his difficulties with Ts'e. The 邸 in the text is from Kuh-lēang. Tso and Kung both read 成 which makes Too give the situation differently from that of the other in I.v. 3;—90 里 north-east from pres. dis. city of Ning-yang.

[The Chuen has here:—'The northern Jung had invaded Ts'e, which sent to ask the assistance of a force from Ch'ing. Hwuh, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, led a force accordingly to the help of Ts'e, and inflicted a great defeat on the Jung, capturing their two leaders, Tae-lēang and Shaou-lēang, whom he presented to the marquis with the heads of 300 of their buff-coated warriors. At that time the great officers of many of the princes were keeping guard in Ts'e, and the marquis supplied them with cattle, employing the officers of Loo to arrange the order of distribution. These placed the troops of Ch'ing last, which made Hwuh indignant, considering that his had been the merit of the victory; and it gave rise to the battle of Lang [see the 10th year].

'Before the duke of Loo had married the daughter of Ts'e, the marquis had wished to marry her—Wān Kēang—to Hwuh; but he had refused the match. Some one asked the reason of his refusal, when he replied, "People should be equally matched. A daughter of Ts'e is too great a match for me. The ode says, "For himself he seeks much happiness (She, III. i. 1. 6)." I have to do with what depends on myself simply; what have I to do with a great State?" A superior man will say that Hwuh did well in thus making himself the centre of his plan of life. On this occasion, when he had defeat-

ed the army of the Jung, the marquis of Ts'e again asked him to take another of his daughters to wife, but again he firmly refused. Being asked the reason, he said, "Formerly when I had had nothing to do in Ts'e, I still did not dare to marry one of its princesses. Now I hurried here by our ruler's order to succour Ts'e in its exigency; if I returned from it with a wife, it would be as if I had won her by arms." In this way he declined the alliance on the ground of wanting the earl of Ch'ing's command.'

Tso-she seems to have forgotten here that he had already narrated the marriage of Hwuh of Ch'ing to a daughter of the house of Ch'in, under I.viii. 3. The marquis of Ts'e would hardly have offered one of his daughters to fill a secondary place in Hwuh's harem.]

Par. 8. 閱一簡車馬 'to examine the chariots and horses.' This was an annual ceremony, to which the winter hunt was subsidiary. See the Chow Le, Bk. XXIX., pp. 24—34. Many of the critics think that the holding this review, as here, in the 8th month in autumn, was unreasonable, and that it is recorded to condemn it. But the duke might easily have had reasons sufficient to justify him for holding such a review at this time.

Par. 4. Tso-she has no Chuen here, but we find what serves for one under the 22d year of duke Chwang. We have seen, under V.1, that T'o had killed the eldest son of the marquis of Ch'in, and superseded him. But that son's younger brother was a son of a princess of Ts'ae, and in his interest Ts'ae now did justice on T'o. T'o had not yet been recognized as marquis of Ch'in, and therefore we have simply his name, without his title. I have translated 蔡人 by 'the people of Ts'ae,' after the analogy of 衛人 in I.iv.6.7. Kuh and Kung account for his death at the hands of some people of Ts'ae by saying that he had intruded into the territory of Ts'ae in hunting or for a worse purpose, and was killed in a quarrel about a bird or a woman. Their Chuen, however, where matters of history are concerned, are not to be compared with Tso-she's.

Par. 5. Tso-she tells us that this entry of T'ung's birth intimates that he was received with all the honours proper to the birth of a son and heir; that an ox, a sheep, and a pig were sacrificed on the occasion; that an officer of divination carried him on his back, and his wife nursed him; and that the duke, with the child's mother, Wān Kēang, and the wives of the duke's noble kindred, gave him his name. This last ceremony took place on the 3d month after the birth. Tso-she adds:—'The duke asked Shin Sēu about names, who replied "Names are taken from five things:—some pre-intimation; some auspice of virtue; some striking appearance about the child; the borrowing the name of some object; or some similarity. When a child is born with a name on it, that is a pre-intimation [a character, such as 友, may seem to be made by some marks on the body, and so is taken as the name]; when a child is named from some virtue, this is called an auspice [Ch'ang, the name of king Wān, is an instance in point]; when it is named from some resemblance about it to something, this is called naming from the

appearance [Confucius was so named Ne-k'ew (尼丘)]; when it is named from some object, this is called borrowing [the name of Confucius' son Pih-yu (魚, 'the fish') is an instance]; when the name is taken from something about the father, this is called a name from similarity [see below]. The name must not be taken from the name of the State; or of an office; or of a mountain or river; or of any malady; or of an animal; or of a utensil, or of a ceremonial offering. The people of Chow do not use the name which they bore in serving the Spirits of the dead; and the name is not mentioned after death. To take the name from the State would do away with the State's name; one from an office would do away with the office; one from a hill or stream would do away with the sacrifice to it; one from an animal would do away with its use as a victim; one from a utensil or a ceremonial offering would do away with its use in ceremonies. The name of the marquis He of Tsin [he was called 司徒] made the title of minister of Instruction (司徒) be discontinued.

### Seventh year.

離來朝。鄧侯吾綏來朝。夏穀伯丘。亥焚咸。二月己巳。七年春。

左傳曰：七年春，穀伯丘來朝。鄧侯吾綏來朝。夏穀伯丘。亥焚咸。二月己巳。七年春。

- VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, in the second month, on Ke-hae, the duke hunted with fire in H'een-k'ew.  
2 In summer, Suy, earl of Kuh, came to [our] court.  
3 Woo-le, marquis of T'ang, came to [our] court.

Par. 1. H'een-k'ew was a district, and probably the name of a town in it, belonging to Loo;—somewhere in dep. of Yen-chow. 焚 here = 火田, 'to hunt with fire.' This appears in the Urh-ya as another name for the winter hunting (火田爲狩). The object in using fire was to drive the birds and animals from their coverts. Too says the record is made here to condemn the duke for his wantonness in carrying on the operation, so that nothing should escape. But this does not appear in the text; and the Chuen has nothing on the par.

Parr. 2, 3. Kuh was a marquise, with the surname Ying (贏), and has left its name in the pres. dis. of Kuh-shing, dep. S'ang-yang.

ed in Tsin. So with duke Woo of Sung and the title of minister of Works (司空). Our former dukes H'een [called 具] and Woo [called 敖] caused two hills to lose their names. Therefore the names of such great objects and offices must not be given to a child." The duke said, "Well, his birth and mine were on the same day." So, from that similarity, the child was named T'ung [the Similar].

As this is the only instance in the classic in which the birth of a Son of any of the marquises of Loo is chronicled, there is much speculation as to the reason of the entry here. Some think it is a clear case of the pencil of the sage, who would thus show that duke Chwang was really the son of the marquis of Loo, and not the fruit of the incestuous commerce which his mother subsequently indulged in!

Par. 6. Tso-she says this visit from the marquis of Ke was to beg the services of the duke to ask the king's order to bring about peace between Ke and Ts'e, but that the duke told him he could do nothing in the matter.

Nothing that occurred in autumn or winter is here entered. See what has been said upon this,—on the 4th year.

[Tso-she appends here two short Chuen:—'Mang and H'ang sought terms of peace from Ch'ing [these are two of the places mentioned in one of the Chuen under I. xi. 3, as granted by Chow to Ch'ing. It was there said that Chow could not keep them, and it would appear that

Ch'ing also found it difficult to do so], and afterwards broke them. In autumn, an army of Ch'ing, an army of Ts'e, and an army of Wei invaded Mang and H'ang, when the king removed their inhabitants to K'eah.'

'In winter, the earl of K'eh-yuh inveigled the child-marquis of Tsin, and put him to death.']

### Eighth year.

八年春正月，天王使家父來聘。夏五月丁丑，祭公來，遂逆王后於紀。秋，伐邾。冬，雨雪。

左傳曰：八年春，滅翼。隨少師有寵，楚鬬伯比曰：可矣，讐有覺，不可失也。夏，楚子合諸侯於沈鹿，黃隨不會，使薳章讓黃。楚子伐隨，軍於漢淮之間。季梁請下之，弗許。而後戰，所以怒我而怠寇也。少師謂隨侯曰：必速戰，不然，將失楚師。隨侯禦之，望楚師，季梁曰：楚人上左，君必左，無與王遇，且攻其右，右無良焉，必敗，偏敗，衆乃攜矣。少師曰：不當王，非敵也。弗從。戰於速杞，隨師敗績，隨侯逸，鬬丹獲其戎車，與其戎右少師。秋，隨及楚平，楚子將不許，鬬伯比曰：天去其疾矣，隨未可克也，乃盟而還。祭公來，遂逆王后於紀。禮也。

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the first month, on Ke-maou, we offered the winter sacrifice.  
2 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent K'ea Foo to Loo with friendly inquiries.  
3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Ting-ch'ow, we offered the winter sacrifice.  
4 In autumn, we invaded Choo.  
5 In winter, in the tenth month, there was snow.  
6 The duke of Chae came [to Loo], and immediately after went to meet the king's bride in Ke.



The critics are much divided in their views of this visit, and labour hard to find the sage's work of 'condemnation' in it.



## Tenth year.

伯來戰于郎。午，齊侯衛侯鄭。冬，十有二月，丙。桃丘弗遇。秋，公會衛侯于。公。夏，五月，葬曹桓。卒。庚申，曹伯終生。十年，春，王正月。

左傳曰：十年，春，曹桓公卒。○號仲譖其大夫詹父於王，詹父有辭，以王師伐虢，夏，虢公出奔虞。○秋，秦人納芮伯萬於芮。○初，虞叔有玉，虞公求旃，弗獻，既而悔之，曰：『周諺有之，匹夫無罪，懷璧其罪。』吾焉用此？其以賈害也。乃獻之。又求其寶劍，叔曰：『是無厭也。』無厭，將及我。遂伐虞公，故虞公出奔共池。冬，齊衛鄭來戰於郎。我有辭也。初，北戎病齊，諸侯救之，鄭公子忽有功焉。齊人餽諸侯，使魯次之，魯以周班後鄭，鄭人怒，請師於齊，齊人以衛師助之，故不稱侵伐，先書齊衛王爵也。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on K'ang-shin, Chung-s'ang, earl of Ts'au, died.  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ts'au.  
3 In autumn, the duke [went to] have a meeting with the marquis of Wei in T'au-k'ew, but did not meet with him.  
4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ping-woo, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing came and fought [with us] at Lang.

Par. 1. Parr. 1,2. See the Chuen on last par. of last year. A great mystery is found in the reappearance of 王;—'in the 10th year, the completion of numbers.' Tso blends the two parr. together, saying that 'in the spring duke Hwan of Ts'au died.'

[Tso-she adds here:—'The brother of the duke of Kwoh slandered his great officer Chen Foo to the king. Chen Foo was able to rebut the slander, and with an army from the king attacked Kwoh. In summer, the duke of Kwoh fled to Yu.']

Par. 3. T'au-k'ew was in Wei;—50 *le* to the west of the present dist. city of Tung-o (東阿), in dept. Tung-ch'ang. The meeting had been agreed upon, and the duke was anxious to detach Wei from the party of Ch'ing, which was threatening Loo;—see next par. The marquis of Wei, however, changed his mind, and determined to go with the other side.

[Tso-she adds:—'In autumn, Ts'in restored Wan, earl of Juy, to Juy.' See the Chuen at the end of the 4th year.

'The 3d brother of the duke of Yu had a valuable piece of jade, which the duke asked of him. He refused it, but afterwards repented, saying, "There is the proverb in Chow, 'A man may have no crime;—that he keeps his peih is his crime.' This jade is of no use to me;—shall I buy my hurt with it?" He then presented it to the duke, who went on to ask a precious sword which he had. The young brother then said to himself, "This man is insatiable; his greed will reach to my person." He therefore attacked the duke, who was obliged to flee to Kung-ch'e.']

Par. 4. Lang,—see I. ix. 4. Tso-she says:—'In winter, Ts'e, Wei, and Ch'ing came to fight with us in Lang; but we could explain what they complained of. Formerly when the northern

Jung were distressing Ts'e, many of the princes sent to its relief, and Hwuh, son of the earl of Ch'ing, acquired merit. When the people of Ts'e were sending cattle round to the different troops, the officers of Loo were employed to arrange the order of distribution. They did so according to the rules of precedence at the court of Chow, and sent last to Ch'ing. The men of Ch'ing were angry, and the earl requested the help of a force from Ts'e, which granted it and got troops from Wei besides. In these circumstances the text does not speak of their attacking Loo covertly or openly, but that they came and fought. It also puts Ts'e and Wei before Ch'ing, though Ch'ing was the prime mover of the expedition,—in the order of their rank as fixed by the king. The battle was, we may suppose, bloodless.

## Eleventh year.

十有一年，春，正月，齊人衛人鄭人盟于惡曹。夏，五月，癸未，鄭伯寤生卒。秋，七月，葬鄭莊公。九月，宋人執鄭祭仲。突歸于鄭。鄭忽出奔衛。柔會宋公、陳侯、蔡叔盟于折。公會宋公于夫鍾。公會宋公于闕。冬，十有二月，公會宋公于闕。

左傳曰：十一年，春，齊衛鄭未盟於惡曹。○楚屈瑕將盟貳軫，即人軍於蒲騷，將與隨絞州蓼伐楚師，莫敖患之。不誠，且日虞四邑之至也。君次於郊郢，以禦四邑。我以銳師宵加於郢，鄖有虞心，而恃其城莫有鬪志。若敗鄖師，四邑必離。莫敖曰：『盍請濟師於王。』對曰：『師克在和，不在衆。』商周之敵，君之所聞也。成軍以出，又何濟焉？莫敖曰：『卜之。』對曰：『卜以決疑，不疑何卜？』遂敗鄖師於蒲騷，卒盟而

還。鄭昭公之敗北戎也，齊人將妻之，昭公辭，祭仲曰：「必取之，君多內寵，子無大援，將不立。」三公子皆君也。弗從。夏，鄭莊公卒，初，祭封人仲足有寵於莊公，莊公使爲卿，爲公娶鄧曼，生昭公，故祭仲立之。宋雍氏女於鄭莊公曰雍姁，生厲公，雍氏宗有寵於宋莊公，故誘祭仲而執之，曰：「不立突，將死。」亦執厲公而求賂焉，祭仲與宋人盟，以厲公歸，而立亥。厲公立。丁亥，昭公奔衛。己亥，九月，昭公奔衛。己亥，厲公立。

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the first month, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'ing made a covenant in Goh-ts'aou.  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Kwei-we, Woo-sang, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Ch'ing.  
4 In the ninth month, the people of Sung seized Chae Chung of Ch'ing.  
5 Tuh returned to Ch'ing.  
6 Hwuh of Ch'ing fled to Wei.  
7 Yëw had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, and the third brother of [the marquis of] Ts'ae, in Cheh.  
8 The duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Foo-chung.  
9 In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in K'an.

Par. 1. The position of Goh-ts'aou is not known. This meeting was, no doubt, a sequel, in some way, to the expedition of the three princes, the previous month, against Loo. Tso-she says that Ts'e, Wei, Ch'ing and Sung all united in the covenant, and Tso thinks therefore that 宋 is wanting in the text. But the mention of Sung is supposed by many, and I think correctly, to be an error of Tso. But who were the covenanting parties? Sun K'eh (孫覺) early in Sung dyn.), Hoo Gan-kwoh, the K'ang-he editors, and many other critics, contend that they were the princes of the three States, who are called 人—in condemnation. But why were they not called 人 in the par. immediately before? It is better to understand 人 here, as in many other places, of officers appointed by the princes to act for them.

[Tso-she appends here:—'K'eh H'ea of Ts'oo was about to make a covenant with Urh and Chin, when the people of Yun took post with their army at P'oo-saou, intending, with Suy, K'eaou,

Chow, and L'eaou, to attack the army of Ts'oo. The Moh-gaou [this was the name of an office in Ts'oo. The party intended is K'eh H'ea] was troubled about it; but Tow Leen said, 'The people of Yun, having their army in their suburbs, are sure to be off their guard; and they are daily anxious for the arrival of the forces of the other four States. Do you, Sir, take up a position at K'eaou-ying to withstand the advance of those forces, and I will make an attack upon Yun at night with a nimble, ardent troop. The men of Yun are anxiously looking out, and relying on the proximity of their city, so that they have no mind to fight. If we defeat the army of Yun, the other four cities will abandon their alliance with it.' Keuh H'ea replied, 'Why not ask the help of more troops from the king [i. e., the viceroy of Ts'oo]?' The other said, 'An army conquers by its harmony, and not by its numbers. You have heard how unequally Shang and Chow were matched. We have come forth with a complete army;—what more do we want?' The Moh-gaou said, 'Let us divine about it.' 'We divine,' returned the other, 'to determine in cases of doubt. Where we have no doubts, why

should we divine?' Immediately he defeated the army of Yun in P'oo-saou. The covenant [with Urh and Chin] was completed, and they returned.'

'When duke Ch'au of Ch'ing [i. e., the earl's son Hwuh, afterwards duke Ch'au] defeated the northern Jung, the marquis of Ts'e wished to give him one of his daughters to wife. When he declined the match, Chae Chung said to him, "You must take her. Our prince has many favourites in his family. Without some great support, you will not be able to secure the succession to yourself. Your three brothers may all aspire to the earldom." Hwuh, however, did not follow the advice.'

Parr. 2, 3. The earl of Ch'ing was certainly the ruling spirit of his time, shrewd, crafty, and daring,—the hero of the first part of the Ch'ün Ts'ew. His burial should not have taken place till the 10th month. There must have been something in the circumstances of the State to cause it to be hurried. Tso-she appends to par. 2:—'Chung Tshu had been border-warden of Chae, and became a favourite with duke Chwang, who made him one of his chief ministers. He had got the duke married to a lady Man, one of the daughters of the House of T'ang, and the produce of the union was duke Ch'au [the duke's son Hwuh.] It was on this account that Chae Chung secured the succession to him.'

Parr. 4—6. Chae was a place or district in Ch'ing, of which Chae Chung, as we learn from the last Chuen, had been warden; and it became equivalent to his surname, and actually the surname of his descendants. Tso says that Chae was really his surname, and Chung his name; but I must believe that Chung was the designation, and Tshu (足) the name. 宋人, —'the people of Sung;' like 蔡人, in VI. 4. A literal translation of 執 would be 'grabbed.' The reason of the seizure of Chae Chung is told by Tso-she:—'The officer Yung of Sung had married a daughter, called Yung K'eh [雍姁; Yung was the father's clan-name; K'eh the surname] to duke Chwang of Ch'ing. She bore a son [Tuh], who became duke Le. The Yung clan was in favour with duke Chwang of Sung, who therefore beguiled Chae

Chung, seizing him, and telling him that, unless he raised Tuh to the earldom, he should die. At the same time he seized duke Le [Tuh], and required the promise of bribes from him. Chae Chung made a covenant with an officer of Sung, took duke Le back with him to Ch'ing, and set him up.' The action of pp. 5, 6 was almost contemporaneous. As the Chuen says:—'In the 9th month, on Ting-hae, duke Ch'au fled to Wei, and on Ke-hae [12 days after] duke Le was acknowledged in his room.' As Hwuh had been both *de jure* and *de facto* earl of Ch'ing since his father's death, the critics are much concerned to find the reason why he is mentioned here simply by his name, without his title. Kung-yang thinks the style is after the simplicity of the Yin dynasty, which called the son by his name in presence of the father; and the former earl might be considered as only just dead,—in fact, as almost still alive. Kuh-l'ang thinks the name is given, as to a prince who had lost his State. Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks the name is condemnatory of him, for having refused the strong alliance which Ts'e had pressed on them. Tso's explanation is more likely. The announcement of his exit, he says, was from Ch'ing, which gave his name in contempt, and the historiographers of Loo entered it as it came to them. But see on XV. 4.

Par. 7. The situation of Ch'eh has not been determined. Yëw was a great officer of Loo, who, acc. to Tso-she, had not received a clan-name. On 蔡叔, Tso Yu says that 叔 is the name, and Maou agrees with him. It serves, indeed, the purpose of a name; but I prefer to render the word, according to its signification, as in the translation. So, Sun Fuh (蔡叔, 蔡侯弟也).

Parr. 8, 9. Foo-chung (Kung reads 童) was in the small State of Shing (城郕); and K'an was very near to Shing, belonging to Loo;—in the west of W'an-shang (汶上) district. At this time Loo and Sung, for some reason, became, or wanted to become, close friends. We shall find that their two princes had three meetings in the course of the next year. The affairs of Ch'ing were, no doubt, a principal topic with them.

Twelfth year.

十有二年春，夏六月壬寅，公會杞侯莒，秋七月丁亥，公會宋公燕人盟于穀丘。八月壬辰，陳侯躍卒。

于宋。師伐宋，丁未，戰。  
十有二月，及鄭。  
丙戌，衛侯晉卒。  
盟于武父。  
丙戌，公會鄭伯。  
會宋公于龜。  
冬十有一月，公。  
公會宋公于虛。

左傳曰：十二年夏，盟于曲池。平  
杞莒也。  
公欲平宋鄭，秋，公及宋公盟于  
句瀆之丘。宋成未可知也，故又  
會于虛。冬，又會于龜。宋公辭平，  
故與鄭伯盟于武父。遂帥師而  
伐宋，戰焉。宋無信也。君子曰：苟  
信不繼，盟無益也。詩云：君子屢  
盟，亂是用長，無信也。  
楚伐絞，軍其南門，莫敖屈瑕  
曰：絞小而輕，輕則寡謀，請無扞  
采樵者以誘之。從之。絞人獲三  
十人，明日，絞人爭出，驅楚役徒  
於山中。楚人坐其北門，而覆諸  
山下，大敗之。爲城下之盟而還。  
伐絞之役，楚師分涉於彭羅，人  
欲伐之，使伯嘉謀之，三巡數之。

- XII. 1 It was the [duke's] twelfth year, the spring, the first month.  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Jin-yin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke and the viscount of Keu, when they made a covenant at K'ëuh-ch'e.  
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ting-hae, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, and an officer of Yen, when they made a covenant at Kuh-k'ëw.  
4 In the eighth month, on Jin-shin, Yoh, marquis of Ch'in, died.  
5 The duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Heu.  
6 In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Kwei.  
7 On Ping-seuh, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant at Woo-foo.  
8 On Ping-seuh, Tsin, marquis of Wei, died.  
9 In the twelfth month, [our army] and the army of Ch'ing invaded Sung; and on Ting-we a battle was fought in Sung.

Par. 1. See on I.vi. 3.

Par. 2. For Ke 杞 we have 紀 in Kung and Kuh. For 曲池 Kung has 毆蛇. K'ëuh-ch'e was in Loo;—40 *le* to the north-east of pres. dis. city of K'ëuh-fow. We might translate the characters—'the pool of K'ëuh.' There is or was such a pool, having its source in Shih-mün (石門) hill.

Tso-she says the object of this meeting was 'to reconcile Ke and Keu,' which had been at feud since Keu invaded Ke in the 4th year of duke Yin.

Par. 3. Kuh-k'ëw was in Sung;—30 *le* north from the dep. city of Ts'au-chow. Tso-she says:—'The duke, wishing to reconcile Sung and Ch'ing, had a meeting in the autumn with the duke of Sung, at the height of Kow-tow (句瀆之丘).' This is another name for Kuh-k'ëw. Yen here is the 'southern' Yen, a small earldom, whose lords had the surname K'ëih (結), and professed to be descended from Hwang-te. It was in the pres. dis. of Keih (汲), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Sung had required very great promises from Tuh, as the price of establishing him in Ch'ing; and the non-fulfilment of them created great animosity between the two States. Loo, at Ch'ing's solicitation, tried to act as mediator; but without success. But if this meeting were, as Tso-she says, held simply on account of the differences between Sung and Ch'ing, we cannot account for the presence of an officer of Yen, whose weight in the scale, on one side or the other, would hardly be appreciable. Woo Ch'ing (吳澄; the great Yuen commentator) thinks therefore, that the meeting was called for another purpose in which Yen had an interest, and that Loo took the opportunity to touch on Ch'ing matters. The 'History of the Different States' gives quite another turn to the par., and makes 燕人, to be the earl of the 'northern Yen,' who happened to arrive at Kuh-k'ëw, while the meeting was being held, on his way to the court of Sung.

Par. 4. This marquis was canonized as duke Le (厲公). His burial is not recorded, because Loo did not attend it. See on I.iii. 7. Ho Hëw foolishly supposes that this marquis was the son of T'o, and therefore his burial is not entered,—'in condemnation of T'o.' Too Yu observes that the day Jin-shin was the 23d of the 7th month; and explains the error of entering the death under the 8th month as having arisen from the historiographers of Loo, simply taking down the date as it was given them erroneously,

so far as the month was concerned, in the message from Ch'in (從赴).

Par. 5, 6. Tso-she says:—'Uncertain whether Sung would be reconciled to Ch'ing or not, Loo persevered in its endeavours; and the duke had the meetings in these two paragraphs.' Heu and Kwei were both in Sung; but their positions are not well determined.

Par. 7. Sung had now positively declined to be reconciled, and Loo takes decidedly the side of Ch'ing. Woo-foo was in Ch'ing,—in the south-west of pres. dis. of Tung-ming (東明), dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le.

Par. 8. This is the only instance in the Ch'ün Ts'ëw, in which, when entries of two or more different things that occurred on the same day are made, the name of the day is given with each of them.

Par. 9. This is the sequel of par. 7. The text, however, is not so precise as usual. We want a subject before 及, which should be 'the duke' or 我師, as I have given it. Then the clause at the end is quite indefinite, so that Kung and Kuh both say that Loo and Ch'ing quarrelled, and fought between themselves,—whereas we find them fighting on the same side in the 2d par. of next year. Tso-she, after mentioning the meeting of Loo and Ch'ing at Woo-foo, adds:—'Immediately after, they led their forces and invaded Sung, with which they fought a battle,—to punish it for its want of good faith. A superior man will say, "If there be not the appendage of good faith, covenants are of no use. It is said in the Poems (II. v. IV. 8), "The king is continually insisting on covenants,

And the disorder is thereby increased;—which was from the want of good faith.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'Ts'oo invaded Këaou, and attacked the south gate of the city. The Moh-gaou, K'ëuh-hëa, said, "Këaou being small will be lightly moved. Lightly moved, its plans will be with little thought. Let us leave our wood-gatherers unprotected and so entrap it." His advice was followed, and the people of Këaou caught 30 men. Next day they struggled to get out to pursue the service-men of Ts'oo upon the hill. The army took post at the north gate, and an ambuscade had been placed at the foot of the hill. Këaou received a great defeat. Ts'oo imposed a covenant beneath the wall, and withdrew. In this invasion of Këaou, the army of Ts'oo waded through the P'ang in separate divisions. The people of Lo wished to attack them, and sent Pih-këa to act as a spy. He went thrice round the troops, and counted them.']

## Thirteenth year.

冬十月。秋七月。夏大水。三葬。師。戰。宋公。伯。月。十有三年。春。二。葬。宣公。

左傳曰：十三年春，楚屈瑕伐羅，鬬比之，遂謂其御曰：「莫敖必敗，舉趾高，心不固矣。」遂見楚子曰：「必濟師。」楚子辭焉，入告夫人鄧曼，鄧曼曰：「大夫其非衆之謂，其謂君撫小民以信，訓諸司以德，而威莫敖以刑也。」莫敖狃於蒲騷之役，將自用也，必小羅君若不鎮撫，其不設備乎？夫固謂君訓衆而好鎮撫之，召諸司而勸之以令德，見莫敖而告諸天之不假易也，不然，夫豈不知楚師之盡行也？楚子使賴人追之，不及，莫敖使徇於師，諫者有刑。及鄢，亂次以濟，遂無次，且不設備，及羅，羅與盧戎兩軍之，大敗之。莫敖縊於荒谷，羣帥囚於冶父，以聽刑。楚子曰：「孤之罪也，皆免之。」宋多責賂於鄭，鄭不堪命，故以紀魯及齊與宋衛燕戰，不書所戰，後也。

- XIII. 1 In his thirteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ke and the earl of Ch'ing; and on Ke-sze they fought with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and an officer of Yen, when the armies of Ts'e, Sung, Wei, and Yen received a severe defeat.
- 2 In the third month there was the burial of duke Seuen of Wei.
- 3 In summer there were great floods.
- 4 It was autumn, the seventh month.
- 5 It was winter, the tenth month.

[Tso-she gives the following narrative as prior to the fight in par. 1:—'In spring, K'ëuh Hëa of Ts'oo proceeded to invade Lo, and was escorted part of the way by Tow Pih-pe. As Pih-pe was returning, he said to his charioteer, "The Mok-gaou will certainly be defeated. He walks high on his tiptoes;—his mind is not firm." Immediately after, he had an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo, and begged him to send more troops. The viscount refused, and when he had gone into his palace told his wife, a Man of T'ang [see on VII.3] about the matter.

"Your great officer's words," said she, "were not merely for the sake of sending more troops; his meaning was that you should comfort the inferior people by your good faith, instruct all the officers by your virtue, and awe the Moh-gaou by the fear of punishment. The Moh-gaou, accustomed to success by the action of P'oo-saou [see the Chuen appended to XI.1; but perhaps for P'oo-saou we should read Këaou] will presume on his own ability, and is sure to make too little of Lo. If you do not control him and comfort the army, the Moh-gaou will not make the necessary preparations. Pih-pe's meaning certainly is that you, my Lord, should instruct all the people, by good words controlling him and comforting them; that you should call the officers and stimulate them on the subject of excellent virtue; that you should see the Moh-gaou, and tell him how Heaven does not make use of hasty, supercilious men. If this were not his meaning, he would not speak as he has done;—does he not know that all the army of Ts'oo has gone on the expedition?" The viscount on this sent a Man of Lae after K'ëuh Hëa, but he could not overtake him. Meanwhile the Moh-gaou had sent an order round the army that whosoever remonstrated with him should be punished. When they got to the river Yen, the troops got disordered in crossing it. After that, they observed no order, and the general made no preparations. When they got to Lo, its army and one of the Loo Jung [see the Shoo, V.ii.4.] attacked them, and inflicted a grand defeat. The Moh-gaou strangled himself in the valley of Hwang, and all the principal officers of the expedition rendered themselves as prisoners at Yay-foo to await their punishment. But the viscount of Ts'oo said, "The fault was mine," and forgave them all."

Par. 1. The three Chuen all differ as to the parties in whose interest this battle was fought. Kung-yang thinks they were Loo and Sung; Kuh-lëang, Ke and Ts'e; and Tso-she, Sung and Ch'ing. The K'ang-he editors prefer the view of Kuh-lëang, referring to the arguings of Chau K'wang (趙匡; of the T'ang dyn.), Hoò Gan-kwoh, Sun Këoh, and Woo Ch'ing in its favour; and place the scene of the battle in

Ke (紀). Something may be said in favour of each view, but a fourth one, advocated by Maou Ke-ling, is to my mind still more likely. He sees in the battle Loo's return to Ts'e and Wei for their attack in the duke's 10th year. Then Ch'ing was associated with them under Hwuh, but Hwan had managed to make Ch'ing under Tuh confederate with him to punish the other two States. The battle he thinks was fought in Sung, like the one in the preceding par., which seems to account for the place not being mentioned in the text. Tso-she's account is:—"Sung kept constantly requiring the payment of the bribes promised by the earl of Ch'ing. Ch'ing could not endure its demands, and with the help of Ke and Loo fought with Ts'e, Sung, Wei, and Yen. The name of the place of the battle is not in the text, because the duke was too late to take part in it." The last observation is sufficiently absurd. The marquis of Wei is mentioned, the son, that is, of Tsin, whose death is mentioned in the 8th par. of last year. As the father was not yet buried, the son ought not, it is said, according to rule, to be mentioned by his title. But would that rule hold, when a new year came between the death and burial of the former prince? Then the son would publicly 'come to the vacant place,' and a new rule be inaugurated. 敗績 means a great defeat.' Tso-she says, under the 11th year of duke Chwang that 大崩曰敗績, 'the phrase indicates a ruin like the fall of a great mountain.' 績=功績, 'merit.' The defeat involved the loss of merit and character.

Par. 8. See on I.5. Wang Paou (王葆; Sung dyn., about contemporary with Hoo Gan-kwoh) says:—"Nine times is the calamity of floods recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ew: twice in the time of Hwan, and thrice in the time of Chwang. Of the nine calamities five of them occurred in the days of the father and his son. May we conclude that they were in retribution to the father for his wickedness accumulated and unrepented of, and to the son for allowing his father's wrong to go unavenged?" So speculate Chinese scholars.

## Fourteenth year.

冬十月。乙亥。嘗。六章。廩災。五章。秋八月。壬申。御。四章。其弟語來盟。夏五月。無冰。三章。曹。月。十有四年。春。正。公會鄭伯于。



鄭人、人、人、人、以宋父侯已、  
伐陳衛蔡齊人卒。祿齊

之椽首伐門之侯冬嘗御秋之尋夏也曹年左  
椽歸以東入戰伐宋書廩八月會盟鄭子致會日  
爲犬郊及也鄭人不災乙壬脩人致會於十  
廬宮取大焚報以害乙亥申曹來禮曹四  
門之牛遶渠宋諸也

- XIV. 1 In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing in Ts'aou.  
2 There was no ice.  
3 In summer, in the 5th [month],—the earl of Ch'ing sent his younger brother Yu to Loo to make a covenant.  
4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jin-shin, the granary of the ancestral temple was struck with lightning.  
5 On Yih-hae we offered the autumnal sacrifice.  
6 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, Luh-foo, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
7 An officer of Sung, with an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'ae, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'in, invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Since the meeting of the duke and earl at Woo-foo in the 12th year, Loo and Ch'ing had been fast allies, and this meeting was, no doubt, to cement the bond between them. Too says that, as they met in Ts'aou, the earl of Ts'aou was also a party at the meeting. Tso-she adds that the people of Ts'aou supplied, cattle and other fresh provisions;—'which was proper.'

Par. 2. The 1st month of Chow was the 11th of Hëa, the 2d month of winter, when there ought to have been ice.

Par. 3. After 五 there is wanting the character 月, 'month'; and perhaps other characters as well. Or it may be, as some critics think, that 五 is an interpolation.

Instead of 語, Kuh-lëang has 饗. Tso-she says:—'The son of duke Chuang of Ch'ing, Tsze-jin [子人; this was the designation of Yu, and afterwards became a clan-name] came to renew the covenant [尋盟], and to confirm the meeting in Ts'aou.' I suppose this meeting had then been agreed on. Kuh-lëang lays down a law, that where the day of a covenant is not given, it intimates that the covenant had formerly been arranged for. The law is arbitrary; but the fact in this case was, probably, as it would assume.

Par. 4. Woo Ch'ing says:—'When the prince is in his chariot, he is in immediate proximity

to his charioteer. (與御者最相親近). Therefore the charioteer 御 is used of the men whom the prince approaches nearest, and also of the things which the prince himself uses. The 御 granary was that in which the rice which was produced from the field cultivated by the prince himself was stored, used to supply the grain for the vessels of the ancestral temple, and which it was not presumed to apply to any other use.' This is an attempt to explain the use of 御 here; and it is strange the dictionary takes no notice of the term in this passage. The phrase might be rendered by 'the duke's own granary,' as well as by those I have employed in the translation. 災—'met with calamity'; but acc. to Tso-she, in the Ch'un Ts'ew the term is used specially of 'calamity by fire from Heaven (天火曰災).'

Par. 5. The Chang was a regularly recurring sacrifice, and as ordinary and regular things are not entered in the Ch'un Ts'ew, the critics are greatly concerned to account for this entry. A sufficient reason seems to be supplied in the date. The Chang was due on the 8th month of Hëa, and it was now only the 8th month of Chow, = the 6th month of Hëa. But the grain for it would have to be supplied from the granary which had been burned; and by the mention of the sacrifice immediately after that event, the text seems to intimate some connection between the two things. Tso-she simply

says that the proximity of the texts shows that 'no harm was done' by the lightning; i. e., observes Too, 'the fire was extinguished before it reached the grain.' But, contends Kuh-lëang, to use the miserable remains of the grain scathed by the lightning was very disrespectful; and not to divine again for another day on which to offer the Shang, after such an ominous disaster, Hoo Gan-kwō shows, was more disrespectful still! To a western reader all this seems 'much ado about nothing.'

Par. 7. Too Yu gives here, from another part of the Chuen, a useful canon about the use of 以 in the text and similar paragraphs:—'When armies can be ordered to the right or the left,

以 is used.' The character simply 用, 'used.' In this case the troops of Ts'e and other States were at the disposal of Sung. Once in the She—IV. i. [iii.] V.—we find the same usage of 以. The invasion of Ch'ing was in reprisal for the events in par. 1 of last year, and XII. 8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, an officer of Sung, aided by armies from several princes, invaded Ch'ing, to avenge the battle [or battles] in Sung. The allies burned the K'eu gate of its outer wall and penetrated to the great road. Then they attacked the eastern suburbs; took Nêw-show; and carried off the beams of Ch'ing's ancestral temple to supply those of the Loo gate of Sung [carried off the year before].'

### Fifteenth year.

十有五年春二月天王使冢父來求車。  
三月乙未天王崩。  
夏四月己巳葬齊僖公。  
五月鄭伯突出奔蔡。  
鄭世子忽復歸于鄭。  
許叔入于許。  
公會齊侯于艾。  
邾人牟人葛人來朝。  
秋九月鄭伯突入于櫟。  
冬十有一月公會宋公衛侯陳侯于袤伐鄭。



左傳曰十五年春天王使家父來求車非禮也諸侯不貢車服天子不私求財祭仲專鄭伯患之使其壻雍糾殺之將享諸郊雍姬知之謂其母曰父與夫孰親其母曰人盡夫也父一而已胡可比也遂告祭仲曰雍氏舍其室而將享子於郊吾惑之以告祭仲殺雍糾尸諸周氏之汪公載以出曰謀及婦人宜其死也夏厲公出奔蔡六月乙亥昭公入許叔入於許公會齊侯於艾謀定許也秋鄭伯因櫟人殺檀伯而遂居櫟冬會於袤謀伐鄭將納厲公也弗克而還

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent K'ea Foo to Loo to ask for carriages.  
 2 In the third month, on Yih-we, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.  
 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-sze, there was the burial of duke He of Ts'e.  
 4 In the fifth month, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, fled to Ts'ae.  
 5 Hwuh, heir-son of Ch'ing, returned to his dignity in Ch'ing.  
 6 The third brother of [the baron of] Heu entered into Heu.  
 7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Gae.  
 8 An officer of Choo, an officer of Mow, and an officer of Koh came to [our] court.  
 9 In autumn, in the ninth month, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, entered into Leih.  
 10 In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the marquis of Ch'in, at Ch'e, and they invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. 家父.—see VIII. 2. On the whole par., see on I. iii. 5. Tso-she says here:—"This mission was contrary to propriety. It did not belong to the princes to contribute carriages or dresses to the king; and it was not for the son of Heaven privately to ask for money or valuables."

Par. 2. See on I. iii. 2.

Par. 4. The Chuen relates:—"Chae Chung monopolized the government of Ch'ing, to the great trouble of the earl, who employed Chung's son-in-law, Yung K'ew [this Yung K'ew had come to Ch'ing with Tuh from Sung, and married a daughter of Chae Chung] to kill him. K'ew proposed doing so at a feast which he was to give Chung in the suburbs, but Yung Ke [K'ew's wife, and Chung's daughter] became

aware of the design, and said to her mother, "Whether is a father or a husband the nearer and dearer?" The mother said, "Any man may be husband to a woman, but she can have but one father. How can there be any comparison between them?" She then told Chae Chung, saying, "Yung is leaving his house, and intends to feast you in the suburbs and there kill you; I got him to tell me by guile." On this Chae Chung killed Yung K'ew, and threw away his body by the pool of the Chow family. The earl took it with him in his carriage, and left the State, saying, "It was right he should die, who communicated his plans to his wife!" Thus in summer duke Le quitted Ch'ing, and fled to Ts'ae. Here Tuh has his title given him, which, we saw, was withheld from Hwuh in XI. 6. Some of the reasons assigned by the

critics for that withholding were then adduced, but another may here be suggested. Under Hwuh, Loo and Ch'ing were and continued after this to be enemies. Under Tuh, they were friends. These different conditions betray themselves in the historiographers, and Confucius did not care to alter their style in XI. 6. In this par. it should seem that there ought to be some mention of Chae Chung's expelling his prince; but the characters 出奔 'went out and fled,' imply an impelling violence behind.

Par. 5. The feeling of Loo against Hwuh appears here also in his being only called 世子 or 'heir-son.' Tso says:—"In the 6th month, on Yih-hae, duke Ch'aeou entered." The phrase 復歸, however, implies his recovery of former dignity. In a Chuen on duke Ch'ing, XVIII. 5, Tso has—復其位曰復歸, 'restoration to one's dignity is expressed by 復歸.'

Par. 6. See the long Chuen on the affairs of Heu on I. xi. 3. The Heu Shuh here is the young brother of the baron who had fled before Ch'ing and its allies, and whom the earl had placed in the eastern borders of the State, as if with some prevision of what now occurred. After sixteen years, the young man recovered the possession of his fathers. 入 here has not the hostile meaning which it generally bears, though the K'ang-he editors think such a term is used to convey some blame of Heu Shuh, for taking possession of the seat of his fathers without announcing his purpose to the king, and getting his sanction to his undertaking. But of what use could such a proceeding have been? The king was hardly able to sustain himself. The 于 after 入 seems to distinguish this use of 入 from the cases in which it is followed directly by its object.

Par. 7. Tso-she says the object of this meeting was 'to consult about the settlement of

Heu,' but the critics doubt this view as nothing is found in the Ch'ün Ts'ew or elsewhere to confirm it. See I. vi. 2. For 艾 Kung has 鄆 and Kuh 蒿.

Par. 8. Choo, Mow, and Koh were all small States, though the lords of Choo came to be called viscount and marquis, and the chief of Koh was an earl, with the surname Ying (嬴). It was in pres. dis. of Ning-ling (寧陵), dep. Kwei-tih. Mow was merely an 'attached' State, in pres. dis. of Lae-woo (萊蕪), dep. T'ae-gan. Too Yu thinks the three visitors were all the heir-sons of the three small States; the chiefs of which, as being merely 'attached,' would be entered by their names, and their sons, therefore, would simply be called 'men,' and not named; but this is mere conjecture. We may adhere here to the translation of 人 by 'officer.'

Par. 9. Leih was a strong city of Ch'ing, in pres. Yu Chow, dep. K'ae-fung. Tso-she says:—"In autumn, [Tuh], the earl of Ch'ing, procured the death of T'an Pih [the commandant of Leih] by some of the people of Leih, and immediately took up his residence in it." The meaning of 入 here is intermediate between its purely hostile significance, and that in par. 6. Kung-yang supposes that this occupation of Leih was equivalent to the recovery by Tuh of Ch'ing, led away probably by the 'earl of Ch'ing,' in which we again see the favour which Loo bore to Tuh.

Par. 10. Ch'e was in Sung;—in Suh Chow (宿州), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy, Tso-she says the movement was to restore duke Le; and that it was unsuccessful, and the invaders returned. Kung-yang has 齊侯 after 會, and 修 for 袤. Sung was induced to join the undertaking, probably by assurances from Tuh that, if he were once again re-established in Ch'ing, he would fulfil the promises he had formerly made.

Sixteenth year.

十有六年春正月，公會宋公、蔡侯、衛侯、陳侯、蔡侯、伐鄭。秋七月，公至自伐。冬，城向。十有一月，衛侯朔出奔齊。

左傳曰十六年春正月會於曹。謀伐鄭也。夏伐鄭。秋七月公至自伐鄭。以飲至之禮也。冬城向。書時也。初衛宣公烝於夷姜。生急子。屬諸右公子。爲之娶於齊而美。公取之。生壽及朔。屬壽於左公子。夷姜縊。宣姜與公子朔構急子。公使諸齊。使盜待諸莘。將殺之。壽子告之。使行。不可。曰棄父之命。惡用子矣。有無父之國。則可也。及行。飲以酒。壽子載其旌以先。盜殺之急。子至。曰我之求也。此何罪。請殺我乎。又殺之。二公子故怨惠公。十一月左公子洩。齊右公子職。立公子黔牟。惠公奔。

- XVI. 1 In his sixteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, and the marquis of Wei, in Ts'aou.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, the duke joined the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ch'in, and the marquis of Ts'ae, in invading Ch'ing.
- 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.
- 4 In winter, we walled Hëang.
- 5 In the eleventh month, Soh, marquis of Wei, fled to Ts'e.

Par. 1. The expedition by Loo, Sung, Wei and Ch'in against Ch'ing in the 11th month of the last year had been unsuccessful. The princes of Loo, Sung, and Wei now meet and arrange for another; and they have Ts'ae also to join their confederacy. Tso-she says:—'The object of the meeting was to plan about invading Ch'ing (謀伐鄭也).'

Par. 2. This is the sequel of the last par.; and Ch'in re-appears in the expedition. In accounts of conferences and expeditions, Ts'ae is always placed before Wei, as in par. 1, while here it is last in order. This makes Too say that at this time the marquis of Ts'ae was 'the last to arrive (後至)'. Ying-tah, however, quotes from Pan Koo (historian of the 1st Han), to the effect that, from Yin to the 14th year of duke Chwang, a period of 43 years,—there was no regular order of precedence among the princes, as no really leading one among them (霸主) had yet arisen.'

Par. 3. See on II. 9.

Par. 4. It is mentioned before, I. ii. 2, that 'Keu entered Hëang;' and in VII. iv. 1, we read that duke Seuen attacked Keu and took Hëang. But here we find duke Hwan fortifying Hëang. This can hardly have been the same place, but another, properly belonging to Loo. Too Yu says nothing here on this point, nor does any other of the critics, so far as I have observed. Tso-she observes that this undertaking was recorded because it was 'at the proper time.'

But the time for such undertakings was not yet come, according to the natural reading of the par., which simply says the thing was done in winter; and as the next par. begins with the specification of the 11th month, we conclude that Hëang was walled in the 10th,—which was only the 8th month of the Hëa year. To justify Tso-she's observation, therefore, Too contends that though no month is mentioned here, we must understand the 11th month; and he says also that the sixth month of this year was intercalary, which of course would carry the 11th month of Chow forward to the term for for such an undertaking. All this, however, is very uncertain.

Par. 5. Tso-she has here a melancholy narrative:—'Long before this, duke Seuen of Wei had committed incest with E-keang [a concubine of his father;—comp. 1. Cor. v. 1], the produce of which was Keih-tsze, the charge of whom he entrusted to Chih, his father's son by the occupant of the right of the harem. In course of time, he made an engagement for Keih-tsze with one of the princesses of Ts'e, but took her to himself in consequence of her beauty. She gave birth to two sons, Show and Soh, the former of whom he gave in charge to his father's son by the occupant of the left of the harem. E Këang strangled herself; and Seuen Këang [the lady of Ts'e, who should have been Keih-tsze's wife] and Soh plotted against Keih-tsze, till the duke sent him on a mission to Ts'e, employing ruffians to wait for him at Sin, and put him to death. Show told Keih-tsze of the scheme, and

urged him to go to some other State; but he refused, saying, "If I disobey my father's command, how can I use the name of son? If there were any State without fathers, I might go there." As he was about to set out, Show made him drunk, took his flag, and went on before him. The ruffians [thinking him to be Keih-tsze] killed him, and then came Keih-tsze,

crying out, "It was I whom ye sought? What crime had he? Please kill me." The ruffians killed him also. On this account, the two brothers of Seuen [who had received charge of Keih-tsze and Show] cherished resentment against duke Hwuy [Soh], and raised K'een-mow to the marquissate, when Hwuy fled to Ts'e. See the She, I. iii. XIX.

### Seventeenth year.

十有七年春正月丙辰公會  
齊侯紀侯盟于黃  
二月丙午公會邾儀父盟于  
越  
夏五月丙午及齊師戰于奚  
六月丁丑蔡侯封人卒  
秋八月蔡季自陳歸于蔡  
癸巳葬蔡桓侯  
及宋人衛人伐邾  
冬十月朔日有食之

左傳曰十七年春盟於黃。平齊紀且謀衛故也。及邾儀父盟于越。尋蔑之盟也。夏及齊師戰于奚。疆事也。於是齊人侵魯疆。疆吏來告。公曰。疆場之事。慎守其一。而備其不虞。姑盡所備焉。事至而戰。又何謁焉。蔡桓侯卒。蔡人召蔡季於陳。秋。蔡季自陳歸於蔡。蔡人嘉之也。伐邾。宋志也。冬十月朔。日有食之。不書日。官失之也。天子有日官。諸侯有日御。日官居卿。以底日。禮也。日御不失日。以授百官於朝。初。鄭伯將以高渠彌爲卿。昭公惡之。固諫不聽。昭公立。懼其殺己。

也。辛卯，弑昭公。而立公子亶君。子謂昭公知所惡矣。公子達曰：「高伯其爲戮乎？」復惡已甚矣。

- XVII. 1 In his seventeenth year, in spring, in the first month, on Ping-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e and the marquis of Ke, when they made a covenant in Hwang.
- 2 In the second month, on Ping-woo, the duke had a meeting with E-foo of Choo, when they made a covenant in Ts'uy.
- 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Ping-woo, we fought with the army of Ts'e at He.
- 4 In the sixth month, on Ting-ch'ow, Fung-jin, marquis of Ts'ae, died.
- 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, the fourth brother of [the marquis of] of Ts'ae returned from Ch'in to Ts'ae.
- 6 On Kwei-sze there was the burial of the marquis Hwan of Ts'ae.
- 7 Along with an army of Sung and an army of Wei, [we] invaded Choo.
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

Par. 1. Hwang, acc. to Too, was in Ts'e. Some find it in the pres. dis. of Hwang, dep. T'ang-chow; but that would seem to be too distant from Loo, though convenient enough for Ts'e and Ke.

Ts'o-se says that the object of the meeting was to reconcile Ts'e and Ke, and to consult about the affairs of Wei. We may suppose that Ke was now in more danger from Ts'e, since the death of the king, and the consequent loss of his influence in favour of his son-in-law.

Par. 2. Ts'uy was in Loo, somewhere in the borders of the pres. diss. of Sze-shwuy and Tsow. Tso says the object of the meeting was to renew the covenant at Mëeh;—see I.i.2. Too observes that Ping-woo was not in the 2d month, but was the 4th day of the 3d month. It is plain that there could be no Ping-woo in the 2d month, as we have the same day, in the next par. recurring in the 5th month. Kung has 及 instead of 會.

Par. 3. Kung-yang has here no 夏, and Kuh-lêng, instead of 奚, has 郎. He was in Loo;—in pres. dis. of T'ang, dept. Yen-chow. Tso says:—“This fight was in consequence of some border dispute. When it arose, the people of T'se made a stealthy inroad on the borders of Loo, the officers of which came and told the duke, who said, “On the borders it is for you carefully to guard your own particular charge, and to be prepared for anything unexpected. In the meantime look thoroughly to your preparations; and when the thing comes, fight. What need you come to see me for?”

The covenant of the 1st month had proved of little use.

Par. 5. 季 has the meaning in the translation, and was also and naturally the designation of the individual. On par. 4 Tso says that, on the death of the marquis [who had no son], the people of Ts'ae called his younger brother from Ch'in; and here he observes that the entry here [the designation being given, and not the name] shows how highly the people of Ts'ae thought of him. I think the character 歸 intimates that Ke was raised to be marquis of Ts'ae; and this was the opinion of Tso Yu, who identifies him with Hên-woo, who, we shall see hereafter, was carried off prisoner by Ts'oo.

I am surprised that the K'ang-he editors doubt this identification, and follow the opinion of Ho Hëw, the editor of Kung-yang, who says that Ke refused to accept the marquissate, which was then given to Hëen-woo. K'uh-lëang says strangely that Ke was a nobleman of Ts'ae, raised by the support of Ch'in to be marquiss. Yet even he does not doubt the elevation of Ke.

Par. 6. In all other cases, where the burial of a prince is recorded, the title of duke follows the honorary or sacrificial epithet. Here we have a solitary instance, where the title of rank, borne during the life-time, is preserved. This has given rise to much speculation. It seems the simplest solution of the difficulty to suppose an error in the text of 侯 for 公.

Par. 7. Loo had covenanted with Choo in the 2d month, and, the year before, Choo had sent its salutations to the court of Loo; and yet here we find Loo joined with Sung and Wei in an invasion of Choo. Tso-she says that Loo was following the lead of Sung, which, acc. to Too, was quarrelling with Choo about their borders.

Par. 8. This eclipse took place, Oct. 3d, B. C. 694, and on K'ang-woo, the 7th day of the cycle. The day of the cycle is not given in the text, because, acc. to Tso-she, 'the officers had lost it.' He adds, 'The son of Heaven had his "officer of the days (日官)," and the princes their "su-

perintendent of the days (日御)." The officer of the days had the rank of a high minister, and it was his business to regulate the days of the year. The superintendents of the days were *required not* to lose the days [which they had received from the king's officer], but to deliver them to the diff. officers in their princes' courts.' It may have been so that the number of the day was thus lost; but it is simpler to suppose that the historiographers on this occasion omitted it. This is the view taken by many critics;

—as Chao K'wang (趙匡; T'ang dyn.),  
Ch'in Fao-léang (陳傅良; 12th cent.), and  
Chan Joh-shwuy (湛若水; Ming dyn.).  
The K'ang-he editors observe, that, during the  
Han dynasty and previously, astronomers could  
only determine the first day of the moon, ap-  
proximately, in an average way (平朔), from

the average motion of the sun and moon, but that from the time of Lēw Hung, (劉洪; the After Han dyn.), and through his labours, it became possible to determine exactly the time of new moon (定朔), by adding to or subtracting from the average time, as might be necessary. Still, this want of exactitude in these times could not affect the day of the cycle on which a phenomenon like an eclipse was to be recorded.

[The Chuen appends here:—"Years back, when the earl of Ch'ing [Woo-shang, duke Chwang, the earl] had wished to make Kaou K'eu-me one of his high ministers, duke Ch'au [then the earl's son Hwuh], who disliked Kaou, had remonstrated strongly against such a measure. The earl did not listen to him; but when duke Ch'au succeeded to the State, Kaou was afraid lest he should put him to death. On the day Sin-mau, therefore, he *took the initiative*, and killed duke Ch'au, raising up his brother We in his room. A superior man will say that the prince knew the man whom he disliked. Kung-tsze Tah said, "Kaou Pih [Kaou K'eu-me] indeed deserved an evil end!" His revenge of an ill done to him was excessive."']

*Eighteenth year.*

十有八年春，王正月，公會齊侯于濼。公與夫人姜氏遂如齊。  
夏四月丙子，公薨于齊。丁酉，公之喪至自齊。  
秋七月，冬十有二月己丑，葬我君桓公。

左傳曰十八年春公將有行遂與姜氏如齊申繻曰女有家男有室無相瀆也謂之有禮易此必敗公會齊侯于濼遂及文姜如齊齊侯通焉公謫之以告夏四月丙子享公使公子彭生乘公公薨於車魯人告於齊曰寡君畏君之威不敢寧居來修舊好禮成而不反無所歸咎惡於諸侯請以彭生除之齊人殺彭生

公亂嫡諫諸桓子子周王子莊㊦曰仲不  
弗之兩日周王儀克公遂克王周信以往  
從本政並公桓有奔黑與辛伯而立欲知人  
故也耦后辛王寵於燕初王殺告王弒免祭  
及周國匹伯屬於初王殺告王弒免祭

- XVIII. 1 In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, near the Luh, after which the duke and his wife, the lady K'ang, went to Ts'e.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-tsze, the duke died in Ts'e; and on Ting-yew, his coffin arrived from Ts'e.
- 3 It was autumn, the seventh month.
- 4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, we buried our ruler, duke Hwan.

Par. 1. Once more, at the commencement of duke Hwan's last year, the character 王 re-appears, and the fancies to which its re-appearance has given rise are numerous and ridiculous. It would be as fruitless to detail as to discuss them. We must read the two entries about the meeting on the Luh, and the going to Ts'e, in one par. because of the 遂, which, as a 繼事之詞, or 'a word connecting events,' links them together. The character 與 in the second part does not occur in Kung-yang; and Twan Yuh-tsae, in his 'Old Text of Tso-she's Ch'un Ts'ew' omits it, contending that Kuh-l'ang also did not have it. It is, however, in all the editions of Kuh that I have seen. Twan says that it is 'a vulgar addition' to Tso-she (俗增之). The critics generally receive it, however. The conjunctions 及, 會, and 暨 are those proper to the Classic, and for the 與 here they account by insisting on its equivalence to 許, 'to grant,' 'to allow.' It was contrary to propriety for the duke's wife to go to Ts'e, but she was bent on going, and the duke weakly allowed her to accompany him.

The 灤 (pronounced Luh or Loh) was a stream, which flows into the Tse in the north-west of the dis. of Leih-shing (歷城), dep. Tse-nan. We have no intimation of the business discussed at this meeting between Loo and Ts'e; and the ordinary view is that it had been brought about by duke S'ang of Ts'e simply with a view to bring his sister and him together, and then to get her farther to accompany him to his capital. The only scholar who controverts this view is Wan Sze-ta (萬斯大), of the pres. dyn., who argues, feebly however, that S'ang was a younger brother of W'an

K'ang, and that the incestuous connection between them originated at this meeting.

The Chuen says:—'In spring the duke, being about to travel, allowed at the same time his wife K'ang to go with him to Ts'e. Shin Seu said, "The woman has her husband's house; the man has his wife's chamber; and there must be no defilement on either side;—then is there what is called propriety. Any change in this matter is sure to lead to ruin." Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e near the Luh, and then went on with W'an K'ang [his wife was styled W'an, from her elegance and accomplishments] to Ts'e, where she had criminal connection with the marquis, her brother. The duke angrily reproached her, and she told the marquis of it.'

Par. 2. In continuation of the last Chuen, Tso-she says:—'The marquis feasted the duke, and then, [having made him drunk], employed P'ang-sang, a half brother of his own, to take him to his lodging in his carriage. The duke died in the carriage, and the people of Loo sent a message to the marquis of Ts'e, saying, "Our poor lord, in awe of your majesty, did not dare to remain quietly at home, but went to renew the old friendship between your State and ours. After the ceremonies had been all completed, he did not come back. We do not fix the crime on any one, but the wicked deed is known among all the princes, and we beg you will take the shame of it away with P'ang-sang." On this, the people of Ts'e put P'ang-sang to death.'

The reader will find all the incidents of Hwan's visit to Ts'e, his wife's misconduct, his death, &c., graphically told in the 'History of the Different States,' Bk. XIII. As to Confucius' silence about them in the text, see the note to I.xi.4. Choo He says very lamely, 'Confucius gives a straightforward narration, and his judgment lies in the facts themselves. When he says, "The duke met with the marquis of Ts'e in such and such a place; the duke and his wife K'ang went to Ts'e; the duke died in Ts'e; the duke's coffin came from Ts'e; the duke's wife withdrew to Ts'e;"—with such en-

tries plainly before our eyes, we could understand the nature of them without any Chuen.'

喪 is to be taken here as 喪器=柩, 'the coffin with the body in it;'—see the dictionary, in voc.

Par. 3. [Tso-she gives here two narratives:—'In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e went with a force to Show-che, and there Tsze-we [the new earl of Ch'ing; see the Chuen at the end of last year] went to have a meeting with him, Kaou K'eu-me being in attendance as his minister. In the 7th month, on Mow-seuh, the marquis put Tsze-we to death, and caused Kaou K'eu-me to be torn in pieces by chariots. After this, Chae Chung sent to Ch'in for another son of duke Chwang, met him, and made him earl of Ch'ing. When Tsze-we and K'eu-me were setting out for Show-che, Chae Chung, knowing what would happen, made a pretence of being ill, and would not accompany them. Some people said, "Chae Chung escaped by his intelligence," and he himself said that it was so.'

'The duke of Chow [Hih-k'een; see the Chuen on V.6] wished to murder king Chwang, and set his brother K'ih [the king's brother; another son of king Hwan] on the throne. Sin Pih told the king of it, and then he and the king put the duke of Chow, Hih-k'een, to death, while the king's brother K'ih fled to Yen. Formerly, Tsze-e [the designation of K'ih] was the favourite with king Hwan, who placed him

under the care of the duke of Chow. Sin Pih remonstrated with the duke, saying, "Equal queens [i. e., a concubine made the equal of the queen], equal sons [i. e., the son of a concubine put on the same level as the queen's son], two governments [i. e., favourites made equal to ministers], and equal cities [i. e., any other fortified city made as large as the capital]:—these all lead to disorder." The duke paid no heed to this advice, and he consequently came to his bad end.'

[The marquis of Ts'e, having committed incest with his sister, and murdered his brother-in-law, proceeded to execute the justice which the former of these narratives describes to awe princes and people into silence about his own misdeeds. The division of the body by five chariots was a horrible punishment. The head, the two arms, and two legs were bound, each to a carriage in which an ox was yoked, each animal placed in a separate direction. The oxen were then urged and beaten till the head and limbs were torn from the body.]

Par. 4. The burial took place later than it should have done; and indeed, according to Kung and Kuh, it should not have taken place at all until the real murderer of the duke was punished. But what could Loo do in the circumstances? The evil man had come to an evil end; and the best plan was to consign his coffin to the earth.



## BOOK III. DUKE CHWANG.

*First year.*

齊師遷紀鄆。王姬歸于齊。王使榮叔來錫桓公命。冬十月乙亥陳侯林卒。秋築王姬之館于外。夏單伯送王姬。三月夫人孫于齊。元年春王正月。莊公

左傳曰：元年春，王正月，不稱即位，文姜出故也。三月，夫人孫於齊，人孫於齊，不稱稱，齊不稱，姜氏絕親，不為親也。禮也。秋，築王姬之館於外，於外也。外，禮也。

- I. 1 [It was] the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.
- 2 In the third month, the [late duke's] wife retired to Ts'e.
- 3 In summer, the earl of Shen escorted the king's daughter.
- 4 In autumn, a reception house was built for the king's daughter outside [the city wall].
- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Lin, marquis of Ch'in, died.
- 6 The king sent Shuh of Yung [to Loo] to confer on duke Hwan [certain] symbols of his favour.
- 7 The king's daughter went to her home in Ts'e.
- 8 An army of Ts'e carried away [the inhabitants of] P'ing, Tsze, and Woo, [cities of] Ke.

**TITLE OF THE BOOK.**—莊公, 'Duke Chwang.' This was the son of Hwan, whose birth is chronicled in II. vi. 5, and who received the name of T'ung (同), in the manner described in the Chuen on that paragraph. He was therefore now in his 13th year. The honorary title Chwang denotes—'Conqueror of enemies and Subduer of disorder (勝敵克亂曰莊)'.  
 Chwang's rule lasted 32 years, B.C. 692—661. His first year synchronized with the 4th year of king Chwang (莊); the 5th of Sëang (襄) of Ts'e; the 12th of Min (緡) of Tsin; the 7th of Hwuy (惠), and the 3d of K'ëen-mow (黔牟), of Wei [Hwuy is the Soh of II. xvi. 5. See the Chuen there]; the 2d of Gae (哀) of Ts'ae; the 8th of Le, and the 1st of Tsze-e, of Ch'ing [see the Chuen appended to II. xviii. 3]; the 9th of Chwang (莊) of Ts'aou; the 7th of Chwang (莊) of Ch'in; the 11th of Tsing (靖) of Ke (杞); the 17th of Chwang (莊) of Sung; the 5th of Woo (武) of Ts'in; and the 48th of Woo of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on I. i. 1, and II. i. 1. There is here the same incompleteness of the text as in I. i. 1; and no doubt for the same reason,—that the usual ceremonies at the commencement of the rule of a new marquis were not observed. The young marquis's father had been basely murdered; he took his place; but with as little observation as possible. Tso-she says that 'the phrase 即位 is not used here because Wän Këang [his mother] had left the State.' This occasions some difficulty, as will be seen, with the next par.

Par. 2. The char. 孫, read *sun*, and in the 3d tone, is 遜, 'to retire,' 'to withdraw';—a euphemism for 奔, 'fled.' It is evident that Wän Këang had returned from Ts'e to Loo;—when she did so, does not appear. From Tso-she's observation above, that the phrase 即位 was omitted in the account of Chwang's accession, because his mother was then in Ts'e, it would appear as if she returned subsequently to that event. But that explanation of the omission is inadmissible; and the view of Maou and others is much more probable, that she had returned to Loo at the same time that the coffin and corpse of duke Hwan were brought to it. She probably felt her position there exceedingly unpleasant. Guilty of incest with her brother, and of complicity in the murder of her husband, she could not be looked kindly on by her son or the people of Loo; and now therefore she fled to Ts'e.

Par. 3. A treaty of marriage had for more than a year been going on between Loo, on behalf of the royal House, on the one hand, and Ts'e on the other. When the king wanted to marry one of his daughters to any of the princes, it was considered inconsistent with his dignity to appear in the matter himself; and a prince of the same surname was employed as internuncius and manager. This duty was frequently devolved on the princes of Loo; and Hwan had undertaken it in this instance. His meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Luh, in the first month of last year, had reference perhaps to this very matter. When the marriage was fixed, the rule was that the king should send the lady, escorted by a high minister, to the court of the managing prince; and there she was met or sent for by her future husband.

Accordingly, we have in the text the earl [a royal minister, so titled] of Shen [the name of the city assigned to him in the royal domain] escorting the lady (王姬, a royal Ke) to Loo. On this view of the paragraph, all is plain; but instead of 送, Kung and Kuh, followed in this instance by the K'ang-he editors, have 逆, 'met.' This necessitates our understanding 單伯, as the surname and designation of an officer of Loo, specially commissioned, somehow, to meet and convey the king's daughter to Loo. One can easily see how 送 and 逆, might be mistaken, the one for the other. There can be no doubt, it seems to me, that Tso-she's reading should be followed.

Par. 4. It was autumn, when the king's daughter arrived at the capital of Loo. The case was a hard one, as Chwang was still in mourning for his father. To be managing the marriage of the king's daughter to the man who had murdered his own father, was a greater difficulty still. The case was met, in part at least, by not receiving the lady in the palace or the ancestral temple, but building a 館, a sort of hall or reception-house for her, outside the city. Tso-she says, 'This was treating her as an outsider (爲外);—which was proper.'

Par. 6. 命 is used here as in the Shoo, V. viii. 4, meaning the symbols of investiture or more generally of royal favour. These were of 9 kinds, all of which could be conferred only on the holder of a fief of the first class,—a duke or a marquis. An earl might have seven of them; a viscount or a baron, 5. The proper place for conferring them was the court, on the noble's personal appearance; but they might also

acknowledging her kinship;—as was proper; but even this is doubtful.

Kung and Kuh give a very strange view of the par. They think that Wän Këang had not returned at all to Loo; and that duke Chwang, just at this period of the mourning for his father, was led to think sorrowfully of her absence, and ordered the entry in the text to be made about her. This is clearly most unlikely in itself, and contrary to the usage of 孫, which we shall meet with in other passages.

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be sent;—as in the Shoo, V. xiii. 25. To confer them, as here, on a dead man, seems very strange; and on a man who had been stained with crime, is stranger still. Whatever the gifts were, they would be treasured in Loo as royal testimonials to the excellence of duke Hwan. Yung [the clan-name] Shuh [the designation] was a great officer of the court. According to the analogy of other passages, there ought to be 天 before 王. It may have slipped out of the text, or been unwittingly omitted by the historiographers.

Par. 8. Ts'e here takes an important step in carrying out its cherished purpose of ex-

tinguishing the State of Ke. P'ing is referred to somewhere in the pres. dep. of Ts'ing-chow; Tsze [so 鄧 is read], to dis. of Ch'ang-yih (昌邑), same dep.; and Woo to a place 60 *le* to the south-west of dis. Gan-k'ew (安丘), dep. Tse-nan. These were three towns or cities of Ke, the inhabitants of which the marquis of Ts'e removed within his own State, peopling them also, we must suppose, with his own subjects. Kuh-l'ang wrongly supposes that the three names are those of three small States, absorbed by Ts'e at this time in addition to Ke. But the end of Ke was not yet.

### Second year.

乙酉<sup>五章</sup>于<sup>二章</sup>禚<sup>二章</sup>人<sup>二章</sup>姜氏<sup>二章</sup>會<sup>二章</sup>齊<sup>二章</sup>侯<sup>二章</sup>冬<sup>四章</sup>十<sup>四章</sup>有<sup>四章</sup>二<sup>四章</sup>月<sup>四章</sup>夫<sup>四章</sup>卒<sup>四章</sup>秋<sup>三章</sup>七<sup>三章</sup>月<sup>三章</sup>齊<sup>三章</sup>王<sup>三章</sup>姬<sup>三章</sup>師<sup>三章</sup>伐<sup>三章</sup>於<sup>三章</sup>餘<sup>三章</sup>丘<sup>三章</sup>夏<sup>二章</sup>公<sup>二章</sup>子<sup>二章</sup>慶<sup>二章</sup>父<sup>二章</sup>帥<sup>二章</sup>葬<sup>二章</sup>陳<sup>二章</sup>莊<sup>二章</sup>公<sup>二章</sup>二<sup>二章</sup>年<sup>二章</sup>春<sup>二章</sup>王<sup>二章</sup>正<sup>二章</sup>月<sup>二章</sup>

也。姦書。禚於侯齊會氏姜人夫冬年二日傳左

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Ch'in.  
2 In summer, duke [Hwan's] son K'ing-foo led a force, and invaded Yu-yu-k'ew.  
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, the king's daughter, [married to the marquis] of Ts'e, died.  
4 In winter, in the twelfth month, the [late duke's] wife, the lady K'ang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Choh.  
5 On Yih-yew, P'ing, duke of Sung, died.

Par. 2. K'ing-foo was the name of a half-brother of duke Chwang, older than he, but the son of a concubine. Older than Chwang, he should be designated M'ang (孟); but as not being the son of the rightful wife, he was only styled Chung (仲), and his descendants became the Chung-sun (仲孫) clan, which subsequently was changed into M'ang-sun (孟孫);—see the note in the Analects on II.v.1. Kung-yang is wrong in saying he was a younger full brother of Chwang;—how could a boy of 10 or there-

abouts be commanding on a military expedition? Too says that Yu-yu-k'ew was the name of a State, while Kung, Kuh, and Ying-tah, all make it a city of Choo (朱). Too's view is to be preferred; and from the foreign, barbarous, trisyllabic aspect of the name, we may infer that the State was that of some wild tribe, not far from Loo.

Par. 3. The 列國志 says the lady pined away, and died broken-hearted, on finding what sort of a husband she was mated to. Her death is entered here, contrary to the rule in such matters, probably because Loo had superintend-

ed the marriage, and she might be considered as one of the daughters of the State. See a reference to the death of this lady, and duke Chwang's wearing mourning for her 9 months, in the Le Ke, II. Pt. II. i. 18.

Par. 4. The critics are unanimous in supposing that this par. implies that W'an K'ang had again returned to Loo, after her withdrawal

to Ts'e in the 3d month of last year. Choh [Kung-yang has 郕] was in Ts'e, on its western border. Tso-she says plainly that the object of the meeting was a repetition of the former crime.

Par. 5. See the Chuen appended to I. iii. 5, and the note on II. ii. 3.

### Third year.

冬<sup>五章</sup>公<sup>五章</sup>次<sup>五章</sup>于<sup>五章</sup>滑<sup>五章</sup>秋<sup>四章</sup>紀<sup>四章</sup>季<sup>四章</sup>以<sup>四章</sup>鄆<sup>四章</sup>五月<sup>三章</sup>葬<sup>三章</sup>桓<sup>三章</sup>王<sup>三章</sup>莊<sup>二章</sup>公<sup>二章</sup>夏<sup>二章</sup>四<sup>二章</sup>月<sup>二章</sup>葬<sup>二章</sup>宋<sup>二章</sup>伐<sup>二章</sup>衛<sup>二章</sup>月<sup>二章</sup>溺<sup>二章</sup>會<sup>二章</sup>齊<sup>二章</sup>師<sup>二章</sup>三<sup>二章</sup>年<sup>二章</sup>春<sup>二章</sup>王<sup>二章</sup>正<sup>二章</sup>月<sup>二章</sup>

過再一以也伯滑冬始紀鄆秋桓夏疾齊年左  
信宿宿難鄭謀將公判於入紀入紀王五之師春傳  
爲爲爲凡伯紀會次是於季緩月也伐溺  
次信舍師辭故鄭於乎齊以也葬衛會三

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Neih joined an army of Ts'e in invading Wei.  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Sung.  
3 In the fifth month, there was the burial of king Hwan.  
4 In autumn, the third brother of [the marquis of] Ke entered with [the city of] Hwuy under [the protection of] Ts'e.  
5 In winter the duke halted in Hwah.

Par. 1. Compare I. iv. 5. We have here the name Neih, just as in that par. we have the name Hwuy. Tso-she says here, as there, that the omission of 公子, 'duke's son,' before the name, indicates the sage's dislike of the individual and his enterprise (疾之也); and though that omission has no such significance, the invasion of Wei was certainly most blameworthy. S'oh the marquis of Wei, stained with atrocious crimes, had fled to Ts'e, in the 16th year of Hwan, and K'ien-mow, with the approval of the king [see VI. 1], had been raised to his place; yet here we have Ts'e moving to restore S'oh, and Loo, forgetting its own injuries received from Ts'e, joining in the attempt.

Par. 3. Tso-she remarks that this burial was late; and late it was, as king Hwan had died in the 15th year of duke Hwan. Some reason there must have been for deferring the inter-

ment so long, but we know not what. Kung and Kuh, without any evidence in support of their view, suppose that this was a second burial,—the removal of the coffin from its first resting place to another.

Par. 4. The marquis of Ke was of course the eldest brother of his family (伯), and the one here mentioned would be his 3d or his 4th brother. Hwuy was a city of Ke,—in the pres. dis. of Lin-tsze (臨淄), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Ts'e had begun to carry into effect its purpose of annexing the State of Ke (see I. 8). This brother of the marquis, seeing the approaching fate of the whole State, makes offer of the city and district under his charge, and enters Ts'e as a Foo-yung, or attached State, in which he might preserve the sacrifices to his ancestors. Tso-she says that 'Ke now began to be divided.'

Par. 5. Hwah (Kung and Kuh have 郕), acc. to Too, belonged to Ch'ing;—in Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih; but Maou and many other recent critics think it was the name of a small State near to Ch'ing. Tso-she says that the duke wanted to have a meeting with the earl of Ch'ing (Tsze-e), to consult if any thing could be done for Ke, but that the earl pleaded

his own difficulties [arising from his brother Tuh], and declined a meeting. In explanation of the term 次, Tso adds:—'In all military expeditions, where a halt is made for one night, it is called 宿; where it is for two nights, it is called 信; and when for more than two nights, it is called 次.'

Fourth year.

四年<sup>二章</sup>春王二月夫人姜氏<sup>二章</sup>享齊侯于祝丘<sup>三章</sup>三月紀伯姬卒<sup>二章</sup>夏齊侯陳侯鄭伯遇于垂<sup>四章</sup>紀侯大去其國<sup>五章</sup>六月乙丑齊侯葬紀伯姬<sup>六章</sup>秋七月<sup>七章</sup>冬公及齊人狩于禚

齊難也。季夏紀侯大去其國。違令尹闕祁莫敖屈重除道梁遂營軍臨隨隨人懼行成莫敖以王命入盟隨侯且請爲會於漢汭而還濟漢而後發喪。紀侯不能下齊以與紀。楚武王荆尸授師子焉以伐隨將齊入告夫。人鄧曼曰余心蕩鄧曼歎曰王祿盡矣盈而蕩。天之道也先君其知之矣故臨武事將發大命而蕩王心焉若師徒無虧王薨於行國之福也。王遂行卒於楸木之下。令尹闕祁莫敖屈重除道梁遂營軍臨隨隨人懼行成莫敖以王命入盟隨侯且請爲會於漢汭而還濟漢而後發喪。紀侯不能下齊以與紀。齊難也。

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady K'ang, feasted the marquis of Ts'e at Chuh-k'ew.
- 2 In the third month, [duke Yin's] eldest daughter, [who had been married to the marquis] of Ke, died.
- 3 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing met at Ch'uy.
- 4 The marquis of Ke made a grand leaving of his State.

- 5 In the sixth month, on Yih-ch'ow, the marquis of Ts'e interred [duke Yin's] eldest daughter of Ke.
- 6 It was autumn, the seventh month.
- 7 In winter, the duke and an officer of Ts'e hunted in Choh.

Par. 1. Chuh-k'ew,—see on II. v. 5. It appears from this that the duke's mother had returned to Loo, after her meeting with her brother in II. 4. Her now getting him to come to Loo, and openly feasting him, shows how they were becoming more and more shameless.

Par. 2. This is the lady whose marriage was chronicled in I. ii. 5, 6. The death of daughters of the House of Loo who had been married to other princes was chronicled by the historiographers; and sometimes their burial also.

[Tso-she adds here;—'In the 3d month of this year, king Woo of Ts'oo, made new arrangements for marshalling the army, and supplied the soldiers with the hooked spear. He was then going to invade Suy; and, being about to fast before the delivery of the new weapons, he went into his palace, and told his wife, Man of T'ang [see the Chuen after II. xiii. 1] that his heart felt all-agitated. "Your majesty's life [lit., revenues]," said she, sighing, "is near an end. After fulness comes that dissipation;—such is the way of Heaven. The former rulers [in whose temple he was going to fast] must know this; and therefore, at the commencement of this military undertaking, when you were about to issue your great commands, they have thus agitated your majesty's heart. If the expedition take no damage, and your majesty die on the march, it will be the happiness of the State." The king marched immediately after this, and died under a *mun* tree. The chief minister [see Ana. V. xviii.], Tow K'e, and the Moh-gaou, K'eh Ch'ung, made a new path, bridged over the Cha, and led their army close to Suy, the inhabitants of which were afraid, and asked for terms of peace. The Moh-gaou, as if by the king's command, entered the city, and made a covenant with the marquis of Suy, asking him also to come to a meeting on the north of the Han, after which the army returned. It was not till it had crossed the Han that the king's death was made known, and the funeral rites began.]

Par. 3. Ch'uy,—see I. viii. 1. The meeting here had reference, probably, to Ke, which was now near its end as an independent State. Hoo Gan-kwoh and many other critics think Tuh, or duke Le, is the earl of Ch'ing here intended;

but much more likely is the view that it was Tsze-e [see the Chuen after p. 5 of II. xviii.]. The word 遇 is used instead of 會, probably because the meeting wanted some of the usual formalities.

Par. 4. Tso-she says:—'The marquis of Ke was unable to submit to Ts'e, and gave over the State to his 3d brother. In summer, he took a grand leave of it, to escape the oppression of Ts'e.' The poor marquis was unable to cope with his relentless enemy, and rather than sacrifice the lives of the people in a vain struggle, he gave the State over to his brother, who had already put himself under the jurisdiction of Ts'e (III. 4). Too says that 'to leave and not return is called a grand leaving.' The phrase is here complimentary. Kung-yang, indeed, argues that the style of the paragraph, concealing the fact that Ts'e now extinguished the State of Ke, was designed to gloss over the wickedness of the marquis of Ts'e in the act, because he thereby revenged the wrong done in B. C. 893 to one of his ancestors, who was boiled to death at the court of Chow, having been slandered by the then lord of Ke! The marquis of Ts'e, therefore, was now only discharging a duty of revenge in destroying the House of Ke! Into such vagaries do the critics fall, who will find 'praise or censure' in the turn of every sentence in this Classic.

Par. 5. The leaving his wife unburied shows to what straits the prince of Ke had been reduced, when he went away. The marquis of Ts'e, we may suppose, now performed the duty of interment, with all the honours due to the lady's rank, partly in compliment to Loo, and partly to conciliate the people.

Par. 7. Here, as in II. 4, Kung-yang has 郕 instead of 禚. Both Kung and Kuh say that by 齊人 is intended the marquis of Ts'e himself; but Too simply says the phrase—微者, 'a mere officer,' adding that the nature of the whole transaction,—the duke's crossing his own borders and hunting in another State with one of inferior rank,—is sufficiently apparent.

Fifth year.

五年<sup>二章</sup>春王正月夏夫人姜氏<sup>三章</sup>如齊師<sup>四章</sup>秋邾黎來朝<sup>四章</sup>冬公會齊人宋人陳人衛人伐蔡

也。惠衛。冬。命。未。朝。來。邠。年。曰。左  
公。納。伐。也。王。名。來。犁。秋。五。傳

- V. 1 It was [the duke's] fifth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kēang went to the army of Ts'e.  
3 In autumn, Le-lae of E paid a visit to our court.  
4 In winter, the duke joined an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, and an officer of Ts'ae, and invaded Wei.

Par. 2. The army of Ts'e was probably in Ke at this time. Wān Kēang now joined her brother, in the sight of thousands. Wang Paou says:—'The month of former meetings, as at Choh and Chuh-k'ew, was mentioned, intimating that after some days the marquis and his sister separated. Here the season is given, intimating that they remained together for months.'

Par. 3. E (Kung-yang has 倪) was a small attached territory under the jurisdiction of Sung,—in pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. Its chief, as Tso says, had not received from the king any symbol of dignity (未王命), and

therefore he is mentioned by his name,—Le (Tso has 犁)-lae. The chiefs of attached territories are mentioned both by their names, and designations. Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks that the name indicates that the territory is that of some barbarous tribe. Tung Chung-shoo (董仲舒; early in the Han dyn.) says that when the territory contained 30 square *le*, the chief was mentioned by his designation; when it had only 20 square *le*, simply by his name. All this is very doubtful.

Par. 4. The object of this expedition was the restoration of Soh, or duke Hwuy;—see II. xvi. 5.

### Sixth year.

六年春，王正月，突救衛侯。朔，入于衛。夏六月，衛侯朔入于衛。秋，公至自伐衛。冬，齊人來歸衛俘。

左傳曰：六年春，王人救衛。夏，衛侯入，放公子黔牟于周，放甯跪于秦，殺左公子洩，右公子職，乃即位。君子以二公子之立黔牟，為不度矣。夫能固位者，必度其本末，而後立衷焉。不知其本，不謀知本之不枝，弗強，詩云：『本枝百世。』冬，齊人來歸衛寶。文姜請之也。○楚文王伐申，過鄧，鄧祁侯曰：『吾甥也，止而享之。』騅甥、聃甥、養甥，請殺楚子。鄧侯弗許。三甥曰：『亡鄧國者，必此人也。若不早圖，後君噬臍，其及圖之乎？』圖之，此為時矣。鄧侯曰：『人將不食吾餘。』對曰：『若不從三臣，抑社稷實不血食。而君焉取餘？』弗從。還年，楚子伐鄧。十六年，楚復伐鄧，滅之。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Tsze-tuh, an officer of the king, [endeavoured to] relieve [the capital of] Wei.  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, Soh, marquis of Wei, entered [the capital of] Wei.  
3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Wei.  
4 There were the *ming*-insects.  
5 In winter, an officer of Ts'e came to present [to Loo] the spoils of Wei.

Par. 1. Kung and Kuh both read here 三 instead of 正. The king made an effort to support Wei against the attempt to re-instate Soh; but his ministers all declined the risk of commanding the expedition. Only Tsze-tuh in the text, not even a 'great officer,' would hazard himself on the enterprise. Too, followed by Ying-tah, and a host of others, consider that Tsze-tuh was the officer's designation, while Kung and Kuh have many critics, and among them for once Maou K'e-ling, affirming that it was his name. I think the former view is the correct one.

Par. 2. As Soh had been *de facto* marquis of Wei, the 入于衛 here, as descriptive of his restoration, is peculiar. Comp. II. xi. 5, xv. 5; *et al.* The phrase seems to be condemnatory of him, entering as an enemy into his capital. Tso-she says:—'In summer, the marquis of Wei entered; drove Kung-tsze K'ien-mow [see the Chuen to II. xvi. 5] to Chow, and Ning Kwei to Ts'in; and put to death Sēeh and Chih, the sons of duke Hwan by the two ladies on the right and left of the harem. After this he took his place as marquis. The superior man will say, "The action of the two sons of duke Hwan in raising K'ien-mow to the marquise was ill-considered. He who would be able to make sure the seat to which he raises any one, must measure the beginning and the end of his protégé, and then establish him as circumstances direct. If he know the individual to have no root in himself, he dismisses him from his plans. If he know that his root will not produce branches, it is vain to try to strengthen him. The Book of Poetry says, "The root and the branches increase for a hundred generations (She III. i. 1. 2)."'

Par. 4. See I. v. 6.

Par. 5. Kung and Kuh both read 寶 here for 俘, and Tso-she also has 寶 in his Chuen, so that Tso suspects 俘 to be an error of the text. It need not be so, however, for 俘 may signify either prisoners or precious spoils generally. See an instance of the latter application of it in the Preface to the Shoo, p. 14. Tso-she says that this gift of the spoils of Wei was made at the request of Wān-kēang.

[The Chuen adds here:—King Wān of Ts'oo was invading Shin and passed by T'ang. K'e, marquis of T'ang, said, "He is my sister's son;" and thereupon detained and feasted him. Three other sisters' sons, called Chuy, Tan, and Yang requested leave to put the viscount [*i.e.*, the *soldisant* king] to death, but the marquis refused it. "It is certainly this man," said they, "who will destroy the State of T'ang. If we do not take this early measure, hereafter you will have to gnaw your navel;—will you then be able to take any measures? This is the time to do what should be done." The marquis, however, said, "If I do this deed, no man will hereafter eat from my board [吾餘, 'what I have left'; *i.e.*, what remains to me for my own use, after all the sacrificial offerings]." They replied, "If you do not follow our advice, even the altars will have no victims, and where will you hereafter get food to put on your board?" Still the marquis would not listen to them; and in the year after he returned from invading Shin, the viscount of Ts'oo attacked T'ang. In the 16th year of duke Chwang, he again attacked and extinguished it.]

### Seventh year.

七年春，夫人姜氏會齊侯于防。夏四月辛卯，夜，恒星不見。夜中，星隕如雨。秋，大水，無麥。冬，夫人姜氏會齊侯于穀。

嘉穀也。苗不害。秋無麥。也。與雨偕。隕如雨。明也。星夜。不見恒星。夏也。防齊侯于文姜會七年春。左傳曰。

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kēang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'ë at Fang.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-maou, at night, the regular stars were not visible. At midnight, there was a fall of stars like rain.
- 3 In autumn, there were great floods, so that there was no wheat nor other grain in the blade.
- 4 In winter, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kēang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'ë in Kuh.

Par. 1. Fang,—see I. ix. 6. As Fang was in Loo, Tso-she says that this meeting was sought by Ts'ë. Of course, when a meeting between the brother and sister was in Ts'ë, he would say that Wān Kēang was the mover to it.

Par. 2. 見 is read *hēn*, 'to appear,' 'to be visible.' For the 1st 夜 Kuh-lēang has 昔; and for 隕, in this other and passages, Kung-yang has 霽. K'ung Ying-tah says, 'The term "night" covers all the space from dusk to dawn, but as we have here "midnight" specified, we must understand the previous "night" of the time before midnight,—the time after twilight. Then the stars were not visible;—it is not said that they were not visible during all the night. Kuh-lēang reads 昔 for 夜, and defines 昔 as meaning the time between sundown and the appearance of the stars. But during this time of course the stars would not be visible, and why should that regularly recurring fact be mentioned in the text as a thing remarkable?' By 恒星 we are to understand the stars generally,—all 'constantly, regularly,' visible, or that may be expected to be so. Maou Se-ho would confine the phrase to the stars in the 28 constellations of the zodiac, and take the 星 below of the other stars. But it is not neces-

sary to do so. Before midnight the sky was very bright, as if a flush of sunlight were still upon it, so that the stars were not visible as usual. As Tso-she says, 'The night was bright.' After midnight came a grand shower of meteors. The phrase 星隕如雨, 'the stars fell as rain,' seems plain enough. Tso, however, and Kuh-lēang take 如=而 'and.' The former says:—'The stars fell along with the rain;' the latter, 'There fell stars, and it rained.' Kung-yang says, without giving any authority, that, before Confucius revised the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew of Loo, this entry was—雨星不及地尺而復, 'It rained stars to within a foot of the earth, when they reascended!'

Par. 3. 秋大水.—see II. i. 5; *et al.* At this time the wheat was getting to be ripe, while the rice, millet, &c., were only in the blade. The floods washed all away; yet Tso-she says 'they did not hurt the good grain,' meaning there was still time to sow the paddy and millet again, and reap a crop before the winter. The K'ang-he editors cast out of the text this remark of Tso's; indicating thereby, as on other occasions of the same suppression, their dissent from it.

Par. 4. Kuh belonged to Ts'ë,—was in the pres. dis. of Tung-o (東阿), dep. Yen-chow.

*Eighth year.*

八年春，王正月，師次于郎，以俟陳人。蔡人。甲午，治兵。夏，師及齊師圍郕。郕降于齊師。

兒君弑無未月有冬還秋師  
諸其知齊癸一十

左傳曰：八年春，治兵于廟，禮也。夏，師及齊師圍郕。郕降于齊師。仲慶父請伐齊師，公曰：「可，我實不德，齊師何罪？」罪我之由，夏書曰：「皇陶邁種德。」德乃降。姑務脩德，以待時乎。秋，師還。君子是以善魯莊公。齊侯使連稱、管至父戍葵丘。瓜時而往，曰：「及瓜而代，期不齊。」公問不至，請代弗許。故謀作亂。僖公之母弟曰夷仲年，生公孫無知，有寵于僖公。衣服禮秩如適，襄公絀之。二人因之以作亂。連稱有從妹在公宮，無寵，使問公，曰：「捷，吾以女爲夫人。」冬十二月，齊侯游于姑夢，遂田于貝丘，見大豕，從者曰：「公子彭生也。」公怒，曰：「彭生敢見。」射之，豕人立而啼。公懼，隊于車，傷足，喪屨。反，誅屨于徒人費，弗得，鞭之。見血，走出遇賊于門，劫而束之。費曰：「我奚御哉？」袒而示之背，信之。入，殺孟陽，伏公而出，鬪死于門中。石之紛如死于階下，遂弑之。費請先入，伏公而出，鬪死于門中。石之紛如死于階下，遂弑之。而公孫無知初，襄公立，無常，鮑叔牙曰：「君使民慢，亂將作矣。」初，公孫無知虐于雍廩。

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, [our] army halted at Lang, to wait for the troops of Ch'in, and the troops of Ts'ae.
- 2 On Kēah-woo, we exercised the soldiers in the use of their weapons.
- 3 In summer, [our] army and the army of Ts'ë besieged Shing. Shing surrendered to the army of Ts'ë.
- 4 In autumn, [our] army returned.
- 5 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Kwei-we, Woo-che of Ts'ë murdered his ruler, Choo-urh.

Par. 1. Lang,—see I. ix. 4; *et al.* The duke had probably made an agreement with the princes of Ch'in and Ts'ae to join in the attack on Shing; and as their troops had not arrived at the time agreed on, the army of Loo was obliged to wait for them here at Lang. This is the natural explanation of the par. Fan Ning, on Kuh-lēang, and Ho Hēw, on Kung-yang, suppose that the halting of the troops at Lang was to meet a real or pretended invasion of Loo by Ts'ae and Ch'in.

Par. 2. Kung-yang reads 祠 for 治, but with the same meaning. Tso-she says that the 治兵, whatever it was, took place in the ancestral temple, and was proper. But it took place, evidently, at Lang, while the troops were halting for those of Ts'ae and Ch'in. As to the expression 治兵, it is a technical phrase, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to determine.

In the Chow Le, XXIX. 25—43, we have an account of the huntings at the four seasons of the year, and the military exercises practised in connection with them, under the direction of the minister of War. At mid-spring the men were taught 振旅; at mid-summer, 芟舍; at mid-autumn, 治兵; and at mid-winter, 大閱. Biot there translates 仲秋教治兵 by 'au milieu de l'automne il enseigne l'art de faire la guerre, ou conduire les soldats en expedition.' But 兵 was not used anciently for 'soldiers,' but for weapons of war, especially pointed, offensive weapons, though buff-coats and shields may also be admitted under the term. I think that 治兵 denotes the putting the weapons, offensive and defensive, in order, and the methods of attack. Some critics find fault with Tso's saying that the 治兵 was in order here, when the exercise was appropriate to mid-autumn; but it was so appropriate only in times of peace. Now Loo was engaged in war, and it was then appropriate, whenever it would be advantageous.

Par. 3. Shing (Kung has 成),—see I. v. 3. As no mention is made of Ts'ac and Ch'in, their troops probably had not come up at all. And we do not know the circumstances sufficiently to understand why Shing surrendered to Ts'e alone, and not to the allied army of Ts'e and Loo. That a slight was done to Loo, we understand from the Chuen:—"When Shing surrendered to the army of Ts'e, Chung King-foo asked leave to attack that army. The duke said, "No. It is I who am really not virtuous. Of what crime is the army of Ts'e guilty? The crime is all from me. The Book of Hea says:—"Kaou-yaou vigorously sowed abroad his virtue, and it made the people submissive (But see on the Shoo, II. ii. 10)." Let us meanwhile give ourselves to the cultivation of our virtue, and bide our time." It would appear from this narrative that duke Chwang was himself with the army, though the style of all the paragraphs makes us conclude that he was not himself commanding.

Par. 4. The return of an army is not usually chronicled in the Ch'ün Ts'ew as it is here. Tso-she observes that from the mention of it here the superior man will commend duke Chwang. It is not easy to see the point of the remark, unless we take it as referring to the duke's words in the preceding Chuen.

Par. 5. Choo-urh was the name of the marquis of Ts'e,—duke S'ang. Woo-che was a son of E Chung-n'een (夷仲年), an uncle of the marquis. The marquis and he therefore were

first cousins. The Chuen on this par. is:—"The marquis of Ts'e had sent L'een Ch'ing and Kwan Che-foo to keep guard at K'wei-k'ew. It was the season of melons when they left the capital, and he said, "When the melons are in season again, I will relieve you." They kept guard for twelve months; and no word coming from the marquis, they requested to be relieved. But their request was refused, and in consequence they fell to plot rebellion.

"E Chung-n'een, own brother to duke He, had left a son, called Kung-sun Woo-che, who was a favourite with He, and had been placed by him, so far as his robes and other distinctions were concerned, on the same footing as a son of his own. Duke S'ang, however, had degraded him. The two generals, therefore, associated themselves with him to carry out their plans. There was a first cousin also of L'een Ch'ing in the duke's harem, who had lost his favour, and her they employed as a spy upon his movements, Woo-che having declared to her that, if their enterprise were successful, he would make her his wife.

"In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis went to amuse himself at Koo-fun, and was hunting on Pei-k'ew, when a large boar made his appearance. One of the attendants said, "It is the Kung-tse P'ang-s'ang [see the Chuen on II. xvii. 3]." The marquis was enraged and said, "Does P'ang-s'ang dare to show himself." With this he shot at the creature, which stood up on its hind legs like a man, and howled. The marquis was afraid, and fell down in his carriage, injuring one of his feet, and losing the shoe. Having returned [to the palace where he was lodging], he required his footman Pe to bring the shoe, and when it could not be found, scourged him, till the blood flowed. Pe ran out of the room, and met several assassins at the gate, who seized and bound him. "Should I oppose you?" said Pe, baring his body, and showing them his back, on seeing which they believed him. He then requested leave to go in before them, when he hid the marquis, came out again, and fought with them till he was killed in the gate. Shih-che Fun-joo died fighting on the stairs, on which the assassins entered the chamber, and killed M'ang Yang [who had taken the marquis' place] in the bed. "This is not he," they soon cried. "It is not like him." They then discovered the duke's foot, [where he was hiding] behind the door, murdered him, and raised up Woo-che in his place.

"Before this, when duke S'ang came to the marquisate, Paou Shuh-ya, seeing his irregularities, said, "The prince is making the people despise him;—there will soon be disorder;" and he fled to Keu with He's son S'eaou-pih. When the disorder broke out, Kwan E-woo and Shaou Hwuh fled to Loo with K'ew, another of He's sons.

"Before his elevation, Kung-sun Woo-che had behaved oppressively to Yung Lin."

It will be seen from this narrative that Woo-che was not the actual murderer of the marquis of Ts'e, nor indeed the first mover to the taking of him off. Still, as he was the one who was to profit by his death, the Ch'ün Ts'ew charges the deed on him. The marquis deserved his fate.

Ninth year.

九年春，齊人殺無知。  
公及齊大夫盟于莒。  
夏，公伐齊，納糾，齊小白  
莒先入。  
秋，師及齊師戰于乾時，我  
師敗績。公喪戎路，傳乘而  
歸。秦子梁子以公旗辟于  
下道，是以皆止。鮑叔帥師  
來言曰：子糾親也，請君討  
之。管召、讐也，請受而甘心  
焉。乃殺子糾于生竇，召忽  
死之。管仲請囚，鮑叔受之，  
及堂阜而稅之，歸而以告  
曰：管夷吾治於高奚，使相  
可也。公從之。

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the people of Ts'e killed Woo-che.  
2 The duke made a covenant with [some] great officers of Ts'e at Ke.  
3 In summer, the duke invaded Ts'e, intending to instate K'ew; [but] S'eaou-pih [had already] entered Ts'e.  
4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ting-y'ew, there was the burial of duke S'ang of Ts'e.  
5 In the eighth month, on K'ang-shin, we fought with the army of Ts'e at Kan-she, when our army received a severe defeat.  
6 In the ninth month, the people of Ts'e took Tsze-k'ew, and put him to death.  
7 In winter, we deepened the Shoo.



Par. 1. I translate 齊人 here by 'the people of Ts'e,' after the analogy of I. iv. 6, 7, *et al.* Tso-she tells us, however, that the real slayer of Woo-che was Yung Lin, mentioned at the end of the last Chuen. Woo-che had taken his place as marquis of Ts'e; but only a month had elapsed, and his title had not been acknowledged by the other princes. He is therefore mentioned in the text simply by his name.

Par. 2. Ke (Kung and Kuh have 暨) was in Loo,—80 *le* to the east of the dis. city of Yih (嶧), dep. Yen-chow. On the death of Woo-che, great officers were sent to Loo to arrange about making K'ew, who had taken refuge there soon after the murder of duke S'ang, marquis in his room. This was the subject of the covenant at Ke. Tso-she explains the fact of the duke's covenanting with them, a thing beneath his dignity, by saying that there was at this time no ruler in Ts'e.

Par. 3. It does not immediately appear why the duke should invade Ts'e to instate K'ew, seeing that K'ew's elevation had been matter of covenant between him and representatives of Ts'e. Opposition, probably, was anticipated from S'au-pih, and the military force was to provide against it. But the duke's movements were not speedy enough to effect his object. Tso-she, both in his text and Chuen, has 子

糾 instead of 糾, which would indicate that K'ew was the older of the two brothers. And the evidence does preponderate in favour of this view, though the opposite one has many advocates of note. The K'ang-he editors spend a whole page in reviewing the question. The Chuen on VIII. 4 states that S'au-pih had fled to Keu, and here it is said:—'Duke Hwan had been beforehand in entering Ts'e from Keu.'

Par. 4. It was now the ninth month since the murder of the marquis. His burial had been deferred in consequence of the troubles of the State.

Par. 5. Kan-she was in Ts'e,—in the north of pres. dis. of Poh-hing (博興), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Notwithstanding that S'au-pih had anticipated his brother, and got possession of Ts'e, the duke of Loo persevered in his efforts in favour of K'ew, and suffered this defeat.

*Tenth year.*

十年春，王正月，公敗齊師于長勺。二月初，公侵宋。三月，宋人遷宿。夏，四月，宋師次齊。

敗績.—see on II.xiii.1. Tso-she says:—'At this battle the duke lost his war-chariot, but got into another, and proceeded homewards. Ts'in-tsze and L'ang-tsze [who had been in the chariot with him] took his flag, and separated from him by a lower road [to deceive the enemy]; and the consequence was that they were both taken.' Thus, the duke himself commanded in this expedition,—a fact which the text is so constructed as to conceal.

Par. 6. It is here said that 'the people of Ts'e took Tsze-k'ew, and killed him,' but in reality they were Loo hands which put him to death. To require his death was cruel on the part of Ts'e. To deliver him up, to kill him in fact, was base in the extreme on the part of Loo. A foreigner loses all patience with Confucius and the Ch'un Ts'ew, when he finds the events of history so misrepresented in it. The Chuen says:—'Paou Shuh led an army to Loo, and said to the duke, "Tsze-k'ew is our prince's near relative; we beg of you to take him off. Kwan and Shaou are his enemies; we beg them to be delivered to us, and our prince will feel satisfied." On this we killed Tsze-k'ew in S'ang-tow, when Shaou Hwuh died with him, while Kwar Chung asked to be kept as a prisoner. Paou-shuh received him from Loo, and set him free when they had got to T'ang-fow. On their return to the capital, he informed the marquis of all the circumstances, saying also, "Kwan E-woo's talents for government are greater than those of Kaou He [a minister and noble of Ts'e]. If you employ him as your chief minister and helper, it will be well." The marquis followed the advice.'

Par. 7. The Shoo was a river flowing from the north-east of Loo in a south-west direction till it joined the Yuen (沔), after which their united stream flowed on to the Sze (泗). The object in deepening it was to make it a better defence against the attempts of Ts'e. The critics are all severe against duke Chwang for wasting his people's strength in this undertaking. It may have been foolish and useless, but it would be hard to extract any condemnation of it from the text.

[The student who is familiar with the Analects and Mencius will now have recognized two names well known to him;—duke Hwan of Ts'e, the first and in some respects the greatest of the five *pa* or leaders of the princes, and Kwan Chung, or Kwan E-woo, his chief minister.]

于郎公敗宋師于乘丘。秋九月，荊敗蔡師于莘，以蔡侯獻舞歸。冬十月，齊師滅譚，譚子奔莒。

左傳曰：十年春，齊師伐我，公將戰，曹劌請見，其鄉人曰：肉食者謀之，又何間焉。劌曰：肉食者鄙，未能遠謀。乃入見。問何以戰。公曰：衣食所安，弗敢專也，必以分人。對曰：小惠未徧，民弗從也。公曰：犧牲玉帛，弗敢加也，必以信。對曰：小信未孚，神弗福也。公曰：小大之獄，雖不能察，必以情。對曰：忠之屬也，可以一戰。戰則請從。公與之乘，戰于長勺。公將鼓之，劌曰：未可。齊人三鼓，劌曰：可矣。齊師敗績，公將馳之，劌曰：未可。下視其轍，登軾而望之，曰：可矣。遂逐齊師。既克，公問其故。對曰：夫戰，勇氣也。一鼓作氣，再而衰，三而竭。彼竭我盈，故克之。夫大國，難測也，懼有伏焉。吾視其轍亂，望其旗靡，故逐之。

夏六月，齊師宋師次于郎。公子偃曰：宋師不整，可敗也。宋敗，齊必還。請擊之。公弗許。自郕門竊出，蒙皇比而先犯之。公從之。大敗宋師于乘丘。齊師乃還。

蔡哀侯娶于陳，息侯亦娶焉。息嬀將歸，過蔡，蔡侯曰：吾姨也。止而見之，弗賓。息侯聞之，怒，使謂楚文王曰：伐我，吾求救于蔡而伐之。楚子從之。秋九月，楚敗蔡師于莘，以蔡侯獻舞歸。

齊侯之出也，過譚，譚不禮焉。及其入也，諸侯皆賀。譚又不至，齊師滅譚，譚無禮也。譚子奔莒，同盟故也。

- X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke defeated the army of Ts'e at Ch'ang-choh.
- 2 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Sung.
- 3 In the third month, the people of Sung removed [the State of] Suh.
- 4 In summer, in the sixth month, an army of Ts'e and an army of Sung halted at Lang. The duke defeated the army of Sung at Shing-k'ew.
- 5 In autumn, in the ninth month, King defeated the army of Ts'ae at Sin, and carried H'een-woo, marquis of Ts'ae, back [to King].
- 6 In winter, in the tenth month, an army of Ts'e extinguished T'an. The viscount of T'an fled to Keu.

Par. 1. Ch'ang-choh was in Loo, but its position has not been identified. Lo Pe (羅泌), says that of the clans of Shang removed by king Ch'ing to Loo, one was called the Ch'ang-choh, as having been located in Ch'ang-choh. The Chuen here is:—The army of Ts'e invaded our State, and the duke was about to fight, when one Ts'au Kwei requested to be introduced to him. One of Kwei's fellow-villagers said him, "The flesh-eaters [comp. Ps. xxii. 29]. are planning for the occasion; what have you to do to intermeddle?" He replied, "The flesh-eaters are poor creatures, and cannot form any far-reaching plans." So he entered and was introduced, when he asked the duke what encouragement he had to fight. The duke said, "Clothes and food minister to my repose, but I do not dare to monopolise them:—I make it a point to share them with others." "That," replied Kwei, "is but small kindness, and does not reach to all. The people will not follow you for that." The duke said, "In the victims, the gems, and the silks, used in sacrifice, I do not dare to go beyond the appointed rules:—I make it a point to be sincere." "That is but small sincerity; it is not perfect:—the Spirits will not bless you for that." The duke said again, "In all matters of legal process, whether small or great, although I may not be able to search them out thoroughly, I make it a point to decide according to the real circumstances." "That," answered Kwei, "bespeaks a leal-heartedness:—you may venture one battle on that. When you fight, I beg to be allowed to attend you." The duke took him with him in his chariot. The battle was fought in Ch'ang-choh. The duke was about to order the drums to beat an advance, when Kwei said, "Not yet;" and after the men of Ts'e had advanced three times with their drums beating, he said, "Now is the time." The army of Ts'e received a severe defeat; but when the duke was about to dash after them, Kwei again said, "Not yet." He then got down, and examined the tracks left by their chariot-wheels, remounted, got on the front-bar, and looked after the flying enemy. After this he said "Pursue;" which the duke did. When the victory had been secured, the duke asked Kwei the reasons of what he had done. "In fighting," was the reply, "all depends on the courageous spirit. When the drums first beat, that excites the spirit. A second advance occasions a diminution of the spirit; and with a third, it is exhausted. With our spirit at the highest pitch we fell on them with their spirit exhausted; and so we conquered them. But it is difficult to fathom a great State;—I was afraid there might be an ambushade. I looked therefore at the traces of their wheels, and found them all-confused; I looked after their flags, and they were drooping:—then I gave the order to pursue them."

Par. 2. This is the first record in the text of the military expedition called 侵. As the word denotes (侵=漸進), it was a stealthy incursion. Kung-yang says: 狃者曰侵, 精者曰伐, 'an ill-ordered advance is called *ts'in*; one in good array is called *fah*.' Tso-she, better:—有鐘鼓曰伐; 無

鐘鼓曰侵, 'an advance with bells and drums is called *fah*; without them, *ts'in*.' So far as the text goes, this would appear to have been a wanton attack on Sung. Maou supposes that Sung may have been confederate with Ts'e in the previous month.

Par. 3. Suh,—see on I. i. 5; where it has been observed that Suh was a long way from Sung. But the word 遷, 'to remove,' does not signify that Sung continued to hold possession of the old territory;—it carried the people away and all the valuables of the State into its own territories. The affair would seem to be commemorated in the name of Suh-ts'een (宿遷), a dis. of Seu-chow dep., in K'ang-soo, which was within the limits of Sung. We shall find 遷 hereafter as a neuter verb, where the signification is different.

Par. 4. Lang,—see VIII. 1. Shing-k'ew is referred to the dis. of Tsze-yang (滋陽), dep. Yen-chow. If this identification be correct, then the allied forces had moved from Lang; or perhaps they had separated, and the army of Sung gone north to Shing-k'ew. The Chuen says:—The armies of Ts'e and Sung were halting at Lang, when Yen, a son of duke Huan, said, "The army of Sung is ill drawn up, and may be defeated. If Sung be defeated, Ts'e will be obliged to retire. I beg leave to attack the troops of Sung." The duke refused, but he stole out at the Yu gate, and having covered his horses with tigers' skins, fell upon the enemy. The duke followed to support him, when they inflicted a great defeat on the army of Sung at Shing-k'ew; and the army of Ts'e withdrew from Loo.

Par. 5. Here for the first time, Ts'oo, a great Power, appears on the stage of the Ch'ün T's'ew, though we have met with it already more than once in the Chuen. King was the original name of Ts'oo, and in the Ch'ün T's'ew it is thus named down to the 1st year of duke He. The chiefs of Ts'oo were at first viscounts, with the surname Me (𪛗; the bleating of a sheep), who traced their lineage up to the prehistoric times, pretending to be descended from Chuen-hüh. The representative of the line in the times of Wan and Woo was Yuh-heung (鬻熊); and his great-grandson, H'ung-yih (熊繹), was invested by king Ch'ing with the lands of King Man (荊蠻), or 'King of the wild south,' and the title of viscount. His capital was Tan-yang (丹陽), referred to a place, 7 le south-east from the pres. dis. city of Kwei-chow (歸州), dep. E-ch'ang (宜昌), Hoo-pih. In B. C. 886, H'ung-k'eu (熊渠) usurped the title of king, which was afterwards dropped for a time, but permanently resumed by H'ung T'ung (熊通), known as king Woo, in B. C. 703, who also moved the capital to Ying (郢), 10 le north of the pres. dep. city of King-chow (荊

州). The viscount of Ts'oo at this first appearance of the House in the text was king Wan (文王), a son of Woo, by name H'ung-tsze (熊賁).

Sin belonged to Ts'ae, and was in the borders of pres. dis. of Joo-yang (汝陽), dep. Joo-ning, Ho-nan. H'een-woo (Kuh has 武) was the 蔡季 of II. xvii. 5. The style of the par. is unusual, the name of the State—King—being mentioned, and no 'viscount of King,' or 'officer.' Too finds in this an evidence of the still barbarous condition of King or Ts'oo unacquainted with the forms of the States of 'the Middle country.'

The Chuen says:—The marquis Gae of Ts'ae had married a daughter of the House of Ch'in, and the marquis of Seih had married another. When the latter lady [息嬌 'Kwei of Seih.' Kwei was the surname of Ch'in] on one occasion was going back to Seih, she passed by Ts'ae, and the marquis said, 'She is my sister-in-law.' He detained her, therefore, and saw her, not

treating her as a guest should be treated. When the marquis of Seih heard of it, he was enraged, and sent a messenger to king Wan of Ts'oo, saying, 'Attack me, and I will ask assistance from Ts'ae, when you can attack it.' The viscount of Ts'oo did so; and in autumn, in the 9th month, Ts'oo defeated the army of Ts'ae at Sin, and carried off the marquis, H'een-woo.

Par. 6. T'an was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, within the circle of Ts'e. Its chief town was 70 le to the south-east of the dis. city of Leih-shing, dep. Tse-nan. This is the first instance in the text of the 'extinction' of a State. The term implies the destruction of its ruling House, the abolition of its sacrifices, and the absorption of the people and territory by the prevailing Power. The Chuen says:—When the marquis of Ts'e [i.e., the present marquis] fled from the State [see the Chuen on VIII. 5], and was passing by T'an, the viscount showed him no courtesy. When he entered it again, and the other princes were all congratulating him, the viscount did not make his appearance. In winter, therefore, an army of Ts'e extinguished T'an, which had behaved so improperly. The viscount fled to Keu, having formerly made a covenant with the lord of it.

### Eleventh year.

十有一年，春，王正月，寅，公敗宋師于鄆。秋，宋大水。冬，齊侯來逆共姬。左傳曰：十一年，夏，宋為乘丘之役，故侵我。公禦之。宋師未陳而薄之，敗諸鄆。凡師，敵未陳，曰敗某師。皆陳曰戰。大崩曰敗績。得偽曰克。覆而敗之曰取某師。京師敗曰王師敗績于某。秋，宋大水，公使弔焉。曰：天作淫雨，害于衆，盛若之何不弔？對曰：孤實不敬，天降之災，又以為君憂，拜命之辱。臧文仲曰：宋其興乎？禹湯罪己，其興也悖焉。桀紂罪人，其亡也忽焉。且列國有凶，稱孤禮也。言懼而名禮，其庶乎？既而聞之曰：公子御說之辭也。臧孫達曰：是宜為君，有恤民之心。冬，齊侯來逆共姬。乘丘之役，公以金僕姑射南宮長萬。公右歇孫生搏之。宋人請之，宋公斂之。曰：始吾敬子，今子魯囚也，吾弗敬子矣。病之。

- XI. 1 It was the [duke's] eleventh, year, the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-yin, the duke defeated an army of Sung at Tsze.  
 3 In autumn, there were great floods in Sung.  
 4 In winter, a daughter of the king went to her home in Ts'e.

Par. 2. Tsze was in Loo,—in dep. of Yen-chow; diff. from the Tsze in I. 8. The Chuen says:—'Because of the action at Shing-k'ew, Sung now made an incursion into our State. The duke withstood the enemy; and pressing on them before they were formed in order of battle, he defeated them at Tsze.' Then follows an explanation of various military terms:—'In all military expeditions, when an action is forced before the enemy's army is drawn up, the text says, "...defeated such and such an army." When both sides are drawn up, it is said, "...fought," "a battle was fought." When there has been a great overthrow, the style is, "...disgracefully defeated." When any one of extraordinary valour is taken, it is said, "...vanquished so and so." When the defeat is utter, it is said, "took such and such an army." When the army of the capital is defeated, it is said, "The king's army was disgracefully defeated in such and such a place."

Par. 3. Comp. II. 1. 5. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, there were great floods in Sung, and the duke sent a messenger with his condolences, saying, "Heaven has sent down excessive rains, to the injury of the millet for sacrifice. I feel that I must condole with you." The answer was, "I am as an orphan, and must confess my want of reverence, for which Heaven has sent down this plague. And moreover I have caused you sorrow, and beg to acknowledge the condensation of your message." Tsang Wan-chung said, "Sung must be going to flourish. Yu and

T'ang took the blame on themselves, and they prospered grandly. K'eh and Chow threw the blame on others, and their ruin came swiftly. Moreover when a State meets with calamity, it is the rule for the prince to call himself an orphan. With language showing anxious fear, and using the right name, Sung cannot be far from prosperity." Afterwards it was known that the answer was in the words of duke Chuang's son Yu-yueh, and then Tsang Sun-tah said, "This man deserves to be ruler. He has a heart of pity for the people."

Par. 4. See on I. 3, 4, 7. Like his predecessor, duke Hwan of Ts'e had sought a royal bride; and the arrangements for the marriage had, as before, been put under the management of the marquis of Loo. Tso-she says that 'the marquis of Ts'e came to meet his bride, Kung Ke,' where Kung (共=恭) is the honorary title by which the lady was known after her death.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In the action at Shing-k'ew, [in the 10th year] the duke with his arrow called Kin Puh-koo. [金僕姑 might be translated "Steel Servant-lady," but the last two characters are often written diffly.] shot Nan-kung Chang-wan, after which the spearman on the right, Chuen-sun, took him prisoner. He was subsequently released at the request of the people of Sung, but the duke of Sung ridiculed him, saying, "Formerly, I respected you; but since you have been the prisoner of Loo, I respect you no more." This annoyed Ch'ang-wan.]

### Twelfth year.

十有二年春，王姬歸于鄆。三月，叔姬歸于鄆。夏四月，宋萬弑其君。秋八月，甲午，宋萬弑其君。冬十月，宋萬弑其君。

左傳曰：十年，冬，師圍亳。公孫御說，公子游，羣西又殺之。于東宮，督批而殺之。仇牧于蒙澤，遇公萬弑之。叔姬歸于鄆，遇公萬弑之。冬，十月，宋萬弑其君。

莊之族，以曹師伐之，殺南宮牛于師，殺子游于宋，立桓公。猛獲奔衛，南宮萬奔陳，以乘車輦其母，一日而到。宋人請猛獲于衛，衛人欲勿與，石祁子曰：「不可，天下之惡，一也。惡于宋而保于我，保之何補？得一夫而失一國，與惡而棄好，非謀也。」衛人歸之。亦請南宮萬于陳，以賂陳人，使婦人飲之酒，而以犀革裹之。比及宋，手足皆見，宋人皆醢之。

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's first month, duke [Yin's] third daughter, [who had been married to the marquis] of Ke, went [from Loo] to Hwuy.  
 2 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on K'eah-woo, Wan of Sung murdered his ruler Ts'eh, and his great officer K'ew-muh.  
 4 In winter, in the tenth month, Wan of Sung fled to Ch'in.

Par. 1. The marriage of this lady, such as it was, was entered in I. vii. 1;—see the note on which par. We have seen in what circumstances the marquis of Ke finally abandoned his State (IV. 4), leaving his wife-proper unburied. It would seem that the lady in the text had then returned to Loo; but as the marquis' brother had been admitted into Ts'e with the city of Hwuy (III. 4), and there maintained the sacrifices to his ancestors, she considered that as her home, and now proceeded to it. Her husband was probably by this time among the departed chiefs, who had their shrines in the ancestral temple. Her conduct, from a Chinese point of view, was specially virtuous. The force of 歸 here—'went to her home.'

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Wan of Sung murdered duke Min in Mung-tsih; and, meeting K'ew-muh in the gate, he killed him with a slap of his hand. He then met the chief minister, Tuh, [see II. ii. 1] on the west of the eastern palace, and also killed him. He raised Tsze-y'ew to the dukedom, while all the sons of former dukes fled to S'eaou, except Yu-yueh [see the Chuen on XI. 3], who fled to Poh, to besiege which Nan-kung N'ew and M'ang-hwoh led a force.'

The Wan here is, of course, the Nan-kung Chang-wan of the Chuen at the end of last year, the Chang (長) there being probably his designation. K'ew-muh was the name of the officer who was killed, and some critics, thinking it necessary to account for his being mentioned merely by his name, say there was nothing good about him worthy of commendation. The par. is one in point to show the futility of looking for praise or blame in such matters. The murderer is here mentioned by his name, and so also is the officer who died in attempting to punish him for his deed.

Par. 4. The Chuen is:—'In the 10th month, Shuh Ta-sin of S'eaou, and the descendants of

the dukes Tae, Woo, Seuen, Muh, and Chwang, with an army of Ts'au, attacked the force that was besieging Poh. They killed Nan-kung N'ew in the fight, and afterwards killed Tsze-y'ew in the capital, raising duke Hwan [the Yu-yueh mentioned in two previous Chuen] in his place. M'ang-hwoh fled to Wei, and Nang-kung Wan to Ch'in. Wan took his mother with him in a carriage [a barrow] which he himself pushed along, accomplishing all the journey [more than 70 miles] in one day. The people of Sung requested Wei to deliver up M'ang-hwoh to them; and when there was an unwillingness to do so, Shih K'e-tsze said, 'Refuse him not. Wickedness is the same all under heaven. If we protect the man who has done wickedly in Sung, of what advantage will our protecting him be? To gain a fellow and lose a State; to favour wickedness and cast away friendship, is not wise counsel.' On this the people of Wei gave Hwoh up. Sung also requested Nan-king Wan from Ch'in, offering a bribe at the same time. The people of Ch'in employed a woman to make him drunk, and then bound him up in a rhinoceros' hide. By the time that he reached Sung, his hands and feet appeared through the hide. The people of Sung made pickle both of him and M'ang-hwoh.'

Thus Chang-wan paid the penalty of his guilt; but as we learn this only from the Chuen, and it is not said in the text 宋人殺萬, the critics have much to say on the condemnation of the people of Sung, which the silence of the text implies! Then it does not mention the burial of duke Min (閔公), whom Wan murdered, and that is understood to indicate Confucius' disapproval of him! It is surprising that the K'ang-he editors should not have been able to emancipate themselves from the bondage in which the early interpreters of the Ch'un Ts'ew were held.

## Thirteenth year.

侯冬<sup>四章</sup>秋<sup>三章</sup>人夏<sup>二章</sup>于<sup>一</sup>人<sup>二</sup>人<sup>三</sup>春<sup>四</sup>十<sup>五</sup>  
 盟公七滅六比邾陳齊有  
 于會月遂月杏人蔡宋年  
 柯齊齊齊會蔡宋年  
 之誓<sup>一</sup>齊柯冬戌滅夏至遂平北春十左  
 會北宋平始盟之遂齊人亂以于年日

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Ts'ae, and an officer of Choo, had a meeting at Pih-häng.
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, an army of Ts'e extinguished Suy.
- 3 It was autumn, the seventh month.
- 4 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Ko.

Par. 1. Pih-häng was in Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Tung-o, dept. Yen-chow. The meeting here was called by the marquis of Ts'e, as Tso-she says, 'to settle the disorder of Sung.' But it has a greater historical interest as the first of the gatherings of princes of States under the presidency of one of their number, who was acknowledged, or wished to be acknowledged, as a sort of viceroy. Hwan of Ts'e was the first to attain to this position, and his leadership dates, according to many, from this year, B. C. 680, though it could hardly be said to be generally recognized till two years later. Whether he had the king's commission to undertake the pacification of Sung does not clearly appear.

Kuh-läng reads 齊人 instead of 齊侯, though he believes that the marquis is really intended, and that the duke of Sung and the lords of Ch'in, Ts'ae, and Choo were the other 人, or 'men' present at the meeting, the calling them 'men' and denuding them of their titles being the device of Confucius to condemn their whole proceeding! The K'ang-he editors, maintaining the received text of 侯, yet agree with Kuh in interpreting all the other 人 of the princes. Of course, if the reading 侯 be retained, there can be no censure in the 人, as applied to the other princes, for Hwan was the greatest sinner of them all; and to interpret the word as 'people,' to indicate that the presidency of the States was now given by a kind of

'general consent' to Hwan, which is the view of Soo Ch'eh (蘇轍) and many others, only mystifies the whole subject. We must take 人 as in the translation;—see I. i. 5, II. xi. 1, et al.;—as yet the other princes distrusted Ts'e, and only sent officers to the conference.

Par. 2. Suy was a small State, within the limits of Loo, and near to Shing (戚), whose chiefs had the surname of Kwei (媿), as being descended from Shun. Its chief town was 30 *le* to the north-west of the pres. dis. city of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. Tso-she says that 'no officer had been sent from it to the meeting at Pih-häng, and in the summer, a force from Ts'e extinguished it, and occupied it with a body of men on guard.' As to the translation of 人 here by 'army,' see on I. ii. 2.

Par. 3. See I. vi. 3; et al.

Par. 4. Ko was in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Tung-o, dept. Yen-chow. Tso-she says that 'this covenant was the first step to peace between Loo and Ts'e.' Kung-yang relates a story in connection with it, which has obtained general currency and belief:—'When duke Chwang was about to meet with Hwan, the officer Ts'aou [the Ts'aou Kwei of the Chuen on X. 1] advanced to him and said, "What is your feeling, O marquis, in view of this meeting?" The duke said, "It were better for me to die than to live." "In that case," said Ts'aou, "do you prove yourself a match for the ruler, and I will prove myself a match for his minister."

"Very well," replied the duke; and the meeting was held. When the duke ascended the altar, Ts'aou followed him with his sword in his hand. Kwan Chung advanced, and said, "What does the marquis require?" Ts'aou replied, "Our cities are overthrown, and our borders oppressed. Does your ruler not consider it?" "What then does he require?" the other repeated, and Ts'aou said, "We wish to ask the restitution of the country on the north of the Wän." Kwan Chung looked at Hwan, and said, "Does your lordship grant the request?" The marquis said, "Yes." Ts'aou then requested a covenant, and duke Hwan descended from

the altar, and made a covenant. When this was done, Ts'aou threw away his sword, and took his leave. A forced covenant like this might have been disregarded, but duke Hwan did not break it. The officer Ts'aou might have been regarded as his enemy, but duke Hwan did not resent his conduct. The good faith of duke Hwan began from this covenant at Ko to be acknowledged throughout the kingdom.

[The Chuen adds here:—'The people of Sung renounced the engagements at the meeting of Pih-häng.']

## Fourteenth year.

鄭侯冬<sup>四章</sup>蔡<sup>三章</sup>秋<sup>二章</sup>宋<sup>一</sup>夏<sup>二</sup>人<sup>三</sup>齊<sup>四</sup>十<sup>五</sup>  
 伯宋公衛侯  
 于鄆會齊  
 荆入  
 單伯會伐  
 人伐宋  
 人陳人曹  
 有四年春

左傳曰十四年春諸侯伐宋齊請師于周夏單伯會之取成于宋而還鄭厲公自櫟侵鄭及大陵獲傅瑕傅瑕曰苟舍我吾請納君與之盟而赦之六月甲子傅瑕殺鄭子及其二子而納厲公初內蛇與外蛇鬪于鄭南門中內蛇死六年而厲公入公聞之問于申繆曰猶有妖乎對曰人之所忌其氣燄以取之妖由人興也人無釁焉妖不自作人棄常則妖興故有妖厲公入遂殺傅瑕使謂原繁曰傅瑕貳周有常刑既伏其罪矣納我而無二心者吾皆許之上大夫之事吾願與伯父圖之且寡人出伯父無裏言入又不念寡人寡人憾焉對曰先君桓公命我先人典司宗祏社稷有主而外其心其何貳如之苟主社稷國內之民其誰不為臣臣無二心天之制也子儀在位十四年矣而謀召君者庸非貳乎莊公之子猶有八人若皆以官爵行賂勸貳而可以濟事君其若之何臣聞命矣乃縊而死蔡哀侯為莘故緇息媿以語楚子楚子如息以食入享遂滅息以息媿歸生堵敖及成王焉未言楚子問之對



服冬乎。其猶不可火惡曰。楚伐蔡。奚弗而日。故會于鄆。宋侯滅邾。其如撲滅邾者。其如燎于原。如謂子月。遂以又縱人。

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, an army of Ts'e, an army of Ch'in, and an army of Ts'aou, invaded Sung.
- 2 In summer, the earl of Shen joined in the invasion of Sung.
- 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, King entered [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 4 In winter, the earl of Shen had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing, at Keuen.

Par. 1. This invasion was in consequence of the fact mentioned in the last Chuen. Hoo Gan-kwoh says that the 人 here indicates that 'the leaders were of inferior rank and the forces few,' but the K'ang-he editors demur to such a canon as applicable to all cases of the use of 人. He adds that for 20 years the marquis of Ts'e did not send out a 'great officer' in command of a military expedition, being occupied with consolidating the power of the State for the great object of his ambition; but this assertion they show to be false. No doubt, the 人 here indicates that the princes of the States named did not themselves command the forces. I translate the term by 'army.'

Par. 2. The earl of Shen,—see on I.3. Tso-she simply says:—'In summer, the earl of Shen joined them [the armies in the above par.], received the submission of Sung, and returned.' The marquis of Ts'e, as Too says, had requested the aid of the king to coerce Sung to the acknowledgement of its engagements; and the result was this mission of the earl of Shen. It was an important move of the marquis to obtain the royal sanction to his claim to be the leader of the princes.

[The Chuen gives here a long narrative about the affairs of Ch'ing:—'Duke Le [see II. xv. 9] of Ch'ing stole into the country from Leih; and at Ta-ling, he captured Foo Hëa, who said, "If you let me go, I will undertake to effect your restoration." The duke, accordingly, made a covenant with him, and forgave him. In the sixth month, on Këah-tsze, Hëa killed the actual earl [the text simply is 鄭子, "a son of Ch'ing"] and his two sons, and restored duke Le.

'Before this, two serpents, one inside and one outside, had fought together in the southern gate of the capital, till the inside one was killed. It was six years after this when duke Le entered. The duke [of Loo] heard of the circumstance, and asked Shin Seu, saying, "Has Tuh's restoration come from that supernatural appearance?"

The answer was, "When men are full of fear, their breath, as it were, blazes up, and brings such things. Monsters and monstrous events take their rise from men. If men afford no cause for them, they do not arise of themselves. When men abandon the constant course of virtue, then monstrosities appear. Therefore it is that there are monsters and monstrous events."

'When duke Le had entered Ch'ing, he put Foo Hëa to death, and sent a message to Yuen Fan [see the Chuen, after I. v. 2. Fan had taken a principal part in the establishing of Tsze-e], saying, "Foo Hëa was divided in his allegiance to me, and for such a case Chow has its regular penalty;—he has suffered for his crime. To all who restored me and had no wavering in their allegiance, I promised that they should be great officers of the first class; and now I wish to consider the matter with you, uncle. When I fled from the State, you had no words to speak for me in it; now that I have re-entered, you again have no thought about me:—I feel displeased at this." Yuen Fan replied, "Your ancestor, duke Hwan, gave command to my ancestor to take charge of the stone-shrines in the ancestral temple. While the altars of the land and grain had their lord [in the ruling earl], what greater treachery could there have been than to turn one's thoughts to another out of the State? So long as he presided over those altars, among all the people of the State, who was there that was not his subject? That a subject should not have a double heart is the law of Heaven. Tsze-e held the earldom for fourteen years;—did not those who took measures to call in your lordship show a divided allegiance? Of the children of duke Chwang, your father, there are still 8 men; if they were all to proffer offices, dignities, and other bribes, so as thereby to accomplish their object, what would become of your lordship? But I have heard your commands." And forthwith he strangled himself.'

Par. 3. King,—see X. 5. The Chuen says:—'The marquis Gae [Hëen-woo of X. 5] of Ts'ae, in revenge for the defeat at Sin, talked with the viscount of Ts'oo admiringly about the lady Kwei, wife of the marquis of Seih. The viscount went to

Seih, and entered the city with the appliances of a feast to entertain the marquis, and took the opportunity to extinguish the State. He also took the marquis's wife back with him to Ts'oo, where she bore to him Too-gaou and another son, who was afterwards king Ch'ing; but all this time she never spake a word. The viscount asking the reason of her silence, she replied, "It has been my lot to serve two husbands. Though I have not been able to die, how should I venture to speak?" The viscount, considering that the marquis of Ts'ae had been the occasion of his extinguishing Seih, proceeded to invade Ts'ae [to please the lady]; and in autumn, in the 8th month, Ts'oo entered the capital of Ts'ae. The superior man may say that in the case of the marquis Gae of Ts'ae we have an illustration of what is said in the Books of Shang [Shoo, IV. vii. Pt. i. 12] about the easy progress of wicked-

ness, that it is "like a fire blazing out in a plain, which cannot be approached, and still less can be beaten out."

Par. 4. Keuen was in Wei,—in the pres. dep. of Tung-ch'ang (東昌), Shan-tung, 20

le to the east of the city of Puh Chow (濮州). Tso-she says that this meeting was held 'because of the submission of Sung.' From this time, the position of the marquis of Ts'e may be said to have been fully acknowledged by all the States of what was the then 'China proper.' The presence of the earl of Shen, the king's representative, gave the royal sanction to his claim to be the leader of the other princes, and the lords of Sung, Wei, and Ch'ing, who had formerly resented his ambition and stood aloof from him, now gave in their adhesion.

### Fifteenth year.

冬<sup>五</sup>鄭<sup>四</sup>邾<sup>三</sup>秋<sup>三</sup>如<sup>三</sup>夏<sup>二</sup>會<sup>二</sup>侯<sup>二</sup>齊<sup>二</sup>十<sup>二</sup>  
 十<sup>五</sup>月<sup>五</sup>人<sup>五</sup>人<sup>五</sup>宋<sup>五</sup>齊<sup>五</sup>夫<sup>五</sup>于<sup>五</sup>鄆<sup>五</sup>侯<sup>五</sup>衛<sup>五</sup>侯<sup>五</sup>宋<sup>五</sup>公<sup>五</sup>年<sup>五</sup>  
 宋<sup>五</sup>而<sup>五</sup>間<sup>五</sup>鄭<sup>五</sup>邾<sup>五</sup>宋<sup>五</sup>侯<sup>五</sup>秋<sup>五</sup>霸<sup>五</sup>齊<sup>五</sup>會<sup>五</sup>春<sup>五</sup>五<sup>五</sup>日<sup>五</sup>左<sup>五</sup>  
 侵<sup>五</sup>之<sup>五</sup>人<sup>五</sup>伐<sup>五</sup>爲<sup>五</sup>諸<sup>五</sup>也<sup>五</sup>始<sup>五</sup>焉<sup>五</sup>復<sup>五</sup>年<sup>五</sup>十<sup>五</sup>傳<sup>五</sup>

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing, had a meeting at Keuen.
- 2 In summer, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Këang, went to Ts'e.
- 3 In autumn, a body of men from Sung, one from Ts'e, and one from Choo, invaded E.
- 4 A body of men from Ch'ing made an inroad into Sung.
- 5 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. We have the same princes here, as in the meeting at the same place a month or two before, with the addition of the marquis of Ch'in. Tso-she says that that now 'for the first time Ts'e was pa, or leader of the States,' which is true in so far as the representative of the king had returned to Chow, and without his presence, the other princes acknowledged the authority of Hwan. The earl of Ch'ing here, and at the previous meeting, was, of course, Tuh, or duke Le.

Par. 2. Here again the restless and unprincipled Wän Këang appears. What now took her to Ts'e we do not know, but her going there was contrary to rule. The daughter of one State, married into another, might at certain times revisit her parents; but, after their death, she could only send a minister to ask after the welfare of her brothers and other relatives.

Par. 3. For 邾 here Kung-yang has 兗. It is the same as 兗 in V. 3, and was afterwards



known as 'little Choo (小邾)' Tso-she says that 'the princes invaded E in the interest of Sung.' Sung is entered before Ts'e, as being the principal party in the expedition, which moreover was a small one. There is nothing in this circumstance inconsistent, as some think, with the presidency of the marquis of Ts'e.

Par. 4. While Sung was engaged with the expedition against E, Ch'ing took advantage of the opportunity to make a raid upon it (Tso-she

says, 間之而侵宋). Tuh of Ch'ing owed his first elevation to the earldom to Sung, and subsequently the position which he maintained in Leih; but he had never been really on good terms with duke Chwang; and now that he was dead, and the ruling duke had his hands full, he took the opportunity to make the inroad in the text. His doing so was contrary to the obligations under which both Sung and Ch'ing stood to Ts'e.

Sixteenth year.

十有六年春王正月  
夏宋人齊人衛人  
伐鄭  
秋荆伐鄭  
冬十有二月會齊  
侯宋公陳侯衛侯  
鄭伯許男滑伯滕  
子同盟于幽  
邾子克卒

左傳曰十六年夏諸侯伐鄭宋故也  
鄭伯自櫟入緩告于楚秋楚伐鄭及櫟爲不禮故也  
鄭伯治與于雍糾之亂者九月殺公子闕剛強鉏公爰定叔出奔衛三年而復之曰不可使共叔無後于鄭使以十月入曰良月也就盈數焉君子謂強鉏不能衛其足冬同盟于幽鄭成也  
晉侯  
初晉武公伐夷執夷詭諸蔣國請而免之既而弗報故子國作亂謂晉人曰與我伐夷而取其地遂以晉師伐夷殺夷詭諸周公忌父出奔虢惠王立而復之

- XVI. 1 It was the [duke's] sixteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, a body of men from Sung, one from Ts'e, and one from Wei, invaded Ch'ing.  
3 In autumn, King invaded Ch'ing.  
4 In winter, in the twelfth month, [the duke] had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the mar-

quis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Hwah, and the viscount of T'ang, when they made a covenant together in Yëw.  
5 K'ih, viscount of Choo, died.

Par. 2 This expedition was 'on account of Sung.'—to punish Ch'ing for its inroad on Sung in the previous autumn. Sung, as in the attack on E, commanded in the expedition, and its men are therefore mentioned before those of Ts'e.

Par. 3. Ts'oo or King here takes another step in advance, and comes more threateningly near to the States of the 'Middle kingdom.' Ch'in, Ts'ae, Heu, and Ch'ing had all to bear the brunt of its ambitious inroads; and from this time Ch'ing especially became the field of contention between it and Ts'e with the other Powers dominating in the north. The reason for its present invasion of Ch'ing is given by Tso-she:—'When the earl of Ch'ing entered the State from Leih [see the Chuen after XIV. 2], he was dilatory in announcing the thing to Ts'oo, in consequence of which Ts'oo this autumn invaded Ch'ing, and penetrated as far as Leih:—because of the earl's want of the proper courtesy.'

[The Chuen adds:—'The earl of Ch'ing set himself to deal with those who had taken part in the disturbances connected with the death of Yung Këw [see the Chuen on II. xv. 4]. In the 9th month he put to death the Kung-tsze Oh [there must be a mistake here either of the name 闕, or of 公子 for 公孫] and cut off the feet of K'ëang-ts'oo [these men had been partisans of Chae Chung]. Kung-foo Ting-shuh [公父 is the clan-name; 叔, the designation; 定 the hon. title] fled to Wei, but after 3 years the earl restored him, saying, "Kung-shuh [brother of duke Chwang, the Kung-shuh Twan of the Chuen, I. i. 3. He was grandfather to this Kung-foo Ting-shuh] must not be left without posterity in Ch'ing." He made him enter the city in the 10th month, saying that it was "a good month," with reference to 十 as the completion of the numerals. The superior man may say that K'ëang-ts'oo was not able to defend his feet [a poor joke on his punishment; meaning that he should have fled from the State].

Par. 4. This was no doubt an important gathering, and might be called the inauguration of the marquis of Ts'e's presidency. We have here the phrase 同盟 'they covenanted together,' which has not occurred before; and the critics make great efforts to determine its meaning. Kung makes it = 同欲, 'covenanted with a common desire'; to which Kuh-lëang adds that the common object was 'to honour Chow.' Tso-she says that the meeting was held with reference to the settlement of the affairs of Ch'ing and its submission (鄭成), which makes Too define the phrase as = 服異, 'the submission of all who had had a different mind,' i.e., had been unwilling to acknowledge the authority of Ts'e. Where the meaning is thus undetermined, the safe plan is to keep to a

literal rendering. The contracting parties were numerous; they united in acknowledging the presidency of the marquis of Ts'e, and undertook with him to support the House of Chow. Yëw, where the meeting was held, was in Sung,—in the pres. dis. of K'au-shing (考城), dep.

Kwei-tih. Kung-yang reads 公 before 會, and certainly we must understand that it was duke Chwang himself who was present on the part of Loo. Too, indeed, supposes that the absence of any subject before 會 indicates that the representative of Loo was some officer of inferior rank (微者); while Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, believing that the duke was present, think that the 公 was purposely left out to conceal the fact.

Up to this par., Wei has always taken precedence of Ch'in, where their marquises were mentioned together, but here and subsequently Ch'in is enumerated first. It is supposed that the marquis of Ts'e made this arrangement in honour of Shun, whose descendants held Ch'in, and to mark his sense of the importance of the State as a bulwark, though small in itself, against the encroachments of Ts'oo. Hwah here is diff. from the small State of the same name in III. 5. This was an earldom, whose descendants had the Chow surname of Ke (姬).

Its chief town was Fei (費), 20 里 south of the pres. dis. city of Yen-sze, dep. Ho-nan. Between 許男 and 滑伯, Kung and Kuh both have 曹伯.

Par. 5. This K'ih was the name of E-foo, lord of Choo, who appears in I. i. 2. At that time Choo was only a State attached to Loo. Here its chief appears as a viscount. The only reasonable account of this is that given by Too Yu, that the marquis of Ts'e had obtained from the king a patent of nobility for Choo. Kuh-lëang seems to think, absurdly enough, that the ennobling was from the pencil of Confucius! [The Chuen here calls our attention to the affairs of Tsin:—'The king sent the duke of Kwoh to confer on the earl of K'ëuh-yuh the title of marquis of Tsin,—to maintain only one army.'

'Before this, duke Woo of Tsin had attacked E, and captured Kwei-choo [E was in Chow; and the city held by Kwei-choo, a great officer of the court], whom, however, he let go on the petition of Wei Kwoh. But for this service, Kwoh got no acknowledgment, and he therefore raised an insurrection, and said to the people of Tsin, "Attack E with me, and take its territory." Accordingly he attacked it with an army of Tsin, and killed Kwei-choo. Ke-foo, duke of Chow, fled to the State of Kwoh, and it was not till after the accession of king Hwuy that he was restored.]

*Seventeenth year.*

[illegible]

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's seventeenth year, in spring, the people  
of Ts'e made Chen of Ch'ing prisoner.  
2 In summer, the men of Ts'e in Suy were all slaughtered.  
3 In autumn, Chen of Ch'ing made his escape from Ts'e  
[to Loo].  
4 In winter there were many deer.

Par. 1. This Chen (Kung has 瞻) was chief minister to Tsze-e earl of Ch'ing, when Tuh succeeded in regaining the State;—see the Chuen after XIV. 2. He had consented to the murder of Tsze-e by Foo Hëa, and duke Le had retained him in his office. It is not clear why Ts'e seized him at this time. Tso-she says it was because Ch'ing had not been to the court of Ts'e. Kung-yang thinks it was because he was a worthless, artful man. The 齊人 seems to indicate that for whatever reason he was seized, the act met with general approval.

Par. 2. The extinction of Suy by Ts'e was related in XIII. 2, where the Chuen adds that Ts'e stationed men in guard over the territory. A sufficient number of the people, it appears, had been left to deal with the guards of Ts'e in the way here described. The Chuen says:—"The Suy clans of Yin, Ling, Kung-low, and Seu-suy feasted the guards of Ts'e, made them drunk, and killed them;—the men of Ts'e were all slaughtered." For 殲 Kung-

yang has 殲, with the same meaning. Too Yu takes it in the sense of—'made a complete end of themselves,' attributing their slaughter to their own carelessness. The translation inverts the order of the text, in order to bring out the historical meaning.

Par. 3. The 來 implies, of course, that it was to Loo that Chen came; and this brought on Loo the anger of Ts'e.

Par. 4. The *me* was a species of deer;—see Mencius I. Pt. I. ii. 1. It is described as a species of the *luh* (鹿), by which latter term is meant the axis deer. But the *me* is larger and of a dark greenish colour; it is fond of marshy places, and is said to shed its horns about the time of the winter solstice. I think it must be our red deer, or a variety of it. These creatures appeared in such numbers, as to be a plague. So thinks Too; others think it is only the unusualness of their appearing that is recorded.

*Eighteenth year.*

一章十有八  
二章年春王  
 三月日  
 有食之。  
三章夏公追  
 戎于濟  
 西。  
四章秋有蜚。  
 冬十月。

○左傳曰十八年春虢公晉侯朝王王饗醴命之宥皆賜玉五穀馬三匹非禮也王命諸侯名位不同禮亦異數不以禮假人○虢公晉侯鄭伯使原莊公逆王后于陳陳嬀歸于京師實惠后夏公追戎于濟西不言其來諱之也○秋有蜚爲災也○初楚武王克權使鬬緡尹之以叛圍而殺之遷權于那處使閻敖尹之及文王卽位與巴人伐申而驚其師巴人叛楚而伐那處取之遂門于楚閻敖游涌而逸楚子殺之其族爲亂冬巴人因之以伐楚

- XVIII.** 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's  
third month, the sun was eclipsed.  
2 In summer, the duke pursued the Jung to the west of  
the Tse.  
3 In autumn there were *yih*.  
4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. The eclipse which is here intended took place on April 6th, B. C. 675, on the day Jin-tsze (壬子), the 1st of the 5th month. There is in the text therefore an error of one month, even if we suppose another intercalary. It will be observed that the record is imperfect, the day of the eclipse not being given.

[The Chuen relates here:—This spring, the duke of Kwoh and the marquis of Ts'in appeared at the king's court. The king feasted them, supplying them with new, sweet, spirits, and conferring gifts on them to encourage their festivity. To each of them he gave five pairs of jade ornaments and three horses;—which was contrary to propriety. When the king bestows his favours on the princes, as their titles and rank are different, so also should his offerings be. He does not take the offerings of one, and, as it were, lend them to another.]

'The duke of Kwoh the marquis of Tsin, and the earl of Ch'ing, sent duke Chwang of Yuen to meet the king's bride in Ch'in, who came accordingly to the capital. She became queen Hwuy.'

Par. 2. Tso says that the coming from the pursuit of the Jung is not mentioned and is in fact concealed; but surely it is implied in that pursuit of them. The Jung,—see I. ii. 1. The Tse,—see the Shoo, III. Bk. I. Pt. i. 20.

Par. 3. I cannot tell what the *yih* was or is;—see the *She*, II. v. V. 8. The *Shwoh-wān* defines it as 短狐 'a short fox,' but that is merely another name for the creature. Too Yu gives the same name, and adds:—'It spouts out sand on men from its mouth.' The *Pun-t's'au* calls it 'the archer.' The *K'ang-he* dict. quotes another account of it, that it is like a turtle, has three feet, is produced in the southern Yueh, and is also called 'the shadow-shooter,' because, being in the water and a man being on the shore,

it can kill him by darting at his shadow. The same account adds that, acc. to some, it spurts sand on people, which penetrates their skin, and produces such an irritation, that it becomes quite a plague. These statements lead us to think of some kind of fly, produced from the water, and inflicting a painful bite. It was peculiar to the country south of Loo, and its appearing there in great numbers this autumn made the thing be recorded.

This perhaps is the proper explanation of the par.; but many critics consider that some kind of locust is intended, and that instead of 螽 we should read—some say 蟻, some say 蟹. This view is ingeniously supported by Wang Taou. A third view, that Chen of Ch'ing, who had taken refuge in Loo from Ts'e, (XVII. 3), is intended, as a cheat and deceiver, [螻 being intended to suggest 惑], must be at once rejected.

[To the last par. the Chuen appends:—‘Before this, king Woo of Ts’oo had conquered K’eu’en, and entrusted the government of it to Tow Min, who held it and rebelled. The king besieged K’eu’en, took it, and put Min to death, removing also the people to Na-ch’oo, where he put them under the charge of Yen Gauu. When king Wan succeeded to Woo, he invaded Shin along with the people of Pa, when he so frightened the army of Pa, that the people revolted from Ts’oo, attacked Na-ch’oo, took it, and advanced to attack the gate of the capital. Yen Gauu made his escape from them by swimming across the Yung, but the viscount of Ts’oo put him to death. His kindred in consequence raised an insurrection; and this winter, the people of Pa took advantage of their movement to invade Ts’oo.’]

## Nineteenth year.

十有九年春王正月夏四月秋公子結媵陳人之婦于鄆遂及齊侯宋公盟夫人姜氏如莒冬齊人宋人陳人伐我西鄙。

○左傳曰十九年春楚子禦之大敗于津還及湫有疾夏六月庚申卒鬻拳葬諸夕室亦自殺也而葬于經皇初鬻拳強諫楚子楚子弗從臨之以兵懼而從之鬻拳曰吾懼君以兵罪莫大焉遂自刎也楚人以爲大閹謂之犬伯使其後掌之君子曰鬻拳可謂愛君矣諫以自納于刑刑猶不忘納君子于善

○初王姚嬖于莊王生子頹子頹有寵焉國爲之師及惠王卽位取蒍國之圃以爲囿邊伯之宮近于王宮王取之王奪子禽祝跪與詹父田而收膳夫之秩故蒍國邊伯石速詹父子禽祝跪作亂因蘇氏

○秋五大夫奉子頹以伐王不克出奔溫蘇子奉子頹以奔衛衛師燕師伐周冬立子頹

- XIX. 1 It was the [duke's] nineteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 3 In autumn, K'eh, a son of duke [Hwan], was escorting to Keuen a daughter to accompany to the harem the wife of an officer of Ch'in, when he took occasion to make a covenant with the marquis of Ts'e and the duke of Sung.  
 4 [Duke Hwan's] wife, the lady K'ang went to Keu.  
 5 In winter, a body of men from Ts'e, a body from Sung, and one from Ch'in, invaded our western borders.

Parr. 1, 2. See I. vi. 7; et al. [After par. 1, the last Chuen is continued:—'In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo met them, and sustained a great defeat at Tsin; and on his return to the city, Yuh-k'ueu [the porter of the gate] refused to admit him. On this he proceeded to attack Hwang, and defeated its army at Ts'eh-ling. As

he was returning, he fell ill at Ts'au, and died in summer, on K'ang-shin, in the 6th month. Yuh-k'ueu buried him in Seih-shih after which he killed himself, and was buried in T'eh-hwang.

'Before this, Yuh-k'ueu had addressed a vehement remonstrance to the viscount, and when

the viscount would not follow it, he proceeded to threaten him with a weapon, for fear of which the other adopted his advice. Yuh-k'ueu said, "I have frightened my ruler with a weapon; no crime could be greater." He then cut off his own feet. The people of Ts'oo made him their grand porter, and styled him T'ae-pih, making the office also hereditary to his descendants. The superior man will say that Yuh-k'ueu loved his prince. He remonstrated with him till he led himself to a severe punishment; and after that punishment, he still did not forget to urge on his prince to what was good.]

Par. 3. 勝者送女之稱. 'Ying is the name used for escorting a young lady.' There is much difference of opinion about the par. Who the lady was, and who 'the man of Ch'in,' was, are questions greatly agitated. My own view in the translation is that defended by the K'ang-he editors, and I will give their note on the passage:—'Kung and Kuh both think that the young lady was a daughter of the House of Loo, who was being escorted to the harem of the wife of the marquis of Ch'in. Hoo is of opinion that "the man of Ch'in" was not the marquis, but some one of inferior rank. Ch'ing E, however, thinks that some great House of Keuen was marrying a daughter to an officer of Ch'in, and that K'eh is here escorting a daughter of his own by a concubine to go and accompany her to her harem. Now, according to K'ung Ying-tah, ladies intended for such a duty were escorted to the State from which the wife proper was to be married, that they might follow her from thence; and the words of the text, 于鄆 "to Keuen" seem to determine in favour of Ch'ing's interpretation. Ying-tah, indeed, to meet the view of Kung and Kuh, says that Keuen belonged to Wei; that Ch'in was marrying a lady of the House of Wei; that K'eh was escorting his charge to Wei; and that when he got to Keuen, he halted with her, and made a covenant, as related. But if the case had been thus, we should have read 至

鄆, 'when he came to Keuen,' and not 于鄆. That phrase shows that all the escorting was to Keuen.'

With regard to the action of K'eh's leaving or delaying the object of his journey, and making a covenant with Ts'e and Sung, of course he had no authority for it from duke Chwang. Great officers, however, had a discretionary power in such matters. If they could do good service to their State by taking occasion from the circumstances in which they found themselves to undertake a political office, they might do so:—but at their own risk.

Par. 4. W'an K'ang was a Messalina. The stories told in the "History of the States" of this and a subsequent visit to Keu are very filthy.

[The Chuen has here a narrative about troubles at court:—'Before this, a lady Yaou had been a favourite with king Chwang, and bore him a son, called Tsze-t'uy, who also was a favourite, and had for his tutor Wei Kwoh. When king Hwuy succeeded to the throne, he took the garden of Wei Kwoh to make a park for himself. As the mansion of P'een Pih was near to the royal palace, he also appropriated it; and he took their fields as well from Tsze-k'in, Chuh Kwei, and Chen-foo, keeping back more-over the allowances of his cook.' Because of these things, Wei Kwoh, P'een Pih, Shih Suh [the cook], Chen-foo, Tsze-k'in, and Chuh Kwei raised an insurrection, and allied themselves with the Soo clan.]

'In autumn, the five great officers raised the standard of Tsze-t'uy to supersede the king; but they were unsuccessful, and fled to Wun, while the chief of the Soo clan fled to Wei with Tsze-t'uy. Then an army of Wei and one of Yen attacked Chow, and in winter placed Tsze-t'uy on the throne.]

Par. 5. The reasons for this confederation against Loo were, probably, its reception of Chen of Ts'ing, when he fled from Ts'e, (XVII. 3), and something connected with the proceedings of K'eh, in the autumn of this year.

## Twentieth year.

二十二年春王正月夏六月秋七月冬齊人伐我。

○左傳曰二十年春鄭伯和室不克執燕仲父夏鄭伯遂以王歸王處于櫟秋及鄭伯入于郕遂入成周取其寶器而還冬王子頹享五大夫樂及徧舞鄭伯聞之見魏叔曰寡人聞之曰哀樂失時殃咎必至今王子頹歌舞不倦樂禍也夫司寇行戮君爲之不舉而況敢樂禍乎奸王之位禍執大焉臨禍忘憂禍必及之盍納王乎魏公曰寡人之願也

- XX. 1 In the [duke's] twentieth year, in spring, in the king's second month, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kēang, went to Keu.  
 2 In summer, there was a great disaster from fire in Ts'e.  
 3 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
 4 In winter, a body of men from Ts'e smote the Jung.

Par. 1. See on the 4th par. of last year.

[The Chuen here resumes the narrative introduced after par. 4 of last year:—“This spring, the earl of Ch'ing attempted to harmonize the royal House, but without success; but he seized Chung-foo of Yen. In summer, he brought the king back with him, who took up his residence in Leih. In autumn, the king and the earl entered into Woo, from which they surprised Ch'ing-chow, brought away the valuable articles from it, and returned to Leih. In winter, king Chwang's son T'uy feasted the five great officers, when all the royal music and pantomimic dances were performed. The earl of Ch'ing heard of it, and said to Shuh of Kwoh, “This I have heard, that when sorrow or joy is unseasonable, calamity is sure to come. Now king Chwang's son T'uy is singing and dancing as if he were never tired;—it is being joyous over calamity. When the minister of Crime executes the penalty of death, the ruler does not have his table fully spread;—how much less would he dare to be joyous over calamity! What calamity could be greater

than to take violent possession of the king's throne? When one, in a time of calamity, forgets to be sorrowful, sorrow is sure to come to him. Why should we not restore the king?” The duke of Kwoh said, “It is what I desire to do.”]

Par. 2. See II. xiv. 4. Kung-yang, indeed, says that 大災=大瘠, ‘great emaciation;’ i. e., there was a great plague affecting people's health in Ts'e. But this meaning of 災 cannot be applied to the other passages in the Classic where the term occurs.

Par. 4. Kuh-lēang has 我 instead of 戎. The two characters might easily be confounded; but the received reading is to be followed. Loo had been troubled with these Jung two years before;—the attack on them now by Ts'e was probably intended to conciliate Loo. The marquis of Ts'e had certainly been rather remiss in his position of *pa*. He ought not to have allowed Ch'ing to take the lead in supporting king Hwuy against the rebels in Chow.

### Twenty-first year.

二十有一年春王正月夏五月辛酉秋七月戊戌夫人姜氏薨冬十有二月葬鄭厲公。

左傳曰二十一年春胥命于弭夏同伐王城鄭伯將王自圍門入虢叔自北門入殺王子頹及五大夫鄭伯享王于闕西辟樂備王與之武公之畧自虎牢以東原伯曰鄭伯效尤其亦將有咎五月鄭厲公卒王巡虢守虢公爲王宮于玆王與之酒泉鄭伯之享王也王以后之鞶鑑予之虢公請器王予之爵鄭伯由是始惡于王冬王歸自虢

- XXI. 1 It was the [duke's] twenty-first year, the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-yēw, Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-seuh, [duke Hwan's] wife, the lady Kēang, died.  
 4 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Le of Ch'ing.

Par. 2. Continuing the Chuen after the 1st par. of last year, Tso-she says:—“In the duke's 21st year, accordingly, in spring, they [the earl of Ch'ing and Shuh of Kwoh] pledged each other at Me; and in summer, they together attacked the royal city. The earl entered, along with the king, at the south gate, and Shuh of Kwoh entered at the northern, when they killed Tsze-t'uy and the five great officers. The earl of Ch'ing feasted the king in the apartment on the west of the gateway with the representations of the penal code. There was a complete service of music, and the king gave him what had formerly been granted to duke Woo,—all the territory eastward from Hoo-laou. The earl of Yuen said, “The earl of Ch'ing is following the bad example which he condemned in Tsze-t'uy. He also will meet with calamity.” In the 5th month, duke Le of Ch'ing died.’

On Tuh who here passes off the stage, Chang Hēah (張洽; a writer of the 13th cent.) says —“Tuh was only the son of duke Chwang by a concubine, yet after his father's death he snatched the earldom from Hwuh; and tho' driven out for a time by Chae Chung, he entered again into Leih, and in the end made himself master of the State. Thus it is that we have no statement of Hwuh, We, and E's hold-

ing the earldom, because they could not keep it, and the different style about Tuh is understood to indicate that, first and last, he was able to maintain himself. Here then was a man, a usurper and a fraticide, and the Ch'ün Ts'ew calls him ruler from his beginning to his end, and records moreover, however, how he died in his dignity:—it is in this way that it shows how mean men are permitted to get their wills, rebellious villains come to a good end, the royal laws have no course, and the world is thrown all into confusion!’

Par. 3. The reader is not sorry to have done with Wān-kēang.

[The last Chuen is here completed:—“The king made a progress of survey of the fief of Kwoh, when the duke made a palace for him in Pung. The king granted to Kwoh the territory of Ts'ew-ts'eu. When the earl of Ch'ing feasted the king, the king had given him a queen's large girdle with the mirror in it. The duke of Kwoh now begged for something, and the king gave him a drinking cup. This was the first occasion of the hatred which the earl of Ch'ing [duke Wān, son of Tuh] cherished against the king. In winter, the king returned from Kwoh.]

Par. 4. Something had occurred to make the burial be delayed beyond the regular time.

### Twenty-second year.

二十有二年春王正月肆大眚癸丑葬我小君陳人殺其公子文姜御寇夏五月齊高偃盟于防秋七月丙申及冬公如齊納幣



左傳曰二十二年春陳人殺其太子御寇陳公子完與顯孫奔齊  
孫自齊來奔齊侯使敬仲爲卿辭曰羈旅之臣幸若獲宥及于寬政  
赦其不閑于教訓而免于罪戾弛于負擔君之惠也所獲多矣敢辱  
高位以速官謗請以死告詩云翹翹車乘招我以弓豈不欲往畏我  
友朋使爲工政飲桓公酒樂公曰以火繼之辭曰臣卜其晝未卜其  
夜不敢君子曰酒以成禮不繼以淫義也以君成禮弗納于淫仁也  
初懿氏卜妻敬仲其妻占之曰吉是謂鳳皇于飛和鳴鏘鏘有媯之  
後將育于姜五世其昌並于正卿八世之後莫之與京陳厲公蔡出  
也故蔡人殺五父而立之生敬仲其少也周史有以周易見陳侯者  
陳侯使筮之遇觀之否曰是謂觀國之光利用賓于王此其代陳有  
國乎不在此其異國非此其身在其子孫光遠而自他有耀者也  
坤土也巽風也乾天也風爲天于土上山也山有土而有土以天  
光于是乎居土上故曰觀國之光利用賓于王庭實旅百奉之以玉  
帛天地之美具焉故曰利用賓于王猶有觀焉故曰其在後乎風行  
而著于土故曰其在異國乎若在異國必姜姓也姜大嶽之後也山  
嶽則配天物莫能兩大陳衰此其昌乎及陳之初亡也陳桓子始大  
于齊其後亡也成子得政

- XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, [the duke] pardoned [all] inadvertent offences however great.  
2 On Kwei-ch'ow we buried our duchess, Wān Kēang.  
3 The people of Ch'in put to death Yu-k'ow, son of their marquis.  
4 It was summer, the fifth month.  
5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-shin, the duke made a covenant with Kaou He of Ts'e in Fang.  
6 In winter, the duke went to Ts'e, and presented the marriage-offerings of silk.

Par. 1. In the Shoo, II. i. 11, we read that it was a rule with Shun, 眚災肆赦, 'that inadvertent offences, and those caused by misfortune, were to be pardoned,' and how far he carried it, we learn from II. 12, 宥過無大, 'You pardon inadvertent offences, however great.' Chwang, therefore, appears here to have

done nothing more than was sanctioned by the example of Shun. I do not know why the critics should find such fault with him as they do. Kuh-lēang followed by Kēa Kwei, thinks the grace was done at this time, as some atonement for the wickedness of Wān Kēang, the duke's mother, who was about to be buried! For 眚 Kung has 省.

Par. 2. 我小君, — see Ana. XVI. xiv. According to the rule laid down there 寡小君, was the style for the wife of the prince of a State used by the people in speaking of her to the people of other States. 我 takes the place of 寡, as the entry here is in the annals of Loo itself. The marquis being styled *duke* after death, I have styled his wife *duchess*. Kēang, we know, was her surname, as being of the House of Ts'e; Wān was the honorary title given to her on account of her beauty and accomplishments, no account being taken of her extraordinary wickedness.

Par. 3. For 御 Kung and Kuh read 禦. The real killer of Yu-k'ow was his father, — 'duke Seuen,' the reason for the deed being unknown. It is supposed that the statement in the text is according to the form in which the announcement was made to Loo, — to conceal the nature of the affair.

The Chuen says: — 'In spring, the people of Ch'in killed the marquis's eldest son, Yu-k'ow, on which the Kung-tsze Hwan and Chuen-sun fled to Ts'e, and the latter thence to Loo. The marquis of Ts'e wanted to make King-chung [the designation of the Kung-tsze Hwan] one of his high ministers; but he declined, saying, 'Your subject is here an exile. I am fortunate if I obtain your forgiveness, and enjoy the advantage of your indulgent government. That you pardon my want of practice in the lessons of instruction, and hold me guiltless of crime, and remove me from a life of toil: — this is your lordship's kindness. What I obtain is much, — should I dare to disgrace a high position, and so accelerate the slanders of other officers? Let me die if I do not decline the honour you propose. The ode says [this ode is not in the Shu],

'From that distant chariot,  
They call me with the bow?  
Do I not wish to go?  
But I am afraid of my friends.'

The marquis then made him superintendent of all the departments of labour. One day he was entertaining the marquis at his house, who became joyous over the spirits, and said, "Let us continue it with lights." But he refused, saying, "I divined about the day; but I have not divined about the night; — I dare not do it." "The superior man will say, "In drinking there should be the complete observance of the rules; but not to carry it on to excess was righteousness. Completely to observe the rules with his prince, and then not to allow him to go to excess, was truly virtuous."

"At an earlier time, the great officer E consulted the tortoise-shell about giving his daughter in marriage to King-chung. His wife sought the meaning of the indication, and said. "It is fortunate. The oracle is

'The male and female phoenix fly together,  
Singing harmoniously with gem-like sounds.'

The posterity of this scion of the Kwei [surname of the House of Ch'in] will be nourished among the Kēang [surname of the House of

Ts'e]. In five generations they will be prosperous, and the highest ministers in Ts'e; in eight, there will be none to compare with them for greatness."

"Duke Le of Ch'in was the son of a daughter of the House of Ts'ae. In consequence, the people of Ts'ae put to death Woo-foo [the same who is called T'o of Ch'in. See II. vi. 4, and note], and raised him to the marquise. He begat King-chung, during whose boyhood there came one of the historiographers of Chow to see the marquis of Ch'in, having with him the Chow Yih. The marquis made him consult it by the milfoil on the future of the boy, when he found the diagram Kwan (䷋), and then by the

change of manipulation, the diagram P'ei (䷋). "Here," he said, "is the deliverance; — 'We behold the light of the State. This is auspicious for one to be the king's guest. [See the Yih on the 4th line, counting from the bottom, of the diagram Kwan]. Shall this boy in his generation possess the State of Ch'in? or if he do not possess this State, does it mean that he shall possess another? Or is the thing foretold not of his own person, but of his descendants? The light is far off, and its brightness appears reflected from something else. K'wān (䷋) represents

the earth; Sun (䷌), the top part of the diagram Kwan, wind; K'ēn (䷋), heaven; Sun becoming K'ēn over earth [as in the diagram P'ei], represents mountains, Thus the boy has all the treasures of mountains, and is shone on by the light of heaven: — he will dwell above the earth. Hence it is said, "We behold the light of the State. This is auspicious for him to be the king's guest." A king's guest fills the royal courtyard with the display of all the productions of his State, and the offerings of gems and silks, — all excellent things of heaven and earth; hence it is said — 'It is auspicious for him to be the king's guest.'

"But there is still that word — 'behold,' and therefore I say the thing perhaps is to be hereafter. And the wind moves and appears upon the earth; — therefore I say it is to be perhaps in another State. If it be in another State, it must be in that of the Kēang; — for the Kēang are the descendants of the Grand-mountain [Yao's chief minister]. But the mountains stand up as it were the mates of heaven. There cannot be two things equally great; as Ch'in decays, this boy will flourish."

"When Ch'in received its first great blow [B. C. 533], Ch'in Hwan [the representative of the Kung-tsze Hwan in the 5th generation] had begun to be great in Ts'e. When it finally perished [B. C. 477], the officer Ch'ing was directing the government of that State."

[The descendants of the Kung-tsze Hwan became the T'een family (田氏), which gradually encroached on the authority of the House of Kēang, and ended by superseding it in the possession of the State of Ts'e. The farrago of the Chuen is intended to show how all this was prognosticated beforehand. I call it a farrago, for it is no plainer in the original nor in the Manchu version, than it is in my translation.]

Par. 4. In an entry like this, giving merely the season and a month of it, the month ought



to be the first of the season. Such is the rule observed throughout the Ch'ün Ts'ew, excepting in this passage. Many of the critics hold that

五 is a mistake for 四; but I prefer to think, with Sun Fuh and others, that the par. is imperfect, there remaining only the commencement of it, and that characters containing the account of some event have been lost. It is difficult to believe that some have held that Confucius purposely made the summer commence with the 5th month, to indicate his indignation at the marriage, which began to be gone about this year, of duke Chwang to the daughter of the man who murdered his father! Yet this is the view propounded by Ho Hëw. And the K'ang-he editors think it worthy of being preserved, and call special attention to it!

Par. 5. Fang,—see I. ix. 6. There were reasons for this covenant on both sides; and though Ts'e had attacked Loo in the end of the duke's 19th year, it had since then smitten the Jung to propitiate Loo. Kung-yang thinks that the 'covenant' on the part of Loo was 'an inferior person (微者);' but we must understand 公 before 及. Chaou K'wang (趙匡) lays down a correct rule:—凡盟,不目內.

### Twenty-third year.

二十三年春,公至自齊。  
祭叔來聘。  
夏,公如齊觀社。  
公至自齊。  
荆人來聘。  
公及齊侯遇于穀。  
蕭叔朝公。  
秋,丹桓宮楹。  
冬,十有一月,曹伯射姑卒。  
十有二月,甲寅,公會齊侯,盟于扈。

皆指公也, 'In all accounts of covenants, where the agent of Loo is not specified, the duke is meant.'

Par. 6. The presenting of silks was the fourth step in treaties of marriage, on the part of the intending husband;—it was called 納徵. But when the prince of a State was a party concerned, these gifts were to be sent by a great officer. For the marquis himself to go to Ts'e with them was 'contrary to rule,' which he violated in another respect,—arranging for his marriage so soon after his mother's death. There must have been reasons for his urgency which we do not know. The common belief is that this marriage had been arranged for by Wán Këang immediately after the young lady's birth, about 20 years before this, and that before her death she had insisted on Chwang's fulfilling the engagement immediately, without reference to that event, he having already delayed so long, unwilling to marry the daughter of his father's murderer. But he had not continued single all that time,—as we learn from the events of his 32d year. The marriage he now proceeded to enter into was an evil one for him. The lady was hardly better than her aunt, his mother, had been.

左傳曰,二十三年夏,公如齊觀社,非禮也。曹劌諫曰,不可。夫禮所以整民也,故會以訓上下之則,制財用之節,朝以正班爵之義,帥長幼之序,征伐以討其不然。諸侯有王,王有巡守,以大習之,非是,君不舉矣。君舉必書,書而不法,後嗣何觀。晉桓莊之族偪,獻公患之,士蒍曰,去富子,則羣公子可謀也。已,公曰,爾試其事。士蒍與羣公子謀,譖富子而去之。秋,丹桓宮之楹。

- XXIII. 1 In his twenty-third year, in spring, the duke arrived from Ts'e.  
2 Shuh of Chae came to Loo with friendly inquiries.  
3 In summer, the duke went to Ts'e to see [the service at] the altar to the Spirits of the land.  
4 The duke arrived from Ts'e.  
5 An officer of King came to Loo with friendly inquiries.  
6 The duke and the marquis of Ts'e met at Kuh.  
7 Shuh of Sëaou paid a court visit to the duke.  
8 In autumn, the duke painted red the pillars of [duke] Hwan's temple.  
9 In winter, in the eleventh month, Yih-koo, earl of Ts'aou died.  
10 In the twelfth month, on Keah-yin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant at Hoo.

Par. 1, 4. See II. ii. 9. Chang Hëah observes here, that the practice, intimated in the 至, of announcing the return to the capital in the ancestral temple was after the example of the earliest sovereigns of the Shoo, and refers to II. i. 10 of that Book, where it is related that Shun, on returning after the close of his tours of inspection, 'went to the temple of the Cultivated ancestor, and offered a sacrifice.'

Par. 2. By Chae Shuh we are to understand either the earl of Chae, or one of his brothers. He, or his father, is called 'duke of Chae,' in II. viii. 6, as being one of the king's three principal ministers. If the earl himself be here intended, as is most likely, the 叔 is his designation. From the form of the par., diff. from II. viii. 2, and others, we conclude that this visit was unauthorized, and undertaken for some private end,—was, as the phrase is, 'contrary to rule.'

Par. 3. This act of the duke was of the same kind as that of Yin in going to see the fishermen at T'ang;—I. v. 1. There was something remarkable about the sacrifice in Ts'e which attracted visitors. Woo Ch'ing says:—'The Shay (社) was an ordinary thing,—the sacrifice offered by princes to the Spirits of the land within their States; other princes did not go to witness it. But it was a custom in Ts'e to take

the opportunity of this sacrifice to assemble its armies, and make a boastful display of their majesty and numbers, assembling others to witness it. It was this which afforded a pretext to the duke for going at this time to Ts'e. The Chuen has:—'When the duke was taking this step, which was contrary to rule, Ts'aou Kwei remonstrated with him, saying, "Do not go. The rules of ceremony are all designed for the right adjustment of the people. Hence there are meetings of the princes [at the royal court], to inculcate the duties severally incumbent on the high and low, and to lay down the amount of contributions which are to be severally made. There are court visits, to rectify the true position of the different ranks of nobility, and to arrange the order of the young and the old. There are punitive expeditions, to punish the disobedient. The princes have their services on the king's behalf, and the king has his tours of inspection among the princes;—when those meetings and visits are observed on a grand scale. Excepting on such occasions, a prince does not move from his own State. The ruler's movements must be written down. If there be written concerning you what was not according to the laws, how will your descendants look at it?"'

[The Chuen adds here the following, about the affairs of Ts'in:—'In Ts'in, the circle of families descended from Hwan and Chwang [Hwan is the Hwan-shuh, or "Grand Success,"

of the Chuen appended to the 2d year of Hwan, where earl Chwang is also mentioned] began to press on duke Hsien, [the marquis at this time], who was distressed by them. Sze Wei said to him, "Let us do away with the officer Foo, [Some take 去富子 as meaning—"Let us do away with the wealthy among them"] and then all the other descendants of the two princes may be dealt with." The duke asked him to attempt the thing, when Wei consulted with all the others, calumniated Foo to them, and then took him off.]

Par. 5. With this commenced Ts'oo's intercourses of courtesy with Loo, and indeed with any part of China proper.

Par. 6. Kuh,—see VII.4. This was but a hurried meeting; but it serves to show how anxious duke Chwang was to get his marriage treaty carried through.

Par. 7. Shuh of Ssao is the same as Shuh Ta-sin of Ssao, mentioned in the Chuen on XII.4. Up to that time he had merely been a

great officer of Sung, holding the city of Ssao; but because of the services he then rendered in the troubles of the State, duke Hwan erected Ssao into a Foo-yung or attached territory, of which this Shuh and his descendants were the lords. Here we find him paying a visit to the duke of Loo. The par. is not in the usual form, 蕭叔來朝, because the visit was paid at Kuh, and not at the court of Loo. The city of Ssao was in the pres. dept. of Seu-chow (徐州), 10 *le* north from the dis. city of Ssao.

Par. 8. According to rule, the pillars were required to be of a very dark colour, nearly black. The painting them red, it is understood, was to dazzle the young wife who would soon be appearing in the temple, and to propitiate the spirit of Hwan, when the daughter of his murderer should be presented as the wife of his son!

Par. 10. Hoo was in Ch'ing,—in the north-west of the pres. district of Yuen-woo (原武), dep. Hwae-k'ing. It is supposed the meeting had reference to the impending marriage.

### Twenty-fourth year.

二十有四年春王三月刻桓宮楹。  
 葬曹莊公。  
 夏公如齊逆女。  
 秋公至自齊。  
 八月丁丑夫人姜氏入。  
 戊寅大夫宗婦覲用幣。  
 大水。  
 冬我侵曹曹羈出奔陳赤歸于曹。  
 郭公。

左傳曰二十四年春刻其楹皆非禮也御孫諫曰臣聞之儉德之共也侈惡之大也先君有共德而君納諸大惡無乃不可乎秋哀姜至公使宗婦覲用幣非禮也御孫曰男贄大者玉帛小者禽鳥以章物也女贄不過榛栗棗脩以告虔也今男女同贄是無別也由之別國之大節也而夫人亂之無乃不可乎晉士蔣又與羣公子謀使殺游氏之二子公子蔣告晉侯曰可矣不過二年君必無患

- XXIV. 1 In the duke's twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, he carved the rafters of [duke] Hwan's temple.
- 2 There was the burial of duke Chwang of Ts'aou.
- 3 In summer, the duke went to Ts'e to meet his bride.
- 4 In autumn, the duke arrived from Ts'e.
- 5 In the eighth month, his wife, the lady Këang, entered [the capital]
- 6 On Mow-yin, the great officers belonging to the ducal House, and their wives, had an interview with her, and presented offerings of silks.
- 7 There were great floods.
- 8 In winter, the Jung made an inroad into Ts'aou, when Ke of Ts'aou fled to Ch'in, and Ch'ih returned to Ts'aou.
- 9 The duke of Kwoh—

Par. 1. This act was of the same nature as the painting the pillars in par. 8 of last year. Tso-she says:—"This was another act contrary to rule. Yu-sun [the designation of K'ing (慶), a great officer, the master of the Workmen. See the 國語魯語上, 3d art.] remonstrated, saying, "Your subject has heard that economical moderation is the reverence of virtue, and that extravagance is one of the greatest of wickednesses. Our former ruler possessed that reverent virtue, and you are as if were carrying him on to that great wickedness;—is not this what should not be?" Kuh-lëang tells us that the rule for the rafters of the temple of a son of Heaven was that they should be hewn, and rubbed smooth, and then polished bright with a fine stone, while in that of the prince of a State the rafters were only hewn, and rubbed smooth, and in that of a great officer they were simply hewn.

Parr. 3, 4. The duke went himself, acc. to the ancient custom, to meet his bride, and then on his return, announced his arrival in the ancestral temple, which was also according to rule.

Par. 5. On this par. Maou K'e-ling says:—"As the duke met the lady Këang in person, he ought to have entered with her on the same day. As to the reason of their entering on different days, Kung-yang (as expounded by Too

Yu) thinks that as Mäng Jin [the duke's earlier mistress of the harem], was in the palace, Këang was unwilling to enter, and must have made the duke agree to remove Mäng Jin, while she herself came leisurely on. And so also it was that, when she entered the capital on the day T'ing-ch'ow, she did not immediately present herself in the ancestral temple; but it was the next day, Mow-yin, when she repaired thither, and the ceremony of giving audience to the wives of the great officers who were related to the duke by consanguinity, was gone through. Here surely is an example where the rule about the meaning of 入, mentioned on I.ii. 2, cannot be applied. Where was the hostility here on the part of the 'enterer,' or the 'unwillingness to receive' on the part of the 'entered?' Yet Kuh-lëang would make it out that the term indicates a kind of horror in the temple at the entrance of the daughter of the man who had murdered duke Hwan!

Par. 6. 宗婦—同姓大夫之婦, 'the wives of great officers of the same surname as the duke.' Many of them would have received other clan-names, but they were all Kes (姬). 初見用贄曰覲. 'The first interview, when introductory presents were used, was called 覲.' The 幣, used pro-



[The Chuen, continuing the narrative of the affairs of Tsin, appended to par. 6 of last year, says:—'Sze Wei of Tsin got all the other scions of the ruling House to put to death all the branches of the Yëw family, after which he walled Tseu for them to reside in. In winter, the marquises

of Tsin besieged Tseu, and slew all the sons of the former marquises.']

Par. 6. This Yëw was an own brother of duke Chwang, —a mau of virtue and ability. His visit here to Ch'in was to return the 'friendly inquiries' from that State in the spring.

*Twenty-sixth year.*

二十有六年，春，公伐戎。夏，公至自伐齊。人伐徐。癸亥朔，日有食之。

又侵晉。冬，人侵晉。宮。以深其。薦城絳。空。爲大司。晉士薦。六年春，日，二十。左傳。

- XXVI. 1 In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, the duke invaded the Jung.  
2 In summer, the duke arrived from the invasion of the Jung.  
3 Ts'aou put to death one of its great officers.  
4 In autumn, the duke joined an officer of Sung and an officer of Ts'e in invading Seu.  
5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, the first day of the moon the sun was eclipsed.

Parr. 1,2,4. The 1st and 4th paragraphs are probably both descriptive of operations against the Jung. Accepting the position of the Jung which most troubled Loo as given correctly in the note on I.ii.1, they were within the limits of the ancient Seu-chow of Yu,—see the Shoo III.i. Pt. i. 28; and though the State of Seu in the time of the Ch'un Ts'ew was not so extensive as the old Seu-chow, the Jung, we may conclude, found sympathy and support from it. We know that the Jung of Seu were a thorn in the State of Loo from its commencement;—see the Shoo, V.xxix.1. Dukes Yin and Hwan kept on good terms with them (I.ii.1,4: II.ii.8); but hostile relations prevailed in the time of Chwang [XVIII.2]. Ts'e attacked the Jung on behalf of Loo in his 20th year; but we find them here still unsubdued. That the marquises of Loo should join officers of Sung and Ts'e in the expedition against Seu seems to show that Loo was principally interested in it.

The lords of the State of Seu were viscounts, whose chief town was 80 le north from the pres. Sze-chow (泗州) in Gan-hwuy. They professed the same ancestry as the State of Ts'in (秦), and were of course Yings (贏).

[To parr. 1,2. The Chuen appends:—'In spring, Sze Wei of Tsin became grand minister of Works, and in summer, he enlarged the walls of K'ang, so as to secure a greater depth for the palace.']

Par. 3. Tso-she says nothing on this par. We do not know who the officer put to death was, nor what was the offence charged against him; and the par. should be left in this obscurity, like the 8th of the 24th year, also relating to the affairs of Ts'aou.

[To par. 4, the Chuen appends:—'In autumn, a body of men from Kwoh made an incursion into Tsin; and in winter, another body did the same.']

Par. 5. This eclipse took place in the morning of the 3d. Nov., B. C. 667.

*Twenty-seventh year.*

二十有七年，春，公會杞伯姬于洮。夏六月，公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、鄭伯、同盟于幽。秋，公子友如陳，葬原仲。冬，杞伯姬來。莒慶來逆叔姬。杞伯來朝。公會齊侯于城濮。

左傳曰：二十七年，春，公會杞伯姬于洮。非事也。天子非展義，不巡守，諸侯非民事，不舉，卿非君命，不越竟。夏，同盟于幽。陳鄭服也。秋，公子友如陳，葬原仲。非禮也。冬，杞伯姬來。歸寧也。凡諸侯之女，歸寧曰來。出曰來歸。夫人歸寧曰如某。出曰歸于某。公驕，若驟得勝于我，必棄其民。無衆而後伐之，欲禦我，誰與？夫禮樂慈愛，戰所畜也。夫民，讓事樂和，愛親哀喪，而後可用也。虢弗畜也，亟戰將餓。伐衛，以其立子頹也。○王使召伯廖賜齊侯命，且請。

- XXVII. 1 In his twenty-seventh year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with his eldest daughter, [married to the heir] of Ke, in T'aou.  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant together in Yëw.  
3 In autumn, duke [Hwan's] son, Yëw, went to Ch'in to the burial of Yuen Chung.  
4 In winter, the duke's eldest daughter—she of Ke—came [to Loo].  
5 K'ing of Keu came to meet the duke's third daughter as his bride.

Twenty-eighth year

二十有八年春王三月  
甲寅齊人伐衛衛人及  
齊人戰衛人敗績  
夏四月丁未邾子瑱卒  
秋荊伐鄭  
公會齊人宋人救鄭  
冬築郿  
大無麥禾  
臧孫辰告糴于齊

左傳曰二十八年春齊侯伐衛戰敗衛師數之以王命取賂而還  
晉獻公娶于賈無子烝于齊姜生秦穆夫人及犬子申生又娶二女于戎大戎狐姬生重耳小戎子生夷吾晉伐驪戎驪戎男女以驪姬歸生奚齊其姊生卓子驪姬嬖欲立其子賂外嬖梁五與東關嬖五使言於公曰曲沃君之宗也蒲與二屈君之疆也不可以無主宗邑無主則民不威疆場無主則啟戎心戎之生心民慢其政國之患也若使犬子主曲沃而重耳夷吾主蒲與屈則可以威民而懼戎且旌君伐使俱曰狄之廣莫於晉爲都晉之啟土不亦宜乎晉侯說之夏使犬子居曲沃重耳居蒲城夷吾居屈羣公子皆鄙唯二姬之子在絳二五卒與驪姬譖羣公子而立奚齊晉人謂之二五耦  
楚令尹子元欲蠱文夫人爲館于其宮側而振萬焉夫人聞之泣曰先君以是舞也習戎備也今令尹不尋諸仇讐而於未亡人之側不亦異乎御人以告子元子元曰婦人不忘襲讐我反忘之秋子元以車六百乘伐鄭入于桔柣之門子元闚御疆闚梧耿之不以爲旆闚班王孫游王孫喜殿衆車入自純門及達市縣門不發楚言而出子元曰鄭有人焉諸侯救鄭楚師夜遁

6 The earl of Ke appeared at our court.

7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Shing-puh.

Par. 1. T'aou is said by Too Yu to have been in Loo; and the K'ang-he edition gives its site as 50 *li* to the south of the city of Puh Chow (濮州), dep. Ts'aou-chow. But Keang Yung (江永) observes that Ke lay east from Loo, and that Puh Chow is in what was the western part of the State, so that it is not likely the lady would have crossed Loo to meet her father. He therefore concludes that 洮 is the same as

桃, mentioned in the Chuen under par. 4 of the 7th year of duke Ch'aou, and to be referred to the pres. dis. of Sze-hwuy, dep. Yen-chow. This, no doubt, is the better identification.

Tso-she condemns the meeting, saying:—'There was no proper occasion for it. The son of Heaven is supposed to make no tour of inspection unless it be for the publication of righteousness; the prince of a State to make no movement unless it be on the people's business; and a minister not to go beyond the boundaries of the State unless by his ruler's command.' Possibly, however, there may have been circumstances which justified it. Ch'oh Urh-k'ang (卓爾康; of the Ming dyn., 1st part of 17th cent.), for instance, supposes that the pride and jealousy of the duke's young Ts'e wife may have rendered a preliminary meeting necessary, before this daughter of the duke could pay the visit of duty mentioned in par. 4.

Par. 2. Comp. XVI. 4. The place of meeting here is the same, and we have also the phrase 同盟, in both para. Tso-she says the covenant was made 'on occasion of the submission of Ch'in and Ch'ing.' Too, in explanation, of the Chuen, refers to the troubles of Ch'in in Chwang's 22d year, when Ts'e received King-chung who had fled from it, and to the fact of the earl of Ch'ing having made a treaty with Ts'oo in the 25th year, so that the loyal affection of the two States to Ts'e might be doubted, but a good understanding was now come to.

Par. 3. Yuen is the clan-name, and Chung the designation, which is here given, because, after the death of a minister, the rule was to mention him by it, and not his name. The Chuen says that the journey of Y'ew was 'contrary to rule,' and adds that Yuen-chung was an old friend of Ke Y'ew. But the journey, acc. to the Chuen on par. 1, was only 'contrary to rule,' if it was made without the prince's authority. Chang H'eah, Woo Ch'ing, and Wang K'ih-hwan, all advocate the view that Ke Y'ew had obtained that sanction; and the K'ang-he editors further add that, if he had not done so, the character 如 would not have been used of his journey.

Par. 4. The Chuen says this visit was 歸寧, 'a return to salute her parents.' Such a

visit was due once a year while the parents were alive. The Chuen gives also the following canon:—'When the daughter of the prince of a State comes back to visit her parents, only the word 來 is used; when she returns divorced, the phrase 來歸 is employed. When the wife of a prince goes to visit her parents it is said—如某, "she goes to such and such a State;" when she goes back divorced, it is said—歸於某.'

[There is here a narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—'The marquis of Tsin was going to invade Kwoh, but Sze Wei said to him, "Do not do so now. The duke of Kwoh is arrogant. If he on an occasion has got a victory over us, he will be sure to cast off and neglect his own people. If when he has lost their sympathy, we then attack him, though he may wish to make head against us, who will co-operate with him? Now the cultivation of propriety and music, and the promotion of kindness and affection, are the means by which a spirit of fighting is produced. When the people are brought to be courteous in all their affairs, to delight in harmony, to love their relatives, and to grieve on the loss of them, then they can be employed to fight. Kwoh does not nourish those conditions, and, frequently engaging in hostilities, its people will come to a condition of famine."']

Par. 5. Here K'ing, a great officer of Keu, comes himself to meet a daughter of the duke, whom he had sought in marriage. A great officer of Loo, of the surname Ke, would have been the agent of the duke in all the preliminary arrangements. That this has not been mentioned does not indicate that there was anything irregular or improper in the transaction.

Par. 6. In II. ii. 5 the lord of Ke has the title of marquis. As he has here only the title of earl, Too Yu concludes that his rank must have been reduced by the king;—which king is not known. It may have been Hwan, Chwang, He, or Hwuy.

[The Chuen adds here:—'The King sent L'eaou, earl of Shaou, to convey to the marquis of Ts'e his appointment of him to the presidency of the States, and to ask him to attack Wei, because the marquis of it had raised Tsze-t'uy to the throne (See the 2d Chuen appended to XIX. 4).']

Par. 7. Shing-puh was in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ts'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow. It was near to the borders of the State of Ts'aou. Too says this meeting was preliminary to the punishment of Wei, with which the king had charged the marquis of Ts'e. See the last Chuen.



城。築。邑。都。之。廟。邑。都。築。禮。糴。孫。冬。烏。楚。謀。奔。鄭。  
都。邑。無。主。先。有。也。郿。也。于。辰。饑。乃。幕。告。桐。人。  
日。日。日。日。君。宗。凡。非。齊。告。臧。止。有。日。丘。將。

- XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Keah-yin, an army of Ts'e invaded Wei. The men of Wei and the men of Ts'e fought a battle, when the men of Wei received a disgraceful defeat.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-we, So, viscount of Choo, died.
- 3 In autumn, King invaded Ch'ing.
- 4 The duke joined an officer of Ts'e and an officer of Sung in relieving Ch'ing.
- 5 In winter we enclosed Mei.
- 6 There was a great want of wheat and rice.
- 7 Tsang-sun Shin represented the case to Ts'e, [and obtained leave] to buy grain there.

Par. 1. 敗績—see on II. xiii. 1. Tso-she says here:—'In spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Wei; defeated the army of Wei in battle; declared the command he had received from the king; took bribes and returned.' It appears from this account that the marquis of Ts'e himself took part, if we ought not to say commanded, in the invasion and defeat of Wei; and hence arises a difficulty in accounting for the first 齊人. Too Yu thinks that the announcement of the affair to Loo was so constructed as to make it appear that only an officer was in charge of the army, and so the shame of accepting bribes might be averted from the marquis. Whatever be thought of this view, it proceeds on the acknowledgment of 齊人 as properly meaning 'an officer of Ts'e,' and does not sanction the idea that the marquis is here purposely called 'a man,' or 'an officer,' to signify the sage's disapprobation of his conduct. But we need not depart from the usual application of 人. The marquis accompanied the army, but he did not command it. This is the view of Maou. Woo Ch'ing thought that the marquis remained in Shing-puh, expecting that a small demonstration would be enough to coerce Wei into submission, whereas the army of Wei rashly provoked a battle. This account of the matter derives confirmation from the 衛人 preceding 齊人 in the second part of the par.

[The Chuen here resumes its account of the affairs of Tsin:—'Duke H'een of Tsin married a daughter of the House of K'ea, who had no child. Afterwards he committed incest with his father's concubine Ts'e K'ang, by whom he had a daughter who became wife of duke Muh of Tsin, and a son Shin-sang, whom he, after his father's death, acknowledged as his heir. Subsequently he married two ladies from among the Jung, the one of whom, called Hoo Ke of the

great Jung, bore Ch'ung-urh, and the other, who was of the small Jung, bore E-woo. When Tsin invaded the Le Jung, their chief, a baron, gave him to wife his daughter, Le Ke, who bore a son called He Ts'e, while her younger sister bore him Ch'oh-tsze. Le Ke became the favourite with the duke, and wished to get her son declared his successor. In order to this, she bribed two officers, who were favourites with him, —L'ang-woo, of the outer court, and another, Woo from Tung-kwan, and got them to speak to the marquis to this effect:—"K'eh-yuh contains your lordship's ancestral temple; P'oo and Urh-k'eh are your boundary cities. They should not be without their lords residing in them. If your ancestral city be without its lord, the people will not feel awe; if the others be without their lords, that will lead the Jung to form encroaching projects. When they do so, the people will despise the government as being remiss;—to the harm of the State. If the heir-apparent be put in charge of K'eh-yuh, and Ch'ung-urh and E-woo be put in charge, the one of P'oo, and the other of Urh-k'eh, this will both awe the people and keep the Jung in fear, and display, moreover, your lordship's effective rule." She made them both say further, "The wide territory of the Teih will in this way be a sort of capital of Tsin. Is it not right thus to extend the country of the State?"

'The marquis was pleased with these suggestions, and in the summer he sent his eldest son to reside in K'eh-yuh, Ch'ung-urh to reside in the city of P'oo, and E-woo in K'eh. Thus all his other sons were sent away to the borders, and only the sons of Le Ke and her sister were left in K'ang. The end was that the two Woo and Le Ke slandered the others, and got He-ts'e appointed heir to the State. The people of Tsin called the two Woo the pair of ploughers.'

Par. 2. This So had been viscount of Choo for 12 years. He was succeeded by his son, Keu-ch'oo (蘧蔭).

Par. 3, 4. King, —see on X. 5. In par. 4, after 宋人 Kung-yang has 邾婁人. The Chuen has:—'Tsze-yuen, chief-minister of Ts'oo, wished to seduce the widow of king Wan, and made a hall by the side of her palace, where he set on foot exhibitions of dancers. When the lady heard them, she wept, and said, "Our deceased lord by means of these dances practised preparations for war. But now the minister makes no use of them against our enemies, but exhibits them by the side of me, waiting solitary for my death;—is not this strange?" One of her attendants repeated these words to Tsze-yuen, who said, "She does not forget the duty of surprising our enemies, while I on the contrary have forgotten it."

'In autumn, with 600 chariots, he invaded Ch'ing, and entered its territory by the barrier-gate of K'eh-t'eh. He himself, with Tow Yu-k'ang, Tow Woo, and K'ang-che Puh-pe, led the way with streamers flying; while Tow Pan, Wang-sun Y'ew, and Wang-sun He, brought up the rear. All the chariots entered by the Shun gate, and advanced to the market place on the high way. The portcullis gate, leading to the city, however, was open, and people were coming out who spoke the dialect of Ts'oo. Tsze-yuen said, "Ah, there are men in Ch'ing!" When the princes came to relieve it, the army of Ts'oo retreated in the night; and when the people of Ch'ing were about to flee to Tung-k'ew, their spies brought word that there were birds about the tents of Ts'oo, so they stopped their flight.'

Par. 5. Mei was a town of Loo of no great size, in the west of pres. Tung-p'ing Chow, dept. T'ae-gan. Kung and Kuh both read 微. Tso-she says: 'Mei was not a city (都). All towns having an ancestral temple, with the Spirit-tablets of former rulers, were called cities (都); those without such a temple were called towns (邑). Walling a town is called chuh (築); walling a city is called shing (城).' According to this account, it is not said that Mei was now built, but only that it was enclosed, though not with the strong wall which would have served for the defence of a city.

[Tso-she's account of Too and Yih, cities and towns, is not very clear. Unless the capital of a State were changed, how could there be ancestral temples, with tablets of the former rulers, anywhere but in it? Maou observes that the clans springing from the descendants of the princes would of course have a tablet of the prince to whom they traced their origin in their ancestral temple; and the principal city held by

them might be called a too. From the Chuen on I. i. 3, it appears that the too were of three degrees. The ground of distinction between cities and towns in England is not in all cases clearly ascertained. There is an interesting coincidence between Tso's statement that an ancestral temple constituted a city in China and the view that it is the cathedral of a bishop which constitutes one in England.]

Par. 6. Ying-tah says on this:—'The wheat was ripe in the summer, and the labours with the rice were completed in autumn; but this entry is made under winter, because then there was fully discovered the insufficiency of the harvest in the other seasons.'

Par. 7. Tsang-sun Shin is better known by his designation and hon. title,—Tsang W'än-chung (文仲). He belonged to a distinguished and loyal family in Loo. We have his great grandfather, Tsang He-pih, in the Chuen on I. v. 1; and his grandfather, Tsang Gae-pih, in that on II. ii. 4. Gae-pih appears again in the Chuen on III. xi. 3, by his surname and name,—Tsang-sun Tah. In that Chuen the name Tsang W'än-chung occurs, but the text must be corrupt. In Chwang's 6th year, W'än-chung was but a young boy.

Kung and Kuh both take 告 as = 請, 'to ask leave,' but I prefer to take it as in the translation. Shin's proceeding, Tso-she says, was according to rule. But many critics condemn it, as if he had gone privately, unauthorized. There is a detailed account, however, in the 國語, 魯語, 上, art. 4, where W'än-chung recommends the measure to duke Chwang, and obtains leave to go to Ts'e. He took with him valuable offerings to duke Ilwan to support his request, who, with the magnanimity proper to him, returned them, while he allowed grain to be sold to Loo.

Kung and Kuh say that there ought to have been no necessity, on one year's dearth, to apply for help to a neighbouring State; and that the prince who had not stores accumulated, sufficient for three years at least, was sure to lose his State. That there was not sufficient provision in the State itself for the emergency shows how inefficient the government of Chwang had been. Where there is no commerce with foreign nations, a kingdom can only provide for the occurrence of bad years by the accumulated superabundance of good ones; but such superabundance requires not only benignant skies, but a good government and a well-ordered, industrious, people as well. It must be long since China had a supply of one year's provisions accumulated in its granaries.

Twenty-ninth year.

防。城。叔。二。冬。秋。侵。夏。新。九。二。  
。諸。姬。月。十。有。許。鄭。延。年。十。  
及。卒。紀。有。蜚。人。廢。春。有。

而而務土及冬書凡秋無師夏而日書年左  
樊裁致戒功防十二物有日有鄭入中不時春傳  
皮日至水事龍書二月不為災為災輕鼓人侵許凡  
叛王畢正見畢凡諸不也襲伐凡中馬廐二十九

- XXIX. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, in spring he repaired his stables.  
2 In summer, a body of men from Ch'ing made an incursion into Heu.  
3 In autumn, there was [a plague of] *fei* insects.  
4 In winter, [duke Yin's] third daughter—she of Ke—died.  
5 We walled Choo and Fang.

Par. 1. Maou says, 新則修舊之詞. 'the term 新 denotes the repairing of the old.' This seems to be the correct interpretation. Ho Hēw says that the repairing of an old thing is called 新; if additions be made to the old, the character 作 is used; when a thing is made for the 1st time, we say 築. Others, however, will have it that in this case the old stables were removed, and entirely new ones erected. E.g. Ch'ing Twan-hēoh (程端學; Yuen dyn.):—新者徹其舊而一新之也. Kuh-leang says that by 延廐 we are to understand 法廐, the duke's stables. The special import of 延 is not known. We might translate it 'long'; and Wang Paou (王葆) aptly compares with it the 'long treasury (長府),' mentioned Ana. XI. xiii. 1. As to the character of the transaction, Tso-she observes that 'it was unseasonable. The horses were let out of their stables at the vernal equinox, when the day and night were of equal length, and brought back at the autumnal.' The season of Chow's spring, or Hēa's winter, therefore was not the time to repair the stables.

Par. 2. The Chuen here gives definitions of terms:—'An expedition with bells and drums was called 伐 (an attack or invasion); one without them, 侵 (a stealthy incursion); one made quickly and with a small force, 襲 (a surprise).'

Par. 3. Tso-she says that these *fei* constituted 'a plague;—and that the appearance of such

creatures was not recorded unless they amounted to a plague.' The canon is probably applicable here, but the appearance of unusual things is also found, where the idea of their being a plague is inadmissible. But what the 蜚 were is much disputed. Lēw Hēang, Ho Hēw, and others, think they were a kind of bug, produced in Yueh, and extraordinary in Loo. More likely is the opinion of others that the *fei* was a kind of locust, that called the 負蝥, —the 草蟲 of the She; known also as the 蜚盤蟲. Lēw Ch'ang (劉敞; A. D. 1019—1077) absurdly identifies the *fei* with a monster mentioned in the 山海經, —'like an ox, with a white head, one eye, and a dragon's tail,' &c.

Par. 4. 叔姬, —see I. vii. 1: III. xii. 1. There was no State of Ke (紀) now; but the lady for her worthiness retains her title.

Par. 5. Choo was 30 *le* to the south-west of the pres. dis. city of Choo-shing (諸城), dep. Ts'ing-chow. Fang has occurred several times. The Chuen says the walling of these was seasonable, and adds:—'With regard to all labours in building, when the *first stars* of the Dragon [see on the Shoo, I. 5] appeared [the 11th month of Chow], the labours of husbandry were finished, and the people were warned to prepare for these others. When the Ho (Fire) star appeared (after the previous ones), the materials were all ready for use. When Mercury culminated at dusk, the work should be going on. By the solstice, all should be finished.'

[The Chuen adds:—'P'e of Fan rebelled against the king.']

Thirtieth year.

齊魯冬食九月姬八月秋夏三十  
人伐公之鼓月癸七月師次春  
山戎及齊侯遇于社日亥齊人降鄣十年  
燕故也以其病難其家以紓楚國殺子元闕穀於班執而梏之宮闕射師諫則自伐鄭而處王京師執樊仲皮歸于樊丙辰虢公入樊討樊皮夏四月年春左傳曰三十

- XXX. 1 It was the [duke's] thirtieth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, [our] troops halted at Ch'ing.  
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, a body of men from Ts'e reduced Chang.  
4 In the eighth month, on Kwei-hae, we buried [duke Yin's] third daughter,—her of Ke.  
5 In the ninth month, on Käng-woo, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed, when we beat drums and offered victims at the altar of the land.  
6 In winter, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e met on the Loo side of the Tse.  
7 An officer of Ts'e invaded the hill Jung.

[The Chuen inserts after par. 1:—'In spring, the king commanded the duke of Kwoh to punish P'e of Fan; and in summer, in the 4th month, on P'ing-shin, the duke entered Fan, seized Chung-p'e, and carried him to the capital.']

Par. 2. Ch'ing,—see II. vi. 2. Tso-she's text has no 師 before 次; but the want does not affect the meaning. By 師 we are to understand a small body of troops under the command of a great officer. Maou observes that the 師, spoken of Loo, is equivalent to the 人, so often used in speaking of the troops of other States.

The troops in the text had probably been despatched from the capital, in consequence of Ts'e's threatening Chang (in next par.);—to defend Chang, as Kuh-leang says, or to be prepared for any troubles on the borders of Loo. They stopped, however, at Ch'ing through fear of Ts'e.

[The Chuen continues here the narrative about the affairs of Ts'oo from XXVIII. 4:—'Yuen, son of king Woo of Ts'oo, on his return from the invasion of Ch'ing, took up his residence in the king's palace. Tow Yih-sze remonstrated with him, and afterwards seized him and put him in hand-cuffs.'

'In autumn, Tow Pan, duke of Shin [as the viscount of Ts'oo had usurped the title of king, here one of his officers is styled duke], put Tsze-yuen to death. Tow T'oo-woo-t'oo became chief minister, and emptied his house of everything to alleviate the difficulties of the State.]

Par. 3. Chang was a small State, whose chief town was 60 *li* east of the city of Tung-ping Chow, dep. T'ac-gan. Its chiefs were K'angs, and it is said to have been a Foo-yung of Ke (紀). But it seems to have been too distant from that State to be attached to it. 降 (*k'ang*), used actively, signifies to reduce. It indicates that little or no resistance was made;—Chang surrendered on the appearance of the enemy, and thenceforth was part of Ts'e.

Par. 4. Loo sent a great officer to superintend this service.

Par. 5. This eclipse took place on the 21st August, B. C. 663. As to the observances employed, see on XXV. 4.

Par. 6. The river Tse (see the Shoo, III. i. Pt. i. 20, 27; Pt. ii. 10) served as part of the boundary line between Ts'e and Loo, and so we have 齊濟 and 魯濟, the Ts'e side and the Loo side of the Tse. The hurried meeting here is said by Tso-she, to have been to consult about the Hill Jung, who had reduced the State of Yen to great distress.

Par. 7. The Hill Jung, or northern Jung, had their seat in the pres. dep. of Yung-p'ing (永平), Chih-le, in the north-east of that province. There is a most graphic account of this expedition in the 列國志, 二十一

回; but I fear it is mostly fabulous. It proceeds on the supposition that the marquis of Ts'e himself conducted his troops, attended by Kwan Chung. Kung and Kuh also both think that he did so, but their view proceeds on a false interpretation of the phrase 齊人. See the note by the K'ang-he editors *in loc.*

### Thirty-first year.

三十有一年，春，築臺于郎。夏，四月，薛伯來。捷，非禮也。侯有諸夷之功，則獻于王，以中諸侯。不，相遺。秋，築臺于秦。冬，不雨。

左傳曰：三十一年，春，築臺于郎。夏，四月，薛伯來。捷，非禮也。侯有諸夷之功，則獻于王，以中諸侯。不，相遺。

- XXXI. 1 In his thirty first year, in spring, [the duke] built a tower in Lang.  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, the earl of S'eh died.  
3 [The duke] built a tower in S'eh.  
4 In the sixth month, the marquis of Ts'e came and presented [to the duke some of the] prisoners and spoils of the Jung.  
5 In autumn, [the duke] built a tower in Ts'in.  
6 In winter, there fell no rain.

Parr. 1, 3, 5. This might be called a year of tower building. These various entries show how the duke was carrying his penchant in this respect to extravagance. Lang,—see I. ix. 4; *et al.* S'eh was in the south-east of the pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. Ts'in was a little way

south of the pres. dis. city of Fan (范), dep. Ts'au-chow.

Par. 2. See I. xi. 1. There we have the 'marquis' of S'eh, and here only the earl. It is supposed that the rank of marquis had been reduced, as in the case of Ke, XXVII. 6. Too

Yu thinks that the name of the earl is not given, because Loo had never covenanted with him. Many of the canons for the style, however, delivered in this way, are questionable. Yu Kaou (俞臬; Yuen dyn.) says here that the omission of the name and of the day of death is simply a defect of the text.

Par. 4. 捷 here = 俘 in VI. 5. 捷 suggests the idea of spoils rather than of prisoners of war, but I suppose they should both be included here. 獻 is used of offerings by an inferior to a superior, and, as used here, must intimate that the whole thing was a piece of vainglory and display on the part of the marquis of Ts'e.

The idea of a march past Loo, of the returning with all the spoils displayed, which many of the critics have adopted from Kung-yang, is properly rejected by the K'ang-he editors. The Chuen says:—'This affair was contrary to rule. When a prince has gained successes over any of the wild tribes, he presents the spoils to the king, who employs them to terrify other tribes. Spoils taken by one State from another are not so presented; and the princes do not send of their spoils to one another.'

Par. 5. This entry is made as of an unusual thing. Some of the critics say that as there were no crops on the ground, the want of rain could do no harm. It would, however, occasion much suffering.

### Thirty-second year.

三十有二年，春，城小穀。夏，宋公、齊侯遇于梁丘。秋，七月，癸巳，公子牙卒。八月，癸亥，公薨于路。冬，十月，己未，子般卒。公子慶父如齊。狄伐邢。

左傳曰：三十二年，春，城小穀。爲管仲也。齊侯爲楚伐鄭之故，請會于諸侯。宋公請先見于齊侯。夏，遇于梁丘。秋，七月，有神降于莘。惠王問諸內史過曰：是何故也？對曰：國之將興，明神降之，監其德也；將亡，神又降之，觀其惡也。故有得神以興，亦有以亡。虞、夏、商、周皆有之。王曰：若之何？對曰：以其物享焉。其至之日，亦其物也。王從之。內史過往，聞虢請命，反曰：虢必亡矣。虐而聽于神，神居莘六月，虢公使祝應、宗區、史嚚享焉。神賜之土田。史嚚曰：虢其亡乎？吾聞之，國將興，聽于民，將亡，聽于神。神聰明正直而壹者也，依人而行。虢多涼德，其何土之能得？初，公築臺臨黨氏，見孟任，從之，闕而以夫人言許之。割臂盟。公生子般焉。齊講于梁氏，女公子觀之。圉人犂自墻外與

季人冬子八泉死此巫以者日日門榮日之  
奔榮十般月卒而且則氏君牙臣慶公疾有  
陳賊月即癸亥立無後後使命曰以父疾力  
立子己位亥公叔飲于季命死材問焉殺  
閔般未次公叔孫之魯酖叔材般于叔能  
公于黨仲氏路氏及然飲待成公季友蓋  
成圍使氏寢達然飲待成公季友蓋不  
之戲子般怒使鞭之公

- XXXII. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-second year, in spring, he walled Sēaou-kuh.
- 2 In summer, the duke of Sung and the marquis of Ts'e met in Lēang-k'ew.
- 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, duke [Hwan's] son, Ya, died.
- 4 In the eighth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke died in the State-chamber.
- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ke-we, the [duke's] son, Pan, died.
- 6 Duke [Hwan's] son, K'ing-foo, went to Ts'e.
- 7 The Teih invaded Hing.

Par. 1. Tso-she says that 'this walling of Sēaou-kuh was on behalf of Kwan Chung' and Too Yu adds, in explanation, that duke Chwang, moved by the virtue of Hwan of Ts'e, to gratify him walled the city which he had assigned to Kwan Chung, his adviser and minister. If this be correct, then Sēaou-kuh was, as Too says, in Ts'e, the same as the Kuh in VII. 4, XXIII. 6. It occurs often hereafter, and always by the name of Kuh; and in a Chuen appended to X. xi. 9, it is said that duke Hwan walled it, and placed Kwan Chung in it. But that city is called Kuh, and never Sēaou-kuh. Fan Ning, therefore, has many followers, when he says that this was a town of Loo; and they urge that if Tso-she's opinion were correct, the text would have 齊 before the name of the place. From the text alone we certainly conclude that Sēaou-kuh belonged to Loo.

Par. 2. Lēang-k'ew was in Ts'e, 80 *le* to the east of the present dis. city of Shing-woo, dep. Ts'au-chow. Tso-she says that 'the marquis of Ts'e, with a view to punish Ts'oo for its invasion of Ch'ing [in the duke's 28th year], called a meeting of the princes, and that the duke of Sung requested an interview with him before any of the others, in consequence of which they met here in Lēang-k'ew.' Too adds that the marquis was so pleased with this zeal, that he made the duke appear before himself in the account of their meeting!

[The Chuen adds here a strange narrative:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, there was the descent of a Spirit in Sin [Sin belonged to Kwoh]. King Hwuy asked Ko, the historiographer of the Interior, the reason of it, and he

replied, "When a State is about to flourish, intelligent Spirits descend in it, to survey its virtue. When it is going to perish, Spirits also descend in it, to behold its wickedness. Thus there have been instances of States flourishing from Spirits appearing, and also of States perishing; cases in point might be adduced from the dynasties of Yu, Hsia, Shang and Chow." The king then asked what should be done in the case of this Spirit, and Ko replied, "Present to it its own proper offerings, which are those proper to the day on which it came." The king acted accordingly, and the historiographer went to Kwoh, and presented the offerings. There he heard that the duke of Kwoh had been requesting the favour of enlarged territory from the Spirit, and on his return, he said, "Kwoh is sure to perish. The duke is oppressive, and listens to Spirits."

The Spirit stayed in Sin six months, when the duke of Kwoh caused the prayer-master Ying, the superintendent of the ancestral temple K'eu, and the historiographer Yin, to sacrifice to it, and the Spirit promised to give him territory. The historiographer Yin said, "Ah! Kwoh will perish. I have heard that, when a State is about to flourish, its ruler receives his lessons from the people; and when it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from Spirits. The Spirits are intelligent, correct, and impartial. Their course is regulated by the feelings of men. The slenderness of Kwoh's virtue extends to many things;—how can any increase of territory be obtained?"

Par. 3. "Ya died."—He was in fact murdered, or done to death, and the statement in the

text is fashioned to conceal the deed perpetrated. The Chuen relates:—'At an early time, the duke built a tower near the residence of the Chang family, from which he got a sight of Māng Jin [*i.e.*, 'the eldest Jin.' Jin was the surname of the Changs], and followed her; but she shut the door against him. He then said he would make her his wife, when she consented to his desires, cutting at the same time her arm, and with the blood making a covenant with him. She afterwards bore a son to the duke, who was called Pan.

'On occasion of a sacrifice for rain, the duke was discoursing on the subject at the residence of the Lēang family, while his daughter was looking on at what was taking place. The chief groom Loh was outside the wall, and attempted to made sport with her, which incensed her brother Pan, so that he ordered Loh to be scourged. When the duke heard of it, he said, "You should have had him put to death. He is not a man to be scourged. Loh is possessed of great strength, and can throw the cover of a carriage [The meaning of 蓋 here is much disputed] over the south gate."

'When the duke was ill, he consulted his half-brother Shuh-ya about who should be his successor, and Ya said, "K'ing-foo [Ya's own full brother] has ability." The duke also asked his full brother Ke-yēw, who replied that he would support Pan to the death. "A little ago," said the duke, "Ya mentioned the ability of K'ing-foo." On this Ch'ing Ke [Ch'ing was the hon. title of Ke-yēw] sent a messenger with the duke's order to command He-shuh [Shuh-ya. He was his hon. title] to wait in the family of the officer K'ēn-woo, where he made K'ēn Ke present poison to him, with the message, "Drink it, and your posterity shall be preserved in the State. If you do not drink it, you shall die, and your posterity shall be made no account of." He drank the poison, returned as far as K'wei-ts'eu, and died. His son was made the first of the Shuh-sun family.'

The critics for the most part justify Ke-yēw for taking off Shuh-ya in the manner described in the Chuen. Yēw was the full brother of duke Chwang, and faithful, having the interests of the State at heart. K'ing-foo and Shuh-ya were half-brothers of Chwang, themselves full brothers; and King-foo's ambitious and crafty disposition was well known. He was carrying on a criminal intrigue with Gae Kēang, and his aim was to become marquis himself. From what occurred at the duke's death-bed, it appeared to Ke-yēw that Ya was confederate with his brother, and he therefore took him off, as the best way to weaken K'ing-foo, and secure the succession of Pan. Shih Keae (石介; A.D. 1005—1057) discourses on the subject in the following way:—'Affection between brothers, and righteousness between ruler and subject:—neither of these things can be dispensed with. But if a paramount sway be allowed to the affection, it may happen that the righteousness cannot be maintained; and if it be allowed to the righteousness, it may happen that the affection cannot have its course. When such cases occur, it requires sagely wisdom and virtue to deal in them aright. When king Woo died, his brothers Kwan and Ts'ae led

on Woo-kāng to rebel. If the 'duke of Chow had regarded merely his affection for his brothers, the kingdom must have been ruined, and the young king imperilled. He would not sacrifice the kingdom to his own individual feelings, nor allow his private affection to overrule the righteousness due from him as a subject to his sovereign; and so, in the strength of great righteousness, he punished his brothers with death. In the case before us, Shuh-ya wanted to raise K'ing-foo to the lordship of Loo. If Ke-yēw had regarded merely his affection for his brothers, K'ing-foo must have become marquis, and Loo would have been thrown into confusion. Yēw would not allow his private feelings to prevent the discharge of his public duty, nor exchange for the life of one man the benefit of the whole State; and so, in the stern discharge of great public righteousness, he poisoned Ya. After ages can surely examine the nature of his deed. When the duke of Chow cut off his brothers Kwan and Ts'ae, he proclaimed their guilt. When Ke-yēw poisoned Shuh-ya, he concealed the deed. The crime of the duke of Chow's two brothers was displayed; the crime of He-shuh was still hidden, and could not be known. And hence it is that it appears in the text as if he had died a natural death.'

Par. 4. 路寢 is explained by Kung, Kuh, and others, as—正寢, 'the right chamber.' See the note in the Shoo, on V. xxi. 10. The last or innermost of the gates of the king's palace, or of the palace of the prince of a State, was called 路門, and inside it were the apartments called *ts'in* (寢). That character means 'to sleep,' but the *ts'in* were not bedrooms, in our sense of the term. They did not form part of the harem. There were three of them,—the *Kaou* (高) or 'High' *ts'in*, the *Loo ts'in*, and the *Sēaou* (小) or 'Small' *ts'in*.

The Loo was the State chamber, where the king or prince gave audience to his ministers, and sometimes feasted his guests; and here it was proper he should die, open to the visits of his ministers, and with none of his wives or female attendants about him. The Chuen says that 'on the duke's death, his son Pan succeeded to him, and stopped in the house of the officer Chang [As appears from the previous Chuen, the house of his mother's family.]'

Par. 5. Here we have another concealment of the truth, for the new marquis was murdered, without any of the mitigating circumstances which have been urged to justify the deed of Ke-yēw in putting Shuh-ya to death. The Chuen says:—'Kung-chung [K'ing-foo. Kung is the hon. title, and Chung the designation] employed the chief groom Loh to murder the young marquis Pan in the house of the Chang family. Ch'ing Ke then fled to Chin, and another son of Chwang, known as duke Min, was raised to the marquisate.' With regard to the language of the paragraph, 子般 simply means 'the son Pan.' Pan had, indeed, succeeded to his father, but Chwang was still unburied. The year, moreover, had not closed, and a new rule had not been publicly inaugurated. The



new marquis, therefore, is not acknowledged as such. His rule was abortive. He is not called 君 or 公, and his death is described by 卒 instead of 薨. Instead of 己未 Kung and Kuh read 乙未; but 乙未 was in the 11th month, not the 10th.

Par. 6. K'ing-foo had murdered Pan, and aimed to become marquis himself. Something, however, was in the way of his immediately accomplishing his object, and here he goes to Ts'e, probably to represent the things which had occurred in Loo in the manner most favourable to himself, and to pave the way for his further projects. Maou thinks that 如 is a euphemism for 奔; but there is no necessity for that view. But who had secured the succession of duke Min? The last two clauses of the last Chuen are 成季奔陳, 立閔公. I

have translated the concluding one passively; but the K'ang-he editors carry on 成季 to 立 as its subject. I do not see how Ch'ing Ke, himself compelled to flee the State, could effect the acknowledgment of Min. Probably K'ing-foo saw that if, after murdering one of Chwang's sons, he proceeded at once to set the other aside, public feeling would be too strong for him; and he therefore co-operated with other officers in the designation of Min, then only 8 years old;—meaning to deal with him ere long.

Par. 7. Hing was a marquisate held by descendants of the duke of Chow. Its chief town was at first in the pres. dis. of Hing-t'ae, (邢臺), dep. Shun-tih, Chih-le; but, in two years after this time, at a place 12 里 to the south-west of the pres. dep. city of Tung-ch'ang, Shantung. Teih is the general name for the wild tribes of the north. This is the first mention of them in the Ch'un Ts'ew.

## BOOK IV. DUKE MIN.

First year.

閔公

元年春王正月。  
齊人救邢。  
夏六月辛酉葬我君莊公。  
秋八月公及齊侯盟于落姑。  
季子來歸。  
冬齊仲孫來。

左傳曰：元年春，不書即位，亂故也。狄人伐邢，管敬仲言於齊侯曰：戎狄豺狼，不可厭也，諸夏親暱，不可棄也。宴安酖毒，不可懷也。詩云：豈不懷歸，畏此簡書。簡書，同惡相恤之謂也。請救邢以從簡書。齊人救邢。

夏六月，葬莊公。亂故，是以緩。

秋八月，公及齊侯盟于落姑。請復季友也。齊侯許之，使召諸陳，公次於郎以待之。季子來歸，嘉之也。

冬，齊仲孫來省難。書曰：仲孫，亦嘉之也。仲孫歸曰：不去慶父，魯難未已。公曰：若之何而去之？對曰：難不已，將自斃。君其待之。公曰：魯可取乎？對曰：不可。猶秉周禮，周禮所以本也。臣聞之：國將亡，本必先顛，而後枝葉從之。魯不棄周禮，未可動也。君其務寧魯難而親之，親有禮，因重固，閒攜貳，覆昏亂，霸王之器也。

晉侯作二軍，公將上軍，大子申生將下軍。趙夙御戎，畢萬爲右，以滅耿，滅霍，滅魏。還爲大子城曲沃，賜趙夙耿，賜畢萬魏，以爲大夫。士蒍曰：大子不得立矣，分之都城，而位以卿，先爲之極，又焉得立，不如逃之。



始。卦而覆車孰廖萬以民始萬乎。無且可無  
也。能之從大占筮從諸賞盈卜家諺乎使  
公固衆馬焉之仕盈侯天數偃天曰猶罪  
侯安歸足其曰於數啟也畢若心苟有至  
之子而之六居必吉晉其萬之魏畢苟令爲  
孫殺體兄蕃屯遇有必吳名與犬伯  
必公體長昌固屯之衆天子也後其何  
復侯不長震比之入比初名之曰兆以無恤  
其之合母土吉辛畢大兆是必無及也亦

- I. 1 It was [the duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.
- 2 A body of men from Ts'e [went to] relieve Hing.
- 3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Sin-yëw, we buried our ruler, duke Chwang.
- 4 In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Ts'e at Loh-koo.
- 5 The officer Ke came back to Loo.
- 6 In winter, Chung-sun of Ts'e came [to Loo].

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—**閔公**, 'Duke Min.' This was a son of duke Chwang, by a half-sister of the duchess Gae Këang, one of the ladies, who accompanied her from Ts'e to the harem of Loo in Chwang's 24th year, and who is generally mentioned as Shuh Këang (**叔姜**). He could only be, therefore, about 8 years old at his father's death. Called to the marquisate in consequence of the murder of his brother Pan, his own brief rule was closed in as hapless a manner by a similitude. His name was K'e-fong (**啟方**). It appears in the Historical Records as (**開**), because the emperor King (**景帝**) of the Han dynasty was also named K'e (**啟**), and another K'e could not appear in a work then published. The honorary title Min denotes—'Victim of calamity in the State (**在國逢難曰閔**).'

Min's rule embraced the years B. C. 660, 659. His 1st year synchronized with the 16th of king Hwuy (**惠**); the 25th of Hwan (**桓**) of Ts'e; the 16th of Hëen (**獻**) of Tsin; the 8th of E (**懿**) of Wei; the 14th of Muh (**穆**) of Ts'ae; the 12th of Wän (**文**) of Ch'ing; the 1st of Pan, duke Ch'au (**昭公班**) of Ts'au; the 32d of Seu (**宣**) of Ch'in; the 12th of Hwuy (**惠**) of Ke; the 21st of Hwan

(**桓**) of Sung; the 3d of Ch'ing (**成**) of Ts'in; and the 11th of Ch'ing (**成**) of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on I.i.1; III.i.1. Tso-she says that the par. does not conclude with **即位**, because the State was in confusion.

Par. 2. The Chuen has here:—'The Teih had invaded Hing. Kwan King-chung [**敬** was Kwan E-woo's hon. title] said to the marquis of Ts'e, "The Teih and Jung are wolves, to whom no indulgence should be given: within the States of the Great land, all are nearly related, and none should be abandoned; luxurious repose is a poison, which should not be cherished. The ode says, 'Did we not long to return? But we were afraid of what was written in the tablets [The She, Part II. i. VIII.];' meaning that the States should compassionate one another in calamities they were exposed to. I beg you to succour Hing, in accordance with what is commanded in the tablets." On this a force went from Ts'e to succour Hing.' **齊人** indicates that the marquis of Ts'e did not go to Hing himself, nor send a great officer. It would have been better if he had done so. See on V.i.2.

Par. 3. This interment took place late, 'because,' says Tso-she, 'of the troubles and confusion in the State.'

Parr. 4, 5. The Chuen says:—'The duke covenanted with the marquis of Ts'e at Loh-koo, and besought him to restore Ke-yëw [who had

fled to Ch'in. See the Chuen on III. xxxii. 5]. The marquis consented, and sent to call Yëw from Ch'in, the duke halting at Lang to wait for him.' On p. 5 Tso says that the simple style Ke-tsze, 'The Ke' or 'the officer Ke,' indicates commendation.

The child-marquis must have had the meeting with the marquis of Ts'e arranged for him, and the question has been much discussed among the critics as to who suggested to him to request the return of Ke-yëw. After all they have said, I think it may have proceeded from the boy himself. The **列國志** gives a pretty account of his holding the marquis by the skirt, and asking him to bring Ke-yëw back to save him from K'ing-foo. Koo-loh was in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of P'ing-yin (**平陰**), dep. T'ae-gan.

Par. 6. Chung-sun was an officer of Ts'e,—a grandson of Chung, himself a son of duke Sëang or duke He (**仲孫齊公子仲氏之孫**). The two characters are here used as another clan-name. His name was Tsëaou (**湫**).

The Chuen says:—'In winter, Chung-sun Tsëaou of Ts'e came to investigate the difficulties of our condition, and is here mentioned by his clan-name, in commendation. On his return he said, "If K'ing-foo be not removed, the troubles of Loo will not have an end." "But how shall he be removed?" asked the duke. "Exciting troubles without ceasing," replied Tsëaou, "he will destroy himself. You can wait for the issue." The duke said, "May we now take Loo to ourselves?" Tsëaou answered, "No. Loo still holds fast to the rules of Chow, and these are a sure foundation for a State. I have heard the saying, that when a State is about to perish its root must first be destroyed, and then the destruction of the branches and leaves will follow. While Loo does not abandon the rules of Chow, it will not be possible to move it. Let it be the object of your grace to quiet the troubles of Loo, and be friendly to it. To be friendly with States that observe the rules of propriety; to help those that have in them the elements of solidity and strength; to complete the separation of those that are divided and disaffected; and to overthrow those that are full of disorder and confusion:—these are the methods by which a prince with the functions of president among the States proceeds."

[The Chuen here returns to the affairs of Tsin:—'The marquis of Tsin formed two armies [See the Chuen after III. xvi. 5] taking the command of the 1st one himself, while his eldest son Shin-säng commanded the other. Chaou Suh drove the marquis's chariot, and Peih Wan was the spearman on his right. With these

forces they extinguished the States of Käng, Hoh, and Wei (**魏**; see on the title of the She, I. ix.) and on the return of the expedition the marquis walled K'ëuh-yuh for his son, gave Käng to Chaou Suh, and Wei to Peih Wan, constituting them great officers of Tsin. Sze Wei said to himself, "The marquis's eldest son will not get possession of the State. He has been separately established in a capital city [See the Chuen appended to III. xxviii. 1], and had the dignity of a high minister [as leader of the 2d army]. His greatness has already culminated;—how should he become marquis in addition to this? He had better make his escape to some other State, and not allow the charge of guilt to fall upon him. Might he not be satisfied to play the part of T'ae-pih of Woo [See on Ana. VIII. 1]? He will still have an excellent fame:—how much better than to stay and let calamity come on him! Moreover, the proverb says, 'If one's heart have no flaw, what need he regret having no family?' If Heaven mean to confer dignity on our eldest prince, shall there be no Tsin for him?"

'The diviner Yen said, "The descendants of Peih Wan are sure to become great. 萬 (=10,000) is the completion of numbers, and Wei (**魏**—lofty) is a grand name. That his rewards should commence with this Wei is a proof that Heaven is opening up his way. With reference to the son of Heaven we speak of 'the millions of the people;' with reference to the prince of a State, of 'the myriads.' Since, in the case of Peih Wan, the grand name, i.e., **魏**, is followed by the complete number, it is plain that the multitudes will belong to his posterity."

'At an earlier period, Peih Wan had divined by the milfoil about his becoming an officer of Tsin, and obtained the diagram Chun (**䷮**), and afterwards, by the manipulation, Pe (**䷶**). Sin Leau interpreted it to be lucky. "Chun," said he, "indicates Firmness, and Pe indicates Entering; what could be more fortunate?—he must become numerous and prosperous. Moreover, the symbol Chin (**䷮**; the lower part of Chun) becomes that for the earth (**䷶**); the lower half of Pe.) Carriages and horses follow one another; he has feet to stand on; an elder brother's lot; the protection of a mother; and is the attraction of the multitudes. These six indications [arising from the change of the lowest line in the diagram Chun] will not change. United, they indicate his firmness; in their repose, they indicate his majesty:—the divination is that of a duke or a marquis. Himself the descendant of a duke [Peih Wan was descended from one of the lords of Peih; but of the early history of that principality we know nothing], his posterity shall return to the original dignity."']

Second year.

二年春王正月齊人遷陽。  
夏五月乙酉吉禘于莊公。  
秋八月辛丑公薨。  
九月夫人姜氏孫于邾。  
公子慶父出奔莒。  
冬齊高子來盟。  
十有二月狄入衛。  
鄭棄其師。

○左傳曰：二年春，虢公敗犬戎于渭汭，舟之僑曰：無德而祿，殃也，殃將至矣。遂奔晉。夏，吉禘于莊公，速也。初，公傅奪卜齮田，公不禁。秋，八月，辛丑，共仲使卜齮賊公子于武闈。成季以僖公適邾，共仲奔莒，乃入立之。以賂求共仲于莒，莒人歸之。及密，使公子魚請，不許，哭而往。共仲曰：奚斯之聲也。乃縊。閔公哀姜之娣，叔姜之子也，故齊人立之。共仲通於哀姜，哀姜欲立之。閔公之死也，哀姜與知之，故孫于邾。齊人取而殺之于夷，以其尸歸。僖公請而葬之。○成季之將生也，桓公使卜楚丘之父卜之，曰：男也，其名曰友，在公之右，聞于兩社，為公室輔。季氏亡，則魯不昌。又筮之，遇大有之乾，曰：同復于父，敬如君所。及生，有文在其手，曰：友，遂以命之。冬，十二月，狄人伐衛，衛懿公好鶴，鶴有乘軒者，將戰，國人受甲者皆曰：使鶴，鶴實有祿位，余焉能戰。公與石祁子玦，與甯莊子矢，使守，曰：以此贊國，擇利而為之。與夫人繡衣，曰：聽於二子。渠孔御戎，子伯為右，黃夷前驅，孔嬰齊殿。及狄人戰于熒澤，衛師敗績，遂滅衛。衛侯不去其旗，是以甚敗。狄人囚史華、龍滑，與禮孔，以逐衛人。

二人曰：我大史也，實掌其祭，不先，國不可得也。乃先之。至則告守曰：不可待也。夜與國人出，狄入衛，遂從之。又敗諸河。初，惠公之即位也，少，齊人使昭伯烝於宣姜，不可，強之。生齊子戴公、文公、宋桓夫人、許穆夫人。文公為衛之多患也，先適齊。及敗，宋桓公逆諸河，宵濟，衛之遺民男女七百有三十人，益之以共、滕之民，為五千人。立戴公，以廬于曹。許穆夫人賦載馳，齊侯使公子無虧帥車三百乘，甲士三千人，以戍曹。歸公乘馬，祭服五稱，牛羊豕雞狗皆三百，與門材，歸夫人魚軒，重錦三十兩。鄭人惡高克，使帥師次于河上，久而弗召，師潰而歸。高克奔陳，鄭人為之賦：清人。○晉侯使大子申生伐東山臯落氏，里克諫曰：大子奉冢祀社稷之粢盛，以朝夕視君膳者也，故曰冢子。君行則守，有守則從。從曰撫軍，守曰監國，古之制也。夫帥師，專行謀，誓軍旅，君與國政之所圖也。非大子之事也。師在制命而已。稟命則不威，專命則不孝。故君之嗣適，不可以帥師。君失其官，帥師不威，將焉用之。且臣聞臯落氏將戰，君其舍之。公曰：寡人有子，未知其誰立焉。不對而退。見大子，大子曰：吾其廢乎？對曰：告之以臨民，教之以軍旅，不共是懼，何故廢乎？且子懼不孝，無懼弗得立。修己而不責人，則免於難。大子帥師，公衣之偏衣，佩之以金玦。狐突御戎，先友為右。梁餘子養御罕夷，先丹木為右。羊舌大夫為尉。先友曰：衣身之偏，握兵之要，在此行也。子其勉之。偏躬無慝，兵要遠災，親以無災，又何患焉。狐突歎曰：時事之徵也。衣身之章也。佩衷之旗也。故敬其事，則命以始服其身，則衣之純，用其衷，則佩之度。今命以時卒，閱其事也。衣之虺服，遠其躬也。佩以金玦，棄其衷也。服以遠之時，以閔之。虺，涼冬殺，金寒，玦離，胡可恃也。雖欲勉之，狄可盡乎？梁餘子養曰：帥師者，受命於廟，受賑於社，有常服矣。不獲而虺，命可知也。死而不孝，不如逃之。罕夷曰：虺奇無常，金玦不復，雖復何為？君有心矣。先丹木曰：是服也，狂夫阻之，曰：盡敵而反，敵可盡乎？雖盡敵，猶有內讒，不如違之。狐突欲行，羊舌大夫曰：不可。違命不孝，棄事不忠，雖知其寒，惡不可取。子其死之。大子將戰，狐突諫曰：不可。昔辛伯諗周桓公云：內寵

年能惠帛亡楚邢季事危而亂周適並  
 乃元工之衛丘于立之成身安本公大  
 三百革敬冠文公外  
 乘車教務公龍  
 三十學材大  
 乘授農布  
 季方通衣  
 任商大

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, a force from Ts'e removed [the people of] Yang.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-yëw, [the duke] offered the fortunate *te* sacrifice on [placing the tablet of] duke Chwang [in the ancestral temple].  
 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the duke died.  
 4 In the ninth month, [duke Chwang's] wife, the lady Këang, withdrew to Choo.  
 5 Duke [Hwan's] son, K'ing-foo, fled to Keu.  
 6 In winter, the officer Kaou of Ts'e came and made a covenant.  
 7 In the twelfth month, the Teih entered [the capital of] Wei.  
 8 Ch'ing threw away its army.

Par. 1. Yang was a marquise, held by some branch of the House of Chow. It is referred to the pres. dis. of E-shwuy (沂水) dep. E-chow. 遷—see III. i. 8; x. 3. It is supposed that Ts'e removed the people to the pres. dis. of Yih-too (益都), near the seat of its own power. Whether duke Hwan altogether extinguished the House of Yang, or permitted it to continue its sacrifices in its new site as an attached territory, we cannot tell.

[The Chuen has here:—'In spring, the duke of Kwoh defeated the Dog Jung at the bend of the Wei. Chow Che-k'ëaou said, "Success bestowed where there is no virtue is the prelude to calamity. Calamities will soon come." On this he fled to Tsin.']

Par. 2. The meaning of 禘 here is determined by the 吉 which precedes it, though that term is used improperly. When the period of mourning for a king or the prince of a State was completed,—a period nominally of 3 years, but actually only of 25 months,—then his Spirit-tablet was solemnly placed in the ancestral temple, the tablet of one of his ancestors being removed, according to a certain prescribed order, to make room for it, and there it would remain till, in process of time, it was in turn pushed out by the tablet of some later king or prince:—see the Doctrine of the Mean, xix. 4. The whole

service on these occasions was called 禘, and also 禘 the latter term having reference to the sacrifice offered to all the Spirit-occupants of the temple, the former to the discrimination of the order of kindred according to which the new tablet received its place. 禘 is employed of other sacrificial occasions, but they are not to be thought of here. But 25 months at least must have elapsed from the death before the new tablet could be placed in the temple, and duke Chwang had now been dead only 22 months;—the service was performed before the proper time. As Tso-she says, it was too early (速也).

Par. 3. Again we have a case of base murder spoken of as if it had been a natural death. The Chuen says:—'Before this, the duke's tutor had violently taken away some fields belonging to Puh K'ë, the duke not forbidding him. In the autumn, at this time, Kung-chung [i. e., K'ing-foo] employed Puh K'ë to murder the duke at the Woo side-gate of the palace.'

Par. 4. Comp. III. i. 2. The difference between the two parr. is, that here the lady's surname (姜氏) is given, while there it is suppressed. But we cannot account for the difference, and must accept the entries as they came from the historiographers. Këa, Fuh (賈服), and other critics, say that Gae Këang has her

surname given to her because she was not so wicked as Wän Këang! The reason of her withdrawal from Loo is plain. K'ing-foo had now procured the death of two of Chwang's sons, and had only increased the general odium with which he was regarded. Gae Këang and he were living criminally together. She had probably been privy to the deaths of Pan and duke Min. She was obliged to withdraw from the storm of popular indignation. The reason of her going to Choo was, perhaps, to make friends with Ke-yëw, who had also taken refuge in that State. Here, as in other places, Kung-yang has 朱

婁 instead of 朱.

Par. 5. K'ing-foo also was obliged to flee the State. The Chuen says:—'Ch'ing-ke, immediately on the duke's death, had gone to Choo, taking with him duke Chwang's remaining son, who was afterwards duke He; and when Kung-chung fled to Keu, he returned to the State, and raised this son to the marquise. He afterwards sent bribes to Keu, and requested the delivery of Kung-chung. The people of Keu were sending him back; but when he got to Meih, he sent duke Hwan's son, Yu, to beg for his life. The request was refused, and Yu went back, weeping loudly as he went. When Kung-chung heard him, he said, "It is the voice of He-se [the name of the Kung-tse Yu]," and hanged himself.

'Duke Min was the son of Shuh Këang, a sister of Gae Këang, on which account the people of Ts'e had promoted his appointment to be marquis. Kung-chung had been carrying on a criminal intrigue with Gae Këang, who wished him to get the State, and she had, with that view, been privy to the death of Min. She had therefore withdrawn to Choo, but an officer of Ts'e took her, put her to death in E, and carried her body back with him. Duke He requested that it might be given to him, and then buried her.'

[Here follow in the Chuen some particulars about Ke-yëw:—'Just before the birth of Ch'ing-ke, duke Hwan made the father of Ts'oo-k'ëw, master of the diviners, consult the tortoise-shell, which he did, saying, "It will be a boy, whose name shall be called Yëw. His place will be at the right of the duke, between the two altars of the land. He shall be a help to the ducal House; and when the family of Ke shall perish, Loo will not flourish." He also consulted the milfoil about the child, and obtained the diagram Ta-yëw (大有: ䷍), and then K'ëen (乾: ䷀). "He shall come back," said he, "to the same distinction as his father. They shall reverence him as if he were in their ruler's place." When the boy was born, there was a figure on his hand,—that of the character Yëw (友), and he was named accordingly!']

Par. 6. Kaou is mentioned without name or designation, but with a simple 子 after the clan-name, as in the case of Ke-tsze, I. 5. The object of his coming to Loo was to help in the re-establishment of order, and that he might be able to report about the character of the new marquis. With him he made the covenant,—on behalf of Ts'e.

Par. 7. The ruin which the Teih dealt on Wei is related in the Chuen:—'In the 12th

month, the Teih invaded Wei, the marquis of which, duke E, was noted for his fondness for storks. So fond was he of the creatures, that some of them were carried about in great officers' carriages. When the time for fighting came, and the people received their buff-coats, they all said, "Employ the storks. The storks truly have their revenues and dignities;—how should we be able to fight?" The duke gave his semicircle of jade to Shih K'ë, and an arrow to Ning Chwang, and appointed them to guard the city, saying, "With these emblems of authority aid the State, doing whatever you shall deem most advantageous." To his wife he gave his embroidered robe, saying to her, "Listen to these two officers." He then mounted his war-chariot, K'ëu K'ung being charioteer, and Tse-pih the spearman on the right. Hwang E led the way in front with one body of men, and K'ung Ying-tse brought up the rear. A battle was fought with the Teih near the marsh of Yung, when the army of Wei was shamefully defeated, and the State itself might be said to be extinguished. The marquis would not leave his flag, which made the defeat the greater. The Teih made prisoners of the historiographers Hwa Lung-hwah and Le K'ung, and were carrying them with them in pursuit of the fugitives, when they said, [working on the superstition of the Teih], "We are the grand historiographers. The sacrifices of the State are really in our management; and if we do not go before you, the city cannot be taken." On this they were allowed to go before the pursuers; and when they reached the wall, they said to the officers who had been left to guard the city, "You must not remain here." That same night, Shih and Ning left the city with the people; and the Teih entered it, and then pursued, inflicting another defeat on the fugitives at the Ho.

'Before this, when duke Hwuy [Soh of II. xvi. 5, et al.] succeeded to Wei, he was young, and the people of Ts'e required Ch'au-pih to form a connection with Seuen Këang [See the Chuen, on II. xvi. 5. Seuen Këang was Soh's mother, and Ch'au-pih was a half-brother]; and when he refused, they compelled him to do it. From this union there sprang Ts'e-tsze, Shin who was afterwards duke Tae, Hwuy who was afterwards duke Wän, the wife of Hwan of Sung, and the wife of Muh of Heu [See on the She, I. iv. X.]. Hwuy had gone to Ts'e, before the invasion of the Teih, because of the many troubles of Wei; and after their two defeats, duke Hwan of Sung met the fugitives at the Ho, and carried them over the river at night.

'All that remained of the people of Wei, men and women, only amounted to 730 men; and when to these were added the people of Kung and T'ang, the number was only 5,000. Shin, or duke Tae, was raised to E's place, and lived in a hut in Ts'au, [another town of Wei]. On this occasion the wife of Muh of Heu made the Tsae Ch'ë [載馳. The She, I. iv. ode X.]. The marquis of Ts'e sent his eldest son, Woo-k'wei, with 300 chariots and 3,000 mailed men, to guard Ts'au. He also sent to the duke a team of 4 horses; 5 suits of sacrificial robes; oxen, sheep, pigs, fowls, and dogs, in all 300; and materials for doors. He also sent to his wife a great officer's carriage ornamented with seal-skin, and 30 pieces of fine embroidered silk.'

The text says that 'the Teih entered Wei;' and the critics are divided on the amount of meaning in the term 'entered.' Fan Ning thinks it is equivalent to 'extinguished.' Sun K'eh thinks that, as we afterward find Wei mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ew, the Teih could not have taken possession of the territory. The Chuen shows that the entry of the Teih into the State, and their capture of its capital, were not followed by the extinction of the State. See what has been said about 八 on I. ii. 2.

Par. 8. The Chuen says on this par.:—"The earl of Ch'ing hated Kaou K'ih, and sent him with an army to the borders of the Ho, where he remained stationed for a long time, without being recalled. The troops dispersed, and returned to their homes. K'au K'ih himself fled to Ch'in; and the people of Ch'ing, with reference to the affair, made the Ts'ing Jin (The She, I. vii. ode V.).' K'au K'ih was an officer of Ch'ing, covetous and disrespectful to his ruler, who wanted to get rid of him, and took the method described in the Chuen to do so. 棄

其師, 'abandoned its army' i.e., sent it away to the borders, and then took no more thought about it.

[Here follow four narratives in the Chuen:—

1st. 'The marquis of Tsin proposed sending his eldest son Shin-sang to invade the Kaou-loh tribe of the eastern hills [in Shan-se], when Le K'ih remonstrated, saying, "It is the business of the eldest son to bear the vessels of millet for the great sacrifices, and for those at the altars of the land and the grain, and also to inspect the provisions cooked for the ruler every morning and evening. On this account he is styled the 'great son.' When the ruler goes abroad, he guards the capital; and if another be appointed to guard it, he attends upon his father. When he attends upon him, he is called 'Soothe of the host;' when he stays behind on guard, he is called 'Inspector of the State:—this is the ancient rule. But to lead the army and determine its movements and plans, issuing all commands to the troops:—this is what the ruler and his chief minister have to provide for; it is not the business of the eldest son. The conduct of an army all depends on the definite commands which are given. If the son receive the commands of another, it is injurious to his majesty; if he determines himself the commands, he is unfilial. For this reason the ruler's proper son and heir ought not to have the command of the army. The ruler fails to employ the right man in devolving the command on him; and if, as commander, he lose the majesty which belongs to him, how can he afterwards be employed? Your servant, moreover, has heard that the Kaou-lohs will fight. Leave, I pray you, your son alone, and do not send him." The duke said, "I have many sons, and I do not yet know whom I shall appoint my successor." And on this K'ih withdrew, without making any reply. When he saw the duke's eldest son, the prince asked him whether he was to be disowned, and K'ih replied, "Let the people know how you can preside over them; and teach them their duties in the army. Be only afraid of not reverently attending to these 'wo things;—why should you be disowned? As a son, moreover,

you have to fear lest you should not be filial; you have not to fear lest you should not be appointed to the succession. Cultivate yourself, and do not be finding fault with others; so shall you escape calamity."

"When his eldest son took the command of the army, the duke gave him a robe of two colours, and his golden semicircle to hang at his girdle. Hoo Tuh was his charioteer, and S'en Y'ew the spearman on his right. Léang Yu-tsze-yang was charioteer to Han E [who led the 2d host], and S'en Tan-muh was the spearman on his right. The great officer Yang-sheh acted as adjutant.

"S'en Y'ew said, "It is only on this expedition that he has worn this parti-coloured robe, and carried this important symbol. Let him exert himself, and admit nothing evil in his own half of his person. With his present power, he ought to keep calamity far away. Giving himself no occasion for it, what has he to fear?" Hoo Tuh, however, sighed and said, "The time is the proof of the thing; the garment is the distinction of the person; the symbol is the manifestation of the feeling. Were there a real interest in the expedition, the order for it would have come earlier; the robe for his person would have been of one colour; and the proper feeling would have given the proper symbol for the girdle. This parti-coloured robe shows a wish to remove his person; this golden semicircle for the girdle shows the abandonment of kindly feeling. The robe thus indicating a wish for the removal of the person; the time shutting the prince up from success; the garment thin; the winter killing; the metal cold; and the symbol the imperfect circle:—what is there in these things to be trusted to? Although the prince may wish to do his utmost, can the Teih be utterly destroyed?"

"Léang Yu-tsze-yang said, 'The commander of an army receives his commands in the ancestral temple, and the sacrificial flesh at the altar of the land. He should wear the ordinary dress also; and since the prince cannot do so, but has this parti-coloured robe, the nature of the duke's command may be hence understood. Than that the prince should die for being unfilial, it is better that he should make his escape.' Han E said, "The parti-coloured coat is strange and uncommon; the gold semicircle shows a wish that he should not return;—thought he do return, of what good will it be? The duke has his mind made up." S'en Tan-muh said, "Even a madman would have his doubts excited by this dress. The duke's command was, 'Destroy utterly the enemy, and then return;' but can the enemy be utterly destroyed? Even if we should make an end of the enemy, there are calumniators in the court;—we had better abandon the expedition and go away." Hoo Tuh also wished to go; but the great officer Yang-sheh said, "This is wrong. If the prince disobey his father's command, he will be unfilial; if he abandon the business entrusted to him, he will be unfaithful. Although he knows the cold feeling of his father, he must not choose to do evil. Rather let him die in obedience."

"When the prince was about to fight, Hoo Tuh remonstrated with him, saying, "Do not do so. Sin Pih gave counsel to duke Hwan of Chow [See the 2d Chuen, after II. xviii. 3] saying, 'The favourite of the harem made equal

to the queen; the favourites of the court made equal to the ministers of the government; the son of a concubine made equal to the legitimate son; and another great city made as large as the capital:—these are the foundation of disorder." But the duke of Chow would not listen to him, and so came to his unfortunate end. The root of disorder is already formed in Tsin. Can your succession to the State be made sure? Be filial, and seek the repose of the people;—lay your plans for this. It will be better than endangering your person, and accelerating the imputation to you of guilt."

2d. 'When Ch'ing Fung [the mother of duke He. Fung was her surname, and Ch'ing her hon. title] heard the oracles concerning Ch'ing-ke, she honoured him [See the Chuen introduced after par. 5] and sought his guidance, entrusting

also her son to him. This was the reason why Ke secured the succession of duke He.'

3d. 'In the 1st year of He, duke Hwan of Ts'e removed the capital of Hing to E-e, and in his second established Wei in Ts'oo-k'ew. The people of Hing moved to their new seat as if they were going home, and the State of Wei forgot its ruin.'

4th. 'Duke W'an of Wei, in garments of coarse linen and a cap of coarse silk, laboured to improve his resources; encouraged agriculture; promoted trade; treated the mechanics kindly; reverently sought the moral instruction of the people; stimulated them to learn; imposed nothing but what was right; and employed the able. The consequence was that while his leather carriages in his first year were only 30, in his last year they amounted to 300.'



## BOOK V. DUKE HE.

First year.

## 僖公

元年春王正月。

齊師宋師曹師次于聶北救邢。

夏六月邢遷于夷儀。齊師宋師曹師城邢。

秋七月戊辰夫人姜氏薨于夷。齊人以歸。

楚人伐鄭。

八月公會齊侯宋公鄭伯曹伯邾人于櫟。

九月公敗邾師于偃。

冬十月壬午公子友帥師敗莒師于酈。獲莒挈。

十有二月丁巳夫人氏之喪至自齊。

左傳曰元年春不稱即位公出故也。公出復入不書諱之也諱國惡禮也。諸侯救邢邢人潰出奔師師遂逐狄人具邢器用而遷之師無私焉。夏邢遷于夷儀諸侯城之救患也。凡侯伯救患分災討罪禮也。秋楚人伐鄭鄭即齊故也盟于犂謀救鄭也。九月公敗邾師于偃。虛丘之戍將歸者也。冬莒人來求賂公子友敗諸酈獲莒子之弟挈非卿也嘉獲之也。公賜季友汶陽之田及費。夫人氏之喪至自齊君子以齊人之殺哀姜也爲已甚矣女子從人者也。

- I. 1 It was the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.
- 2 An army of Ts'e, an army of Sung, and an army of Ts'aou halted at Nêeh-pih, [in proceeding] to the rescue of Hing.
- 3 In summer, in the sixth month, Hing removed [its capital] to E-e.
- 4 The army of Ts'e, the army of Sung, and the army of Ts'aou walled [the new capital of] Hing.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-shin, duke [Chwang's] wife, the lady Këang, died at E, an officer of Ts'e taking her [body] back with him.
- 6 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.
- 7 In the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in Ch'ing.
- 8 In the ninth month, the duke defeated an army of Choo at Yen.
- 9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, duke [Hwan's] son Yëw led an army and defeated an army of Keu at Le, taking Neu of Keu.
- 10 In the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, the coffin of duke [Chwang's] wife arrived from Ts'e.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—僖公, 'Duke He.' The mother of duke He was Ch'ing Fung, mentioned in the 2d narrative of the Chuen appended to Min's last year, and a concubine of duke Chwang. His name was Shin (申). His rule lasted 33 years, B. C. 658—626. His honorary title, He, denotes 'Careful and Cautious (小) 心畏忌曰僖.'

His 1st year synchronized with the 18th of king Hwuy; the 27th of Hwan of Ts'e; the 18th of Hëen of Tsin; the 1st of Hwuy, duke Wän (文公燬), of Wei; the 16th of Muh

of Ts'ae; the 14th of Wän of Ch'ing; the 3d of Ch'aou of Ts'aou; the 34th of Seuen of Ch'in; the 14th of Hwuy of Ke; the 23d of Hwan of Sung; the 1st of Jin-haou, duke Muh (穆公任好), of Ts'in; and the 13th of Ch'ing of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on I.i.1; III.i.1; IV.i.1. Tso, indeed, says needlessly, that the characters 即位 are not found, 'because the duke was out of the State. He went out and re-entered, but there is no record of it;—to conceal the wickedness of the State; which was according to rule.'



Par. 2. The 師 after 曹 is the reading of Kung and Kuh. Tso-she has 曹伯, evidently a mistake. Nêh-pih was a place in Hing, north-east from the pres. dis. city of Lâou-shing (聊城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. The Teih had again invaded Hing, which applied to Ts'e for help, and accordingly we have the armies of Ts'e and other States here proceeding to its relief. The phrases 齊師, &c., imply that, while the relieving forces were considerable, they were under the command of great officers, and not of the princes of the States themselves. The critics are much divided in their opinion on the allies' halting in their march to relieve Hing, most of them condemning it as improper in the urgency of the case. We do not know the circumstances sufficiently, however, to judge whether it was a prudent measure merely, or an artful one,—to make their help more prized by Hing when given at last.

Par. 3. E-e (Kung, 陳儀),—see on III. xxxii. 7. 遷 is here used intransitively. The removal is spoken of as if it had been Hing's own act. The Chuen says:—'The princes were proceeding to relieve Hing, when the people dispersed, and fled to the allied armies, which then went on and drove out the Teih. They collected all the furniture and other articles of the people, and brought them away, without the soldiers appropriating anything to themselves. In summer, Hing removed to E-e.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'The princes walled the city for Hing, thus relieving it in its distress. It was the rule for the president of the princes to relieve the distressed, to distribute to the necessitous in times of calamity, and to punish offending States.'

Kaou K'ang (高閔; Sung Dyn.) observes:—'The marquis of Ts'e was dilatory at first in relieving Hing;—that was his fault. Finally he did succour it;—that was his merit. The sage does not conceal his fault on the ground of his merit, nor does he conceal his merit because of his fault;—this is royal law.'

Par. 5. The latter part of the Chuen on IV. ii. 5 has anticipated this par. The marquis of Ts'e, in his capacity of leader of the States, determined to execute justice on Gae K'ang, notwithstanding his near relation to her, considering her too bad to be allowed to live. He therefore had her brought from Choo, whether she had fled from Loo, to E, somewhere in Ts'e, and there put her to death, or obliged her to strangle herself. The officer, who superintended the deed, took her body back to Ts'e;—so we must understand 以歸. Kuh-l'ang, and, after him, Hoo Gan-kwoh, take the characters as—sent her back to Loo;—contrary to their general usage, and specially to par. 10. The marquis of Ts'e did not hesitate to execute his own sister, whose wickedness was so atrocious; but the Classic conceals the nature of her death.

Par. 6. Here for the 1st time we meet with the name 楚, instead of which 荆 has hitherto been used. The same tree was called either Ts'oo or King, and the same usage obtain-

ed with the name of the State, though, as Too seems to intimate, the name Ts'oo was about this time publicly assumed. Tso-she says that Ts'oo attacked Ch'ing, 'because of its adherence to the alliance with Ts'e,' and that the meeting at Ch'ing was followed by a covenant at Loh (樂), with a view to the relief of Ch'ing. [The Loh here in the Chuen may be, as Too says, another name for Ch'ing (櫟), or it may be that the princes, after their conference at Ch'ing, moved a little way off to another place, called Loh, and there covenanted.] Ch'ing (打 in Kung-yang) was in Ch'ing, somewhere in the pres. Ch'in Chow, dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan.

Par. 8. Yen (Kung-yang, 纓) was in Loo,—in pres. dis. of Pe, dep. Yen-chow. We do not know what grounds of quarrel there were at this time between Loo and Choo; and as duke He and an officer of Choo had been in good fellowship at the meeting in Ch'ing the month before, this makes the entry the more strange. Tso-she says the defeat was inflicted on 'the guards of Heu-k'ew, who were about to return.' Too Yu explains this by supposing that Heu-k'ew was in Choo, and that Choo had stationed troops there, after sending Gae K'ang to her death in Ts'e, intending that they should make an incursion into Loo. On finding, however, that Ts'e gave up the body of Gae K'ang to Loo, and that the two States continued on good terms, Choo was afraid, and was proceeding to withdraw its troops, when duke He, having become aware of their original object, attacked and defeated them. A fatal objection to this explanation is, that Heu-k'ew must be assigned to Loo, according to the analogy of all the passages in which the duke of Loo is said to have defeated the forces of another power in any place. The most likely account of the collision which I have met with, is one suggested by Wang Taou,—that when Ke-y'ew fled with the prince Shin to Choo, on the murder of duke Min, they had made great promises to Choo, if that court would help them to regain Loo; and that Choo now, claiming the merit of their restoration and Shin's elevation to the marquisate, had sent a force to seize and keep possession of Heu-k'ew, to enforce his demand that the promises should be made good. He caught only loss, however, by his greed.

Par. 9. Le (Kung, 犁; Kuh, 麗) belonged to Loo. The Chuen says:—'In winter, an officer of Keu came seeking for bribes, but duke Hwan's son, Y'ew, defeated his troops at Le, and took Neu, the younger brother of the viscount of Keu.' Tso-she adds that Neu was not a high minister [intending thus to account, by one of his canons, for the mention of the individual simply by his name], and that the whole par. is in commendation of Ke-y'ew for the capture of Neu. After this, the Chuen resumes, 'The duke for this gave Ke-y'ew the fields on the north of the Wân, and Pe.'

The Chuen on IV. ii. 5 tells us how Ke-y'ew bribed Keu to deliver up K'ing-foo. Not satisfied with what he had then received, the viscount had sent his troops to require further payment. Both Choo and Keu, we may assume,

were presuming that the new rule would be too weak to resist their demands.

獲 most naturally leads to the conclusion that Neu was captured alive; which is inconsistent with a version of the transaction given by Kuh-l'ang:—that Ke-y'ew proposed to Neu that they two should decide the contest by boxing, and let their troops look on, and that then, when he found he was getting the worst, he disposed of his antagonist with a dagger which he carried about his person.

Par. 10. The want of 姜 here before 氏 is evidently a simple error of the text. It is

astonishing what nonsense even the K'ang-he editors write, on the supposition that 'Confucius could not express his condemnation so well as by leaving out her surname in this place.' Tso-she observes that the superior man may say that the people of Ts'e dealt too severely with Gae K'ang in putting her to death; for that a woman follows—has her obediences to be rendered to—the determinate male relatives.' His meaning seems to be that, as she had married from Ts'e into Loo, it belonged to Loo to deal with her; she was no longer amenable to Ts'e. Comp. II. xviii. 2.

Second year.

二年春王正月城  
楚丘。夏五月辛巳葬我  
小君哀姜。虞師晉師滅下陽。  
秋九月齊侯宋公  
江人黃人盟于貫。  
冬十月不雨。  
楚人侵鄭。

左傳曰：二年春，諸侯城楚丘而封衛焉。不書所會後也。晉荀息請以屈產之乘，與垂棘之璧，假道於虞，以伐虢。公曰：是吾寶也。對曰：若得道於虞，猶外府也。公曰：宮之奇存焉。對曰：宮之奇之為人，也懦而不能強諫，且少長於君，君之昵之，雖諫，將不聽。乃使荀息假道於虞，曰：冀為不道，入自顛軫，伐鄭三門，冀之既病，則亦唯君故。今虢為不道，保於逆旅，以侵敝邑之南鄙，敢請假道，以請罪于虢。虞公許之。且請先伐虢，宮之奇諫，不聽。遂起師，夏，晉里克、荀息帥師，會虞師伐虢，滅下陽。先書虞，賄故也。秋，盟于貫，服江、黃也。齊寺人貂始漏師于多魚。○虢公敗戎于桑田。晉卜偃曰：虢必亡矣。亡下陽，不懼，而又有功，是天奪之鑒，而益其疾也。必易晉而不撫其民矣，不可以五稔。冬，楚人伐鄭，鬬章囚鄭聃伯。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, we [aided in the] walling of Ts'oo-k'ëw.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-sze, we buried our duchess, Gae Këang.  
 3 An army of Yu and an army of Tsin extinguished Hëa-yang.  
 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, an officer of Këang, and an officer of Hwang, made a covenant in Kwan.  
 5 In winter, in the tenth month, there was no rain.  
 6 A body of men from Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Ts'oo-k'ëw was the new capital of Wei. The abandonment of the old capital [See on I. ii. 9], and the subsequent destruction of it by the Teih, have been described in the Chuen on IV. ii. 7, where also it is stated how the shattered remnant of the State collected again in Ts'aou. The marquis of Ts'e, however, decided that Ts'oo-k'ëw [diff. from another place of the same name, also in Wei, mentioned in I. vii. 7], —60 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Hwah (滑), dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le, —would be a better site for a capital, and arranged with the other princes to raise its walls. The Chuen says:—“In spring, the princes walled Ts'oo-k'ëw, and established Wei there.” Tso thinks that no mention is made in the text of any previous meeting of the princes for this purpose, because Loo was late in arriving!

In par. 2 of the previous year, it is stated that the armies of the States ‘walled Hing (城邢),’ the reason being that the marquis and people of Hing had already taken up their quarters in E-e, as the head-city of their revived State. Here it is not said that the armies ‘walled Wei (城衛),’ because the marquis and people were still at Ts'aou, and would remove to Ts'oo-k'ëw only when it was ready for their reception.

Par. 2. See III. xxii. 2.

Par. 3. For the 1st time the States of Yu and Tsin appear in the text of the Ch'ün Ts'ëw: —the former on the eve of its extinction; the latter soon to develop into one of the greatest Powers of the period. Yu was held by the descendants of Chung-yung (仲雍), second son of king T'ac, grandfather of king Wän, with the title of duke. Its capital was 45 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Ping-luh (平陸), Këao Chow (解州), Shan-se. Tsin was a marquisate, held by the descendants of Shuh-yu (叔虞), a son of king Woo. Its capital at this time was at Këang, which has left its name in the pres. Këang Chow (絳) of Shan-se. Its position allowed Tsin great opportunity for enlarging its territory, and this was the main cause of the great progress which it made. Hëa-yang (Kung and Kuh, 夏陽) was the second city of the State

of Kwoh, in the north-east of the pres. dis. of Ping-luh (平陸), dep. Ping-yang. The possession of Hëa-yang was all important to Kwoh, the State to which it belonged, and indeed to Yu also. Tsin by acquiring Hëa-yang could go on without difficulty to annex both the States.

The Chuen says:—“Seun Seih of Tsin requested leave from the marquis to take his team of Këuh horses and his *peih* of Ch'uy-keih jade, and with them borrow a way from Yu to march through it and attack Kwoh [Yu was on the south of Tsin, and Kwoh again on the south of Yu]. “They are the things I hold most precious,” said the marquis. Seih replied, “But if you get a way through Yu, it is but like placing them in a treasury outside the State for a time.” “There is Kung Che-k'e in Yu,” objected the duke. “Kung Che-k'e,” returned the other, “is a weak man, and incapable of remonstrating vigorously. And, moreover, from his youth up he has always been with the duke of Yu, who is so familiar with him, that though he should remonstrate, the duke will not listen to him.” The marquis accordingly sent Seun Seih to borrow a way through Yu, with this message:—“Formerly, K'e [a small State], against right and reason, entered your State from Tëen-ling, and attacked the three gates of Ming. It suffered for its doing;—all through your Grace. Now Kwoh, against right and reason, has been keeping guards about the travellers' lodges, to make incursions from them into my southern borders, and I venture to beg a right of way from you to ask an account of its offence.” The duke of Yu granted the request, and even asked to take the lead in invading Kwoh. Kung Che-k'e remonstrated with him, but in vain; and he raised his army for the enterprise.

In summer, Le K'ih and Seun Seih brought on the army of Tsin, made a junction with that of Yu, and invaded Kwoh, when they extinguished Hëa-yang.

“The army of Yu is mentioned first, because of the bribes which the duke accepted.” To speak of ‘extinguishing Hëa-yang,’ which was not a State, sounds strange; but Kuh-lëang accounts for the language on the ground of the importance of the place. Maou K'e-ling even says that Hëa-yang is here another name for Yu.—See Mencius, V. Pt. i. IX. 2.

Par. 4. Këang was a small State, held by Yings (嬴),—in pres. Ho-nan. Its exact place is not determined,—some placing it in dis. of

Ching-yang (正陽), dep. Joo-ning; and some in dis. of Seih (息), Kwang-chow (光州). Hwang was also a small State, held by Yings, in the same Kwang-chow. Both Këang and Hwang acknowledged the superiority of Ts'oo; their now transferring their allegiance to Ts'e is indicative of the approaching struggle between those two great States. Tso says this meeting was held to receive the submission of Këang and Hwang. Kwan (Kung, 貫澤) was in Sung,—10 *le* south-east from dis. city of Ts'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow.

[The Chuen adds here:—1st. ‘Tëaou of Ts'e, chief of the eunuchs, for the 1st time let out the

contemplated expedition of duke Hwan in To-yu.’ 2d. ‘The duke of Kwoh defeated the Jung at Sang-t'ëen. The diviner Yen of Tsin said, “Kwoh is sure to perish. The duke is not afraid, though he has lost Hëa-yang, but goes on to acquire more military fame;—Heaven is taking away his insight, and increasing his disease. He is sure to take his difficulties with Tsin easily, and show no kindness to his people. He will not have five more harvests.”]

Par. 5. See III. xxxi. 6.

Par. 6. The Chuen says that, at this time, ‘Tow Chang carried off prisoner T'an Pih of Ch'ing.’

### Third year.

楚人伐鄭。冬，公子友如齊。黃人會于陽穀。秋，齊侯宋公江人。六月，雨。徐人取舒。夏，四月，不雨。三年，春，王正月，不雨。夏，六月，雨。左傳曰：三年春，不雨，夏六月，雨。不日旱，不為災也。秋，會于陽穀，謀伐楚也。齊侯為陽穀之會，來尋盟。冬，公子友如齊，盟。楚人伐鄭，鄭伯欲成，孔叔不可，曰：齊方勤我，棄德不祥。舟于圉，蕩公懼。變色，禁之，不可。怒歸之，未絕之也。蔡人嫁之。

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, it did not rain.  
 2 In summer, in the fourth month, it did not rain.  
 3 A body of men from Seu took Shoo.  
 4 In the sixth month, it rained.  
 5 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, an officer of Këang, and an officer of Hwang, had a meeting at Yang-kuh.  
 6 In winter, duke [Hwan's] son, Yëw, went to Ts'e to make a covenant.  
 7 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Parr. 1, 2, 4. The Chuen says:—'In spring it did not rain, but in summer, in the 6th month, it did. From the 10th month of the previous year to the end of the 5th month of this, there had been no rain; but as it is not said "there was a drought," it had not amounted to a calamity.' The mention of its raining in the 6th month is dwelt on by the critics. They contrast the three—I might say four—entries here about rain, with VI. ii. 4, where seven months' want of rain is summed up in one par., saying that the various entries here, and especially the last one, show how duke He must have sympathized with the suffering of the people.

Par. 3. Seu,—see III. xxvi. 4. Shoo was a small State;—in pres. dis. of Leu-kéang (廬江), dep. Leu-chow, Gau-hwuy. It is not easy to determine the force of 取, 'took,' which has occurred once before in III. ix. 6, with rather a diff. application. Kung-yang thinks that 取 indicates the ease with which the capture was made, and Too that it indicates that only a small force was employed against Shoo. Some think that 取 is here = 滅, 'extinguished,' but the meaning is not so intense as that. The K'ang-he editors approve the view of Le Leen (李廉; end of the Yuen dyn.), which is reasonable;—that Shoo belonged to the party of Ts'oo, and that Seu now took, and held it for a time, in the interest of Ts'e, to facilitate the progress of the contemplated expedition to the south.

Par. 5. Tso says this meeting was 'to plan about the invasion of Ts'oo.' See on p. 4 of last

year. The K'ang-he editors agree with Tso's account of the object of the meeting, though Kung and Kuh do not mention it. They say that the expedition against Ts'oo had been determined on in the meeting at Ch'ing (檜), in He's 1st year, and that the subsequent meeting at Kwan, and this at Yang-kuh, were held specially to secure the adherence of the powerful Sung, and of the distant Kéang and Hwang. Yang-kuh was in Ts'e, 30 *le* north-east from the pres. dis. city of same name, dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 6. Kuh has 季 before 友. Both he and Kung read 蒞 for 蒞. 蒞—臨, 'to go to and take part in.' The covenant here was a sequel of the meeting at Yang-kuh (Tso says:—齊侯爲陽穀之會來尋盟). Loo had not been represented at the meeting, but the duke here, at the request of Ts'e, sends Ke-yéw to take part in the covenant.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'On this occasion, the earl of Ch'ing wanted to make peace with Ts'oo, but K'ung Shuh objected, saying, "Ts'e is now actively engaged on our behalf. It will not be an auspicious movement to cast away its kindness."'

[The Chuen adds:—'The marquis of Ts'e and Ke of Ts'ae [one of his ladies] were in a boat on a lake in the park, when she made it rock. The marquis was afraid, changed colour, and forbade her; but she persisted. The marquis was angry, and sent her back to Ts'ae, without absolutely putting her away. They married her away there, however, to another.']

#### Fourth year.

四年春王正月公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯、侵蔡、蔡潰、遂伐楚。次于陘。夏，許男新臣卒。楚屈完來盟于師，盟于召陵。齊人執陳轅濤塗。秋，及江人、黃人伐陳。八月，公至自伐楚。

葬許穆公。冬十有二月，公孫茲帥師會齊人、宋人、衛人、鄭人、許人、曹人侵陳。

左傳曰：四年春，齊侯以諸侯之師侵蔡，蔡潰，遂伐楚。楚子使與師言曰：君處北海，寡人處南海，唯是風馬牛不相及也，不虞君之涉吾地也，何故？管仲對曰：昔召康公命我先君犬公曰：五侯九伯，女實征之，以夾輔周室。賜我先君履，東至于海，西至于河，南至于穆陵，北至于無棣，爾貢包茅不入，王祭不共，無以縮酒，寡人是徵；昭王南征而不復，寡人是問；對曰：貢之不入，寡君之罪也，敢不共給。昭王之不復，君其問諸水濱。師進，次於陘。夏，楚子使屈完如師，師退，次于召陵。齊侯陳諸侯之師，與屈完乘而觀之。齊侯曰：豈不穀是爲？先君之好是繼，與不穀同好，如何？對曰：君惠徼福於敝邑之社稷，辱收寡君，寡君之願也。齊侯曰：以此衆戰，誰能禦之？以此攻城，何城不克？對曰：君若以德綏諸侯，誰敢不服？君若以力，楚國方城以爲城，漢水以爲池，雖衆無所用之。屈完及諸侯盟。陳轅濤塗謂鄭申侯曰：師出於陳鄭之間，國必甚病。若出於東方，觀兵於東夷，循海而歸，其可也。申侯曰：善。濤塗以告齊侯，許之。申侯見曰：師老矣，若出於東方而遇敵，懼不可用也。若出於陳鄭之間，共其資糧，屏屨其可也。齊侯說，與之虎牢，執轅濤塗。秋，伐陳，討不忠也。許穆公卒于師，葬之以侯禮也。凡諸侯薨于朝會，加一等，死王事，加二等，於是有以袞斂冬，叔孫戴伯帥師會諸侯之師，侵陳，陳成，歸轅濤塗。初，晉獻公欲以驪姬爲夫人，卜之不吉，筮之吉。公曰：從筮。卜人曰：筮短龜長，不如從長，且其繇曰：專之渝，攘公之羶。一薰一蕕，十年尚猶有臭。必不可弗聽。立之，生奚齊，其娣生卓子。及將立奚齊，既與中大夫成謀，姬謂犬子曰：君夢齊姜，必速祭之。犬子祭于曲沃，歸

夷曰新我此曰樂有安子子其子亦犬之宮胖  
吾皆城十名君曰罪食曰子傳太斃公六于  
奔知姬二月也實子君不君辭杜子姬斃祭日公  
屈之遂戊出察行矣我姬必欵新曰小地至田  
重耳公縊誰罪犬又姬居焉謂公由小墳而  
奔公子納被子不犬殺太臣與獻諸

- IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'auou, in an incursion into Ts'ae. [The people of] Ts'ae dispersed, when the [allies] proceeded to invade Ts'oo, and halted at Hing.
- 2 In summer, Sin-chin, baron of Heu, died.
- 3 K'ëuh Hwan of Ts'oo came to make a covenant in [the camp of] the armies. The covenant was made at Shaou-ling.
- 4 The army of Ts'e made Yuen T'auou-t'oo of Ch'in prisoner.
- 5 In autumn, [the duke], with an officer of Këang and an officer of Hwang, invaded Ch'in.
- 6 In the eighth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'oo.
- 7 There was the burial of duke Muh of Heu.
- 8 In winter, in the twelfth month, Kung-sun Tsze led a force, and joined an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Sung, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, an officer of Heu, and an officer of Ts'auou, in an incursion into Ch'in.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"In this year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e, with the forces of many of the princes, made an incursion into Ts'ae, and, when the marquis and people dispersed and fled, proceeded to invade Ts'oo. The viscount of Ts'oo sent a messenger to the allied army to say to the marquis, "Your lordship's place is by the northern sea, and mine is by the southern; so remote are our boundaries that our cattle and horses, in the heat of their excitement, cannot affect one another. Without my having any idea of it, your lordship has come to my country. What is the reason of your doing so?" Kwan Chung replied, "Duke K'ang of Shaou delivered the charge to T'ae-kung, the first lord of our Ts'e, saying, 'Do you undertake to punish the guilty among the princes of all the five degrees, and the chiefs of all the nine provinces, in order to support and help the House of Chow.' So there was given to our founder rule over the land, from the sea on the east to the Ho on the west, and from Muh-ling on the south to Woo-te on the north. Your tribute of covered cases of the three-ribbed rush [Shoo III. i. Pt. i. 52] is not rendered, so that the king's sacrifices are not supplied with it, and there is

nothing with which to strain the spirits;—of this we have to ask you an account. King Ch'auou moreover never came back from the expedition which he undertook to the south [king Ch'auou had been drowned in the Han, in B. C. 1,016. How the thing happened, was never clearly known. Kwan Chung seems to insinuate that there had been some treachery on the part of Ts'oo. But it was late now to be inquiring into an event more than three centuries back]; and into this also we have to inquire." The messenger replied, "That the tribute has not been forwarded is the fault of our lord;—how should he presume not to pay it? As to king Ch'auou's not returning from the south, you should inquire about it along the banks of the river." After this the army of the allies advanced, and halted at Hing.

Hing was in Ts'oo,—in pres. dis. of Yen-shing (郕城), Heu-chow (許州), Ho-nan. The inroad into Ts'ae was a feint, intended to conceal the great object of the expedition, so that the allies might be able to fall on Ts'oo unprepared. The incident mentioned in the Chuen at the end of last year furnished a pretext for it.

The marquis of Ts'e said that he had meant to recal the lady, and that Ts'ae had no right to marry her away to another. 潰=散, 'to disperse.' On VI. iii. 1, Tso-she defines the term as expressing 'the flight of the people from their lord (民逃其上曰潰).' They dis-

appear like water (流移若積水之潰). Ts'e certainly does not appear with advantage in the conference with the messenger of Ts'oo. For three years preparations had been making for the expedition. The marquis and Kwan Chung ought to have declared openly and boldly the grounds on which they were conducting all the States of the north to attack Ts'oo, instead of urging merely trivial matters. There is something to be admired, however, in the approval which a hundred critics give to the way in which matters were conducted, so as to obtain the submission of Ts'oo without the effusion of blood; but they overlook the fact that it was only a feigned submission which was obtained.

Par. 2. Tso-she says, on p. 7, that the baron 'died in the army,' which is probably correct, though Lëw Ch'ang and other critics say he had returned from the army ill, and died in Heu. Kaou K'ang says that this Sin-chin was the same as Heu Shuh of II. xv. 6, and that he had ruled his State for 42 years.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo sent K'ëuh Hwan to the army of the allies, which retired, and halted at Shaou-ling. The marquis of Ts'e had the armies of all the princes drawn up in array, and took K'ëuh Hwan with him in the same carriage to survey them. He then said, "Is it on my unworthy account that these are here? No, but in continuation of the friendship of the princes with my predecessors. What do you think of Ts'oo's being on the same terms of friendship with me?" K'ëuh Hwan replied, "If from your lordship's favour the altars of our land and grain may receive blessing, and you will condescend to receive our prince, this is his wish." The marquis then said, "Fighting with these multitudes, who can withstand me? What city could sustain their attack?" "If your lordship," was the reply, "by your virtue, seek the tranquillity of the States, who will dare not to submit to you? But if you depend on your strength, our State of Ts'oo has the hill of Fang-shing for a wall, and the Han for a moat. Great as your multitudes are, you could not use them." K'ëuh Hwan made a covenant, on the part of Ts'oo, with the princes.

Shaou-ling was in Ts'oo,—45 le east from the dis. city of Yen-shing, Heu Chow, Ho-nan. From the text it might be concluded that two covenants were formed; but it was not so. K'ëuh Hwan came to the camp of the allies, and intimated the wish of the viscount of Ts'oo to make a covenant with them, if they would retire a little;—which was done. It will appear on the whole that there was here a lame and impotent conclusion to Ts'e's expedition against Ts'oo.

Par. 4. The reason of this seizure is given in the Chuen:—"Yuen (Kung and Kuh have 袁, without the 車) T'auou-t'oo, a great officer of Ch'in, said to Shin How, a great officer of Ch'ing, "If the armies march through Ch'in

and Ch'ing, our States will be very much distressed. If they go by the eastern regions, and show their grand array to the wild tribes there, returning along the sea-coast, it will be better." Shin How approved of the proposal, which T'auou-t'oo then laid before the marquis of Ts'e, who agreed with it. After this, Shin How had an interview with the marquis, and said, "The army has been in the field a long time. If it march through the eastern regions, and meet with enemies, I fear the soldiers will not be fit for use. If it march through Ch'in and Ch'ing, which can supply them with provisions and sandals, it will be a better arrangement." The marquis was pleased, and gave Shin the town of Hoo-laou, while he seized at the same time Yuen T'auou-t'oo.

Par. 5. Tso-she says this was done 'to punish Ch'in for its unfaithfulness.' It would appear, then, that the marquis of Ch'in had been privy to the artful counsel of Yuen T'auou-t'oo; or perhaps, as Wang Ts'ëaou [王樵; Ming dyn., of the 16th century] supposes, he had otherwise indicated his intention to join the side of Ts'oo. This is more likely. The marquis of Ts'e had devolved the punishment of Ch'in on Loo, Këang, and Hwang.

Par. 6. Kuh-lëang here lays down a rule, that if the duke had been absent on two engagements, then the entry of his return should be associated with the latter; but if the second were smaller than the other, then with the first. But such a rule is unnecessary. The attack of Ch'in was only an incident growing out of the invasion of Ts'oo.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Duke Muh (穆; 穆) of Heu died in the army, and was buried with the ceremonies due to a marquis. As a rule, when a prince died on a visit to the king, or at a meeting with the other princes, his rank was advanced one degree. If he died while engaged in the king's business, it was advanced two degrees. On this occasion, Muh might have been laid in his coffin with a duke's robe."

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"Shuh-sun Tae-pih [This was the Kung-sun Tsze (Kung, here and afterwards, gives the name as 慈). He was grandson of duke Hwan, and chief of the Shuh-sun clan. Tae is the hon. title, and Pih his designation as the eldest of his family] led a force, and joined the forces of the other princes in an incursion into Ch'in, which now sought peace, and Yuen T'auou-t'oo was restored to it."

[The Chuen here brings up the affairs of Ts'in:—"Before this, duke Hëen of Ts'in had wished to make Le Ke his wife. The tortoise-shell indicated that the thing would be unlucky, but the milfoil pronounced it lucky. The duke said, "I will follow the milfoil." The diviner by the tortoise-shell said, "The milfoil is reckoned inferior in its indications to the tortoise-shell. You had better follow the latter. And moreover, the oracle was:—

'The change made by inordinate devotion Steals away the good qualities of the duke. There is a fragrant herb, and a noisome one; And ten years hence the noisomeness will continue.'



Do not do as you propose." The duke would not listen to this advice, and declared Le Ke his wife. She gave birth to He-ts'e, and her sister bore Ch'oh-tsze.

"When the duke was about to declare He-ts'e his heir, having determined on his plans with the great officers about the court, Ke [i.e., Le Ke] said to his eldest son, "The duke has been dreaming about Ts'e K'ang [the eldest son's mother]; you must soon sacrifice to her." The young prince sacrificed to his mother in K'eh-yuh, and sent some of the sacrificial flesh and spirits to the duke, who was hunting when they came. Ke kept them in the palace six days, and when the duke arrived, she poisoned them and presented them to him. The duke poured some of the spirits on the ground, which was agitated by them. He gave some of the flesh to a dog, which died; and some of the spirits to one of the attendants, who also died. Ke wept and said, "This is your eldest son's attempt to

murder you." The son fled to the new city [K'eh-yuh]; but the duke put to death his tutor, Too Yuen-kwan. Some one said to the son, "Explain the matter. The duke is sure to discriminate." The son, however, said, "Without the lady Ke, my father cannot enjoy his rest or his food. If I explain the matter, the guilt will be fixed on her. The duke is getting old, and I will have taken his joy from him." The friend said, "Had you not better go away then?" "The duke," replied the prince, "will not examine into who is the guilty party; and if I, with the name of such a crime, go away from the State, who will receive me?" In the 12th month, on Mow-shin, he strangled himself in the new city.

'Ke then slandered the duke's two other sons, saying that they were both privy to their brother's attempt, on which Ch'ung-urh fled to P'oo, and E-woo fled to K'eh-yuh.'

Fifth year.

五年春，晉侯殺其世子申生。  
杞伯姬來朝其子。  
夏，公孫茲如牟。  
公及齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯會王世子于首止。  
秋八月，諸侯盟于首止。  
鄭伯逃歸，不盟。  
楚人滅弦，弦子奔黃。  
九月戊申朔，日有食之。  
冬，晉人執虞公。

左傳曰：五年春，王正月，辛亥朔，日南至，公既視朔，遂登觀臺，以望而書禮也。凡分至，啟閉，必書雲物，為備故也。晉侯使以殺太子申生之故來告，初，晉侯使士蔭為二公子築蒲，與屈、不慎、真薪焉。夷吾訴之，公使讓之，士蔭稽首而

對曰：臣聞之，無喪而感，憂必讐焉。無戎而城，讐必保焉。寇讐之保，又何慎焉？守官廢命，不敬，固讐之保，不忠，失忠與敬，何以事君？詩云：懷德惟寧，宗子惟城。君其脩德而固宗子，何城如之？三年將尋師焉，焉用慎？退而賦曰：狐裘彫茸，一國三公。吾誰適從？及難，公使寺人披伐蒲，重耳曰：君父之命不校，乃徇曰：校者，吾讐也。踰垣而走，披斬其袪，遂出奔翟。夏，公孫茲如牟娶焉。會于首止，會王太子鄭，謀寧周也。陳轅宣仲怨鄭申侯之反己於召陵，故勸之，城其賜邑，曰：美城之，大名也。子孫不忘，吾助子請，乃為之請於諸侯，而城之美，遂譖諸鄭伯。曰：美城其賜邑，將以叛也。申侯由是得罪。秋，諸侯盟，王使周公召鄭伯，曰：吾撫汝以從楚，輔之以晉，可以少安。鄭伯喜於王命，而懼其不朝於齊也，故逃歸，不盟。孔叔止之曰：國君不可以輕輕，則失親，失親，患必至，病而乞盟，所喪多矣。君必悔之，弗聽，逃其師而歸。楚鬬穀於菟滅弦，弦子奔黃，於是江黃、道柏、方睦於齊，皆弦姻也。弦子恃之而不事楚，又不設備，故亡。晉侯復假道於虞以伐虢，宮之奇諫曰：虢，虞之表也。虢亡，虞必從之。晉不可啟，寇不可翫，一之謂甚，其可再乎？諺所謂輔車相依，唇亡齒寒者，其虞、虢之謂也。公曰：晉吾宗也，豈害我哉？對曰：大伯、虞仲，大王之昭也。大伯不從，是以不嗣。虢仲、虢叔，王季之穆也，為文王卿士，勳在王室，藏於盟府。將虢是滅，何愛於虞？且虞能親於桓、莊乎？其愛之也。桓、莊之族何罪，而以為戮，不唯偏乎？親以寵偏，猶尚害之，況以國乎？公曰：吾享祀豐潔，神必據我。對曰：臣聞之，鬼神非人實親，惟德是依。故周書曰：皇天無親，惟德是輔。又曰：黍稷非馨，明德惟馨。又曰：民不易物，惟德繁物。如是，則非德，民不和，神不享矣。神所馮依，將在德矣。若晉取虞，而明德以為馨，馨香，神其吐之乎？弗聽。許晉使，宮之奇以其族行，曰：虞不臘矣，在此行也，晉不更舉矣。八月甲午，晉侯圍上陽，問於卜偃曰：吾其濟



罪故祀以虞于公月中日十軍資振晨時乎。  
 虞書且勝公虞醜丙必在月號天取龍對對  
 且日歸秦及遂奔子是尾之公策號尾日日  
 言晉其穆姬大虞師朔晉也。在月交其厚之伏童克  
 也執貢而夫滅師滅號十火旦月成資振之何  
 虞公王虞伯執館號二火旦月成資振之何

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year in spring, the marquis of Tsin put to death his heir-son Shin-säng.
- 2 Duke Chwang's eldest daughter came from Ke, and presented her son at our court.
- 3 In summer, Kung-sun Tsze went to Mow.
- 4 The duke, and the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, had a meeting with the king's heir-son in Show-che.
- 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, the [above] princes made a covenant in Show-che.
- 6 The earl of Ch'ing stole away home, and did not join in the covenant.
- 7 An officer of Ts'oo extinguished Hëen. The viscount of Hëen fled to Hwang.
- 8 In the ninth month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 9 In winter, the people of Tsin seized the duke of Yu.

[The Chuen says:—“On the day Sin-hae, of the king's first month in this year, being the 1st day of the month, there was the winter solstice. The duke, having given out the 1st day of the moon, ascended his observatory to survey the heavens, and caused the record of the fact to be made;—in accordance with rule. At the equinoxes, the solstices, and the commencement of each season, there was required a record of the appearances of the clouds, and their indications, in order to make what preparations should be necessary.” But the winter solstice this year fell on Këah-yin (甲寅), three days later than Sin-hae. Chinese astronomers have themselves called attention to this:—see Këang Yung's 翼梅卷四, p. 4.]

Par. 1. According to the Chuen, at the end of last year, Shin-säng committed suicide, driven to do so by his father, in the winter of that year. Too explains the entry here, by saying that ‘it follows the announcement from Tsin.’ Tsin in fact followed the calendar of Hëa. Tso-she's narrative is according to that calendar, and the entry here is also correct, according to the calendar of Chow. It seems desirable to translate 世子 differently from

太子, and I know not how to do so but by using the term ‘heir-son.’

The Chuen has here:—“Before this, the marquis of Tsin had employed Sze Wei to wall P'oo and Këuh for his sons, Ch'ung-urh and E-woo. Wei did not look carefully after the work, and placed faggots between the back and facing of the walls. E-woo represented the matter to the marquis, who caused Wei to be reprimanded. That officer, having bowed his head to the ground, replied, “I have heard the sayings that when there is grief in a family where death has not occurred, *real* sorrow is sure to come, and that when you fortify a city when there is no threatening of war, your enemies are sure to hold it. In walling a place to be held by robbers and enemies, what occasion was there for me to be careful? If an officer with a charge neglect the command given to him, he fails in respect; if he make strong a place to be held by enemies, he fails in fidelity. Failing in respect and fidelity, how can he serve his lord? As the ode (She, III. ii. X. 6) says,

‘The cherishing of virtue insures tranquillity;

The circle of relatives serves as a wall’

Let our ruler cultivate his virtue and make sure all the circle of his House;—there is no

fortification equal to this. In three years we shall have war; why should I be careful?” When he withdrew, he sang to himself,

“Shaggy is the fox fur;  
 Three dukes in one State:—  
 Which shall I follow?”

‘When the trouble came, the duke sent the eunuch P'e to attack P'oo. Ch'ung-urh said, “The command of my ruler and father is not to be opposed;” and he issued an order to his followers, saying, “He who opposes it is my enemy.” He then was getting over the wall to run, when P'e cut off his sleeve. He made his escape, however, and fled to the Teih.’

Par. 2. We have the marriage of this daughter of Loo in the 25th year of duke Chwang, her father. It is disputed whether she was a full or only a half sister of duke He;—it is most likely that she was his full sister. Ying-tah puts a stop at 來, and makes 朝其子

= 其子朝, ‘Pih Ke of Ke came to Loo [to visit her mother]; her son appeared at the court.’ To suppose that she came to Loo for any purpose but to pay a dutiful visit to her mother would be contrary to all Chinese rules of propriety; but as the text stands, I cannot but conclude that the presentation of her son at his uncle's court was the reason for her visit.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—“Kung-sun Tsze went to Mow;—to marry a lady of Mow;” on which Too remarks, ‘Shuh-sun Tae-pih was marrying a lady of Mow. As a minister could not leave the State without his ruler's orders, he therefore received the duke's command to go to Mow with friendly inquiries, and took the opportunity to meet his bride, and bring her to Loo.’ Mow,—see on II. xv. 8.

Par. 4. Show-che (Kung has 首戴) was in Wei,—in the south-east of the present Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. Tso-she says that the meeting at this place with the king's eldest son Ch'ing was ‘to consult about measures to keep Chow tranquil.’ The king had it in contemplation to degrade his eldest son, and give the right of succession to a younger,—the son, of course, of another mother; and to prevent the confusion to which such a proceeding would give rise, the marquis of Ts'e assembled the States, that they might thus publicly acknowledge Ch'ing as the heir to the kingdom;—much to the dissatisfaction of the king, as we shall see.

[The Chuen introduces here:—“Yuen Seu-chung [the Yuen Taou-t'oo of IV. 4] of Ch'in, resenting how Shin How of Ch'ing had been treacherous to him at Shaou-ling, advised him to wall the town which Ts'e had conferred upon him, saying “To wall it well will give you a great name, which your descendants will not forget; and I will aid you by asking leave for you to do it.” Accordingly, he asked permission for the undertaking, in behalf of Shin, from the princes, and the town was fortified beautifully. Yuen then slandered Shin to the earl of Ch'ing, saying that he had fortified the city he had received so admirably with the intention of rebelling; and from this time Shin How was looked upon as an offender.”]

Par. 5. The princes had had a meeting with the king's son, but they did not presume to make a covenant with him. They now made a covenant among themselves, to carry out the measures determined on to secure his succession to the throne.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—“In autumn, when the princes were about to covenant, the king made the duke of Chow call the earl of Ch'ing, and said to him, “I encourage you to follow Ts'oo;—with it and the help of Tsin, you may enjoy a little rest.” The earl was delighted to receive the king's commands; and being afraid because he had not paid a court-visit to the marquis of Ts'e, he stole away to Ch'ing, and did not join in the covenant. K'ung Shuh tried to stop him, saying, “The ruler of a State should not act lightly. By doing so he loses his friends; and when he has lost them, calamity is sure to come. When in his extreme distress, he has to beg for a covenant;—what he loses is great. Your lordship will surely repent of your course.” The earl would not listen to this remonstrance, but stole away from his troops, and returned to Ch'ing.’

Par. 7. Hëen was a State, held by Weis (隗), in the pres. dis. of K'e-shwuy (斬水), dep. Hwang-chow, Hoo-pih. Some refer it to a part of Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan; but this is a mistake,—occasioned, some suppose, by the fugitive viscount's having finally taken up his residence there. The Chuen says:—“Tow T'oo-woo-t'oo [See the Chuen appended to III. xxx. 2] of Ts'oo extinguished Hëen, when the viscount of Hëen fled to Hwang. At this time, Këang, Hwang, Taou, and Pih, which were in friendly relations with Ts'e, had affinities by marriage with Hëen. The viscount, depending on their help, would not perform service to Ts'oo, and moreover did not make preparations for an emergency; and so he came to ruin.’

Par. 8. This eclipse took place August 11th, B. C. 654.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—“The marquis of Tsin again [See on II. 8] borrowed a way through Yu to attack Kwoh. Kung Che-k'e remonstrated with the duke of Yu, saying, “Kwoh is the external defence of Yu. If Kwoh perish, Yu is sure to follow it. A way should not be opened to the greed of Tsin; robbers are not to be played with. To do it once was more than enough; and will you do it a second time? The common sayings, ‘The carriage and its wheel-axles depend on one another,’ ‘When the lips perish, the teeth become cold,’ illustrate the relation between Kwoh and Yu.” The duke said, “The princes of Tsin and Yu are descended from the same ancestor. How should Tsin injure us?” The minister replied, ‘T'ae-pih and Yu-chung were sons of king T'ae; but because T'ae-pih would not follow him against Shang, he did not inherit his State. Kwoh Chung and Kwoh Shuh were sons of king Ke, and ministers of king Wän. Their merits in the service of the royal House are preserved in the repository of covenants. If Kwoh be extinguished by Tsin, what love is it likely to show to Yu? And can Yu claim a nearer kindred to Tsin than the descendants of Hwan and Chwang [See the Chuen after III. xxiii. 3], that Tsin should show love to it? What crime had the families descended from



左傳曰七年春齊人伐鄭孔叔言於鄭伯曰諺有之曰心則不競何憚於病既不能強又不能弱所以斃也國危矣請下齊以救國公曰吾知其所由來矣姑少待我對曰朝不及夕何以待君

夏鄭殺申侯以說于齊且用陳轅濤塗之譖也初申侯申出也有寵於楚文王文王將死與之璧使行曰唯我知汝汝專利而不厭予取予求不汝疵瑕也後之人將求多於汝汝必不免我死汝必速行無適小國將不汝容焉既葬出奔鄭又有寵於厲公子文聞其死也曰古人有言曰知臣莫若君弗可改也已

秋盟于甯母謀鄭故也管仲言於齊侯曰臣聞之招攜以禮懷遠以德德禮不易無人懷齊侯修禮於諸侯諸侯官受方物鄭伯使大夫華聽命於會言於齊侯曰洩氏孔氏子人氏三族實違君命若君去之以爲成我以鄭爲內臣君亦無所不利焉齊侯將許之管仲曰君以禮與信屬諸侯而以姦終之無乃不可乎子父不奸之謂禮守命共時之謂信違此二者姦莫大焉公曰諸侯有討於鄭未捷今苟有釁從之不亦可乎對曰君若綏之以德加之以訓辭而帥諸侯以討鄭鄭將覆亡之不暇豈敢不懼若總其罪人以臨之鄭有辭矣何懼且夫合諸侯以崇德也會而列姦何以示後嗣夫諸侯之會其德刑禮義無國不記記姦之位君盟替矣作而不記非盛德也君其勿許鄭必受盟夫子華既爲大夫而求介於大國以弱其國亦必不免鄭有叔詹堵叔師叔三良爲政未可間也齊侯辭焉子華由是得罪於鄭冬鄭伯使請盟于齊

閏月惠王崩襄王惡犬叔帶之難懼不立不發喪而告難于齊

- 5 Pan, earl of Ts'aou, died.
- 6 Duke [Hwan's] son, Y'ew, went to Ts'e.
- 7 In winter, there was the burial of duke Ch'aou of Ts'aou.

Par. 1. Ch'ing was in an evil case between Ts'oo and Ts'e, and experienced the general fate of trimmers. The Chuen says:—"On this occasion, K'ung Shuh said to the earl of Ch'ing, 'The proverb says, 'When a man is incapable of firm resolve, why should he feel it a pain to be humble?' You are not able to be strong, and you are not able to be weak:—it is the way to ruin yourself; the State is in peril. Let me entreat you to submit to Ts'e, in order to save the State.' The earl said 'I know how peace with Ts'e can be brought about. Have patience with me for a little.' The officer replied, 'When we know not in the morning that we shall reach the evening, how can we wait for your determination?'"

Par. 2. S'eaou or Little Choo is the same as E (兒) of III. v. 3; xv. 3. Its chief E-lae, it is said, had been very assiduous in serving the marquis of Ts'e, who got the king to confer on him a patent of nobility, and raise him to the rank of viscount. He is here in consequence of his elevation, paying a court visit to Loo. The name adopted for the new State was little Choo, because the viscounts of Choo and the lords of E were descended from the same ancestor.

Par. 3. See on IV. 4; and the narrative after V. 4. The Chuen says here:—"Ch'ing put to death Shin How to please Ts'e, and because of the ill report of him given by Yuen T'aou-t'oo. Shin How was a native of Shin [申; a son of the marquis of Shin by a daughter of Ts'oo], and had been a favourite with king Wän of Ts'oo. When king Wän was about to die, he gave How a *peih*, and sent him away, saying, 'It is only I that know you. You are all bent on gain, insatiable. I have given to you, and allowed you to beg from me, without dwelling on your faults; but my successor will require much from you, and you are sure not to escape the consequences of your conduct. You must quickly leave Ts'oo; and do not go to a small State, for it will not be able to bear you.' When king Wän was buried, Shin How fled to Ch'ing, where also he became a favourite with duke Le. When Tze-wän [Tow T'oo-woo-t'oo, chief minister of Ts'oo] heard of his death, he said, 'The ancients have well said, 'No one knows a minister like his ruler.' How's nature could not be changed.'"

Par. 4. Ning-moo (Kuh-l'ang has 寧母) was in Loo, 20 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Yu-t'ae, dep. Yen-chow. This was 'a meeting in robes (衣裳之會);' i. e., the princes did not have any military following. The K'ang-he editors say that 'the lords of Ch'in and Ch'ing sent their heir-sons. Both of these States had lately been attacked by Ts'e. Ch'in would fain have declined the covenant, but did not venture to do so. Ch'ing would fain have been present at it, but was not permitted to be so. They therefore did not present themselves, but sent their sons.' The Chuen says:—"This meeting at Ning-moo was to consult about

Ch'ing. Kwan Chung said to the marquis of Ts'e, "I have heard the sayings, 'Call the wavering with courtesy; cherish the remote with kindness; when kindness and courtesy are shown invariably, there are none but will be won.'" The marquis accordingly manifested courtesy to the princes, and their officers received from him the *list* of the tribute their territories *had to pay to the king*. The earl of Ch'ing having sent his eldest son Hwa to receive the commands of the meeting, the young prince said to the marquis, "It was the three clans of S'eh, K'ung, and Tsze-jin, who opposed your lordship's orders. If you will remove them as the basis of a pacification, I will become, at the head of Ch'ing, as one of your own subjects, and your lordship will be a gainer in every way."

"The marquis was about to agree to his proposal; but Kwan Chung said, 'You have bound all the princes to you by your propriety and truth; and will it not be improper to end with an opposite policy? Here we should have propriety in the form of no treachery between son and father, and truth in that of the son's observing his father's commands according to the exigency of the times. There cannot be greater criminality than that of him who acts contrary to these two things.' "We princes," replied the duke, "have tried to punish Ch'ing, but without success. And now when such an opportunity is presented to me, may I not take advantage of it?" "Let your lordship," said Kwan, "deal gently with the case of Ch'ing in kindness, and add to this an instructive exposition of it, and then, when you again lead the princes to punish the State, it will feel that utter overthrow is imminent, and will be consumed with terror. If on the contrary you deal with it, adopting the counsel of this criminal, Ch'ing will have a case to allege, and will not be afraid. Consider too that you have assembled the princes to do honour to virtue, and if at the meeting you give place to this villain, and follow his counsel, what will there be to show to your descendants? And further, the virtue, the punishments, the rules of propriety, and the righteousness, displayed at the meetings of the princes, are recorded in every State. When a record is made of the place given to such a criminal, there will be an end of your lordship's covenants. If you do the thing and do not record it, that will show that your virtue is not complete. Let not your lordship accede to his request. Ch'ing is sure to accept the covenant. And for this Hwa, the earl of Ch'ing's eldest son, to seek the assistance of a great State to weaken his own,—he will not escape without suffering for it. The government of Ch'ing, moreover, is in the hands of Shuh-chen, Too Shuh, and Sze Shuh, those three good men:—you would find no opportunity now to act against it."

"On this the marquis of Ts'e declined the proffer of the prince, who in consequence of this

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, an officer of Ts'e invaded Ch'ing.
- 2 In summer, the viscount of Little Choo paid a court visit [to Loo.]
- 3 Ch'ing put to death its great officer, Shin How.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, Kwan, heir-son of Ch'in, and Hwa, heir-son of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant in Ning-moo.

affair was regarded as a criminal in Ch'ing. The earl begged from Ts'e the favour of a covenant.'

Par. 5. For 班 Kung has 般. [After p. 7, the Chuen says:—In the intercalary month [which must thus have been a

double twelfth], king Hwuy died. King S'ang, in consequence of the troubles that were occasioned by T'ae-shuh Tae, and fearing his accession might not be secured, did not make his father's death public, and sent an announcement of his difficulties to Ts'e.]

### Eighth year.

八年春王正月公  
會王人齊侯宋公  
衛侯許男曹伯陳  
世子款盟于洮。  
鄭伯乞盟。  
夏狄伐晉。  
秋七月禘于大廟。  
用致夫人。  
冬十有二月丁未  
天王崩。

左傳曰八年春盟于洮謀王室也鄭伯乞盟請服也襄王定位而後發喪晉里克帥師梁由靡御虢射爲右以敗狄于采桑梁由靡曰狄無恥從之必大克里克曰懼之而已無速衆狄虢射曰期年狄必至示之弱矣夏狄伐晉報采桑之役也復期月秋禘而致哀姜焉非禮也凡夫人不薨于寢不殯于廟不赴于同不祔于姑則弗致也冬王人來告喪難故也是以緩○宋公疾大子茲父固請曰目夷長且仁君其立之公命子魚子魚辭曰能以國讓仁孰大焉臣不及也且又不順遂走而退

- VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke had a meeting with an officer of the king, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the baron of H'eu, the earl of Ts'aou, and Kwan, heir-son of Ch'in, when they made a covenant in T'aou.
- 2 The earl of Ch'ing begged [to be admitted to] the covenant.
- 3 In summer, the Teih invaded Tsin.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke offered the great sacrifice in the grand temple, and [at

the same time] placed the tablet of [duke Chwang's] wife in his shrine.

- 5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-we, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

Parr. 1, 2. The T'aou here is different from that in III. xxvii. 1. This was in Ts'aou,—50 le south-west from the pre. city of Puh Chow (濮州), dep. Ts'aou-chow. The Chuen says:

—'The object of the covenant was to concert measures about the royal House. The earl of Ch'ing begged leave to take part in it, asking that Ts'e would accept his submission. The succession of king S'ang was settled, and he proceeded to publish his father's death.'

The king's death, according to the Chuen, took place in the end of last year, whereas the 5th par. here states that it occurred in the 12th month of this year. Woo Ch'ing, Wang Ts'eaou, and many other critics, think that Tso-she must be in error as to the date of the death. It is, indeed, not easy to understand how so important an event could have been concealed for twelve months. The queen and her son Shuh Tae who were anxious to prevent the succession of Ch'ing, could not have remained ignorant of it all that time.

The earl of Ch'ing now felt that there was no course for him but to humble himself. He had withdrawn from the meeting in the 5th year, which was to recognize the right of the king's son Ch'ing to the throne; and now he is obliged to beg to be allowed to take part in the meeting which recognized him.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'Le K'ih had commanded a force against the Teih, with L'ang Yew-me as his charioteer, and Kwoh Yih as the spearman on the left. He defeated them at Ts'ae sang, when L'ang said to him, "The Teih are not ashamed to fly. If you follow them, you will obtain a great conquest." Le K'ih replied, "It is best to frighten them only. Don't let us accelerate a rising of all their tribes." Kwoh Yih said, "Let a year be completed, and the Teih will be here again. We are only showing them our weakness." Sure enough, this summer, the Teih invaded Tsin, to avenge their defeat at Ts'ae-sang. The exact month of the year had come round again.'

Par. 4. There are two things recorded in this par.; first, the offering of the *te* sacrifice and next, the taking occasion at it (indicated by the 用=遂) to introduce a lady, the wife of some duke, into the grand temple, or the temple of the duke of Chow, ancestor of the House of Loo.

1st. The *te* sacrifice here is to be distinguished from the 吉禘, or 'fortunate *te*,' mentioned

IV. ii. 2. It is the 'great sacrifice (大祭),' offered once in 3 years, according to Too Yu, or once in 5 years, according to others. The individual sacrificed to in it was the remotest ancestor to whom the kings, or the princes of States ruled by offshoots from the royal House, traced their lineage. The kings would thus sacrifice to the ancient emperor Kuh (帝嚳); and the marquises of Loo to king W'an. Whether Loo did arrogate the right to offer the sacrifice to the

emperor Kuh, pleading a special grant to do so given to the duke of Chow by king Ch'ing, is a question that need not be considered here. This 'great sacrifice' is that here spoken of, and we have the record of it this year, and not on other years of its occurrence, because of the extraordinary use that was made of it, as related in the latter part of the par.

2d. Who was the lady intended here by 夫人? Tso-she says she was Gae K'ang, duke Chwang's wife:—'He offered the *te* sacrifice, and introduced the tablet of Gae K'ang;—which was contrary to rule. In the case of the death of a duke's wife, if she died not in her proper chamber; or the passage of her coffin were not announced in the ancestral temple; or her demise were not communicated to the princes who had covenanted with her husband; or her tablet had not been temporarily placed by that of her husband's father's wife;—then her tablet could not be placed in her husband's shrine.'

致 is here employed in the sense given by Too Yu:—致者致新死之主於廟而列之昭穆 All the conditions required for this ceremony had been observed in the case of Gae K'ang, excepting the first. She had not died in her chamber, but through her own wickedness had been put to death in Ts'e; and though duke He had brought her body back to Loo, and buried it with all the usual forms, yet one important element was wanting, sufficient, in Tso-she's opinion, to vitiate this final honour attempted to be paid to her.

Kung-yang took a diff. view. Acc. to him, the 'wife' here is duke He's own wife. He had arranged to marry a daughter of Ts'oo; but a lady of Ts'e, intended for the harem, arriving before her, duke He was obliged by the power of Ts'e to make her his wife, by the ceremony of introducing her on this occasion into the temple. But this appears to be merely a story concocted by Kung to explain the text in some likely way.

Kuh-l'ang seems to think that the lady was Ch'ing Fung, duke He's mother; and if 致 be spoken of her Spirit-tablet this view is absurd, because she did not die till the 4th year of duke W'an. L'au Ch'ang, Chang H'au, however, and a host of other critics, adopt a modification of this view, that duke He somehow took this occasion to instal his own mother as duke Chwang's proper wife. But they fail to show that such a proceeding was in any way competent to a son.—On the whole Tso-she's view most commends itself to our acceptance.

Par. 5. See what has been said on the date of the king's death under par. 1. Tso-she says here, that 'an officer of the king came now to announce his death, and that the announcement was made so late, because of the difficulties connected with the succession.'



[The Chuen adds here:—'The duke of Sung being ill, his eldest son by his recognized wife, Tsze-foo, earnestly entreated him, saying, "My brother, Muh-e, is older than I, and is entirely virtuous. Do make him your successor." The duke gave charge to Tsze-yu [the above Muh-e] that so it should be, but he refused, saying,

"What greater virtue could there be than for him thus to decline the dignity of the State?—I am not equal to him. And moreover, the thing itself would not be in accordance with what is right." With this he ran out of the duke's presence.]

Ninth year.

九年春王正月丁丑宋公御說卒。  
夏公會宰周公齊侯宋子衛侯鄭伯許男曹伯于葵丘。  
秋七月乙酉伯姬卒。  
九月戊辰諸侯盟于葵丘。  
甲子晉侯詭諸卒。  
冬晉里克殺其君之子奚齊。

左傳曰九年春宋桓公卒未葬而襄公會諸侯故曰子凡在喪王曰小童公侯曰子夏會于葵丘尋盟且修好禮也王使宰孔賜齊侯胙曰天子有事于文武使孔賜伯舅胙齊侯將下拜孔曰且有後命天子使孔曰以伯舅耄老加勞賜一級無下拜對曰天威不遠顔咫尺小白余敢貪天子之命無下拜恐隕越于下以遺天子羞敢不拜下拜登受

秋齊侯盟諸侯于葵丘曰凡我同盟之人言歸于好宰孔先歸遇晉侯曰可無會也齊侯不務德而勤遠略故北伐山戎南伐楚西爲此會也東略之不知西則否矣其在亂乎君務靖亂無勤於行晉侯乃還

九月晉獻公卒里克不鄭欲納文公故以三公子之徒作亂初獻公使荀息傅奚齊公疾召之曰以是藐諸孤辱在大夫其若之何稽首而對曰臣竭其股肱之力加之

以忠貞其濟君之靈也不濟則以死繼之公曰何謂忠貞對曰公家之利知無不爲忠也送往事居耦俱無猜貞也及里克將殺奚齊先告荀息曰三怨將作秦晉輔之子將何如荀息曰將死之里克曰無益也荀叔曰吾與先君言矣不可以貳能欲復言而愛身乎雖無益也將焉辟之且人之欲善誰不如我我欲無貳而能謂人已乎冬十月里克殺奚齊于次書曰殺其君之子未葬也荀息將死之人曰不如立卓子而輔之荀息立公子卓以葬十一月里克殺公子卓于朝荀息死之君子曰詩所謂白圭之玷尚可磨也斯言之玷不可爲也荀息有焉

齊侯以諸侯之師伐晉及高梁而還討晉亂也令不及魯故不書

晉卻芮使夷吾重賂秦以求入曰人實有國我何愛焉入而能民土於何亡人無黨有黨必有讐夷吾弱不好弄能鬪不過長亦不改不識其他公謂公孫枝曰夷吾其定乎對曰臣聞之唯則定國詩曰不識不知順帝之則文王之謂也又曰不僭不賊鮮不爲則無好無惡不忌不克之謂也今其言多忌克難哉公曰忌則多怨又焉能克是吾利也

宋襄公即位以公子目夷爲仁使爲左師以聽政於是宋治故魚氏世爲左師

- IX. 1 In the duke's ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ting-ch'ow, Yu-yueh, duke of Sung, died.
- 2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the [king's] chief minister, the duke of Chow, and with the marquis of Ts'e, the son [of the late duke] of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Tsaou, in K'wei-k'ew.
- 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Yih-yëw, the duke's eldest daughter died.
- 4 In the ninth month, on Mow-shin, the princes made a covenant in K'wei-k'ew.
- 5 On K'eah-tsze, Kwei-choo, marquis of Tsin, died.
- 6 In winter, Le K'ih put to death He-ts'e, the son of his [deceased] ruler.



**"A flaw in a white gem  
May be ground away;  
But for a flaw in speech  
Nothing can be done"**

左傳曰十年春狄滅溫。蘇子無信也。蘇子叛王。即狄又不能於狄。狄人伐之。王不救。故滅蘇子。奔衛。

夏四月。周公黜父。王子黨會齊隰朋。立晉侯。晉侯殺里克。以說將殺里克。公使謂之曰。微子則不及此。雖然。子弑二君。與一大夫。爲

子君者，不亦難乎？對曰：「不有廢也，君何以興？欲加之，罪其無辭乎？臣聞命矣。」伏劍而死。於是平鄭聘于秦，且謝緩賂，故不及。

○晉侯改葬共太子。秋，狐突適下國，遇太子。太子使登僕而告之曰：「夷吾無禮，余得請於帝矣，將以晉界秦。秦將祀余。」對曰：「臣聞之，神不歆非類，民不祀非族。君祀無乃殄乎？且民何罪？失刑之嗣，君其圖之。」君曰：「諾。」吾將復請。七日，新城西偏，將有巫者而見我焉。許之，遂不見。及期而往，告之曰：「帝許我，罰有罪矣。」敝於韓。

○平鄭之如秦也，言於秦伯曰：「呂甥、卻稱、冀芮，實爲不從。若重間以召之，臣出晉君，君納重耳，蔑不濟矣。」冬，秦伯使洽至報間，且召三子。卻芮曰：「幣重而言甘，誘我也。」遂殺平鄭。祁舉及七輿大夫左行共華、右行賈華、叔堅、驪黻、纍虎、特宮、山祁皆里，平之黨也。平豹奔秦，言於秦伯曰：「晉侯脅大主而忌小怨，民弗與也。」平豹伐之，必出。公曰：「失衆焉能殺？違禍誰能出？」

- X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.  
 2 The Teih extinguished Wän; and the viscount of Wän fled to Wei.  
 3 Le K'ih of Tsin murdered his ruler Ch'oh, and the great officer Seun Seih.  
 4 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e and the baron of Heu invaded the northern Jung.  
 5 Tsin put to death its great officer Le K'ih.  
 6 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
 7 In winter, there was a great fall of snow.

Par. 1. Tan Tsoo (啖助; T'ang dyn., 8th century) says that the character 如 is always used of journeys by the duke and ministers of Loo, to visit other courts or present friendly inquiries. Duke He here goes to Ts'e to appear at the court of the marquis as the leader of the States.

Par. 2. The viscount of Wän, or the viscount of Soo, was one of the descendants of the duke of Soo [called duke as being one of the three kung or highest ministers of the king], minister of Crime to king Woo. Out of the court, they were viscounts of Soo, or of Wän, Wän being the name of their principal city,—30 le west of the pres. dis. city of Wän, dep. Hwae-k'ing (懷慶), Ho-nan. In the 1st nar. appended to I. xi. 3,

the king grants the territories of the House of Soo to Ch'ing. That House, however, must have been subsequently re-instated in them. In one of the Chuen appended to III. xix. 4, the viscount of Soo appears as confederate against the king with Tsze-t'uy, who flies on his defeat to Wän; and they further retreat together to Wei.

The Chuen says:—'The Teih extinguished Wän, because the viscount of Soo was a man without faith. He rebelled against the king, and went off to the Teih; but he could do nothing among them, and they attacked him. The king did not relieve him, and so his State was annihilated, and he himself fled to Wei.'

Par. 3. See the Chuen on the 6th par. of last year. That Chuen says Ch'oh was murdered in the 11th month of last year, while here the deed appears under the spring of this;—but see what is said, on V. 1, upon the difference of dates in

the King and Chuen. Duke Hëen had been buried, and Ch'oh or Ch'oh-tsze appears here consequently as marquis or ruler.

Par. 4. These northern Jung were the same as the Hill Jung of III. xxx. 7. Why the baron of Heu should alone have accompanied Ts'e on this expedition we cannot tell.

Par. 5. The Chuen says on this:—'In summer, in the 4th month, Ke-foo, duke of Chow, and Tang, son of king He (?), joined Seih P'ang of Ts'e in securing the establishment of the marquis of Tsin, who put to death Le K'ih to clear himself of any complicity with him in the murders which he had committed. When he was about to put him to death, he sent a message to him, saying, "But for you, I should not have attained to my present position; but considering that you murdered two marquises and one great officer, is it not a difficult thing to be your ruler?" K'ih replied, "If others had not been removed, how could you have found room to rise? But if you wish to make out a man's guilt, there is no difficulty in finding ground to do so. I have heard your command." With this he cut his own throat, and died. At this time P'ei Ch'ing was absent on a visit of friendly inquiries in Ts'in, and to entreat the earl to grant some delay in the payment of the bribes promised to him, so that he escaped for the present.'

Par. 6. [The Chuen appends the following story:—'The marquis of Tsin took up the body of his brother Kung [共太子, 'the eldest son Kung.' Kung is the hon. title given to Shin-säng, duke Hëen's eldest son], and had it re-interred. In the autumn, Hoo Tuh went to the lower capital [i.e., K'eh-yuh] in connection with this, when he met the former young prince, who made him get up and take his reins for him, as he had been accustomed to do, and then said to him, "E-woo has violated all propriety. I have presented a request to God and obtained it:—I am going to give Tsin to Ts'in, which will maintain the sacrifices to me." Tuh replied, "I have heard that the Spirits of the dead do not enjoy the sacrifices of those who are not of their kindred, and that people only sacrifice to those who were of the same ancestry as themselves.

Will not the sacrifices to you be thus virtually no sacrifices? And what crimes attach to the people of Tsin? Let me ask you to consider well how what you have done will lead to the wrong punishment of them and the cessation of the sacrifices to yourself." "Yes," said the other, "I will make another request to God. In 7 days, at the western side of the new city there will be a wizard, through whom you shall have an interview with me." Tuh agreed to this, and the prince disappeared. When the time was come, the officer went to the west side of the city, and received this message:—"God has granted that I punish only the criminal, who shall be defeated in Han."

'When P'ei Ch'ing went to Ts'in, he said to the earl, "They were Leu Säng, K'eh Ch'ing, and K'e Juy, who would not agree to our marquis's fulfilling his promises to you. If you will call them to you by urgently requesting their presence, I will then expel the marquis. Your lordship can then restore Ch'ung-urh to Tsin; and everything will be crowned with success."

Par. 7. Kung-yang here has 雪 for 雪. Snow lying a foot deep [See the Chuen on I. ix. 2] would indeed be a strange phenomenon in the autumn of the year. Chow's winter was Hëa's autumn.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In winter, the earl of Tsin sent Ling Che to Tsin in return for the mission of P'ei Ch'ing, and to ask that the three officers mentioned by Ch'ing might come to him. K'eh Juy said, "The greatness of his gifts and the sweetness of his words are intended to decoy us." Then they put to death P'ei Ch'ing, K'e Keu, and the seven great officers of the chariots,—Kung Hwa of the left column, K'ea Hwa of the right, Shuh K'een, Chuy Ch'uen, Luy Hoo, Tih Kung, and San K'e; all partisans of Le and P'ei. P'ei P'ao fled to Ts'in, and said to the earl, "The marquis of Tsin is false to you, great lord, and envious on small grounds of his own officers;—the people do not adhere to him. Attack him, and he is sure to be driven from the State." The earl said, "How can he, who has lost the masses, deal death in such a way? But you have only escaped the calamity; who can expel your ruler?"']

Eleventh year.

十有一年春，  
 晉殺其大夫，  
 平鄭父。  
 夏，公及夫人，  
 姜氏會齊侯，  
 于陽穀。  
 秋，八月，大雩。  
 冬，楚人伐黃。

左傳曰：十一年春，晉侯使以平鄭之亂來告。過，賜晉侯命，受玉。惰，過歸告王。曰：晉侯其無後乎？王賜之命，而惰於受瑞。先自棄也，其何繼之有？禮，國之幹也。敬，禮之興也。不敬，則禮不行。禮不行，則上下昏。何以長世？  
 夏，楊拒、泉、伊、雒之戎同伐京師。入王城，焚東門。王子帶召之也。秦、晉伐戎以救周。秋，晉侯平戎于王。  
 黃人不歸楚貢。冬，楚人伐黃。

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, Tsin put to death its great officer, P'e Ch'ing-foo.  
 2 In summer, the duke and his wife, the lady K'ang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh.  
 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
 4 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Hwang.

Par. 1. See the last Chuen. Tso-she says that in spring the marquis of Tsin sent an announcement to Loo of the disorder attempted to be raised by P'e Ch'ing. This is Tso's own attempt to reconcile the date of P'e Ch'ing's death, as given here, with the real date assigned to it in the Chuen referred to. But we have seen that both dates are correct:—this, according to the calendar of Chow; that, according to the calendar of H'ea.

[The Chuen adds:—“The king by Heaven's grace sent duke Woo of Shaou, and Kwo, the historiographer of the interior, to confer the symbol of his rank on the marquis of Tsin. He received the nephrite with an air of indifference; and Kwo, on his return to the court, said to the king, “The marquis of Tsin is not one who will have any successor of his own children. Your majesty conferred on him the symbol of investiture, and he received the auspicious jade with an air of indifference. Taking the lead thus in self-abandonment, is he likely to have any one to succeed him? The rules of propriety are the stem of a State; and reverence is the chariot that conveys them along. Where there is not reverence, those rules do not have their course; and where this is the case, the distinctions of superiors and inferiors are all obscured.

When this occurs, there can be no transmission of a State to after generations.” See the 國語, I. (周語, 上), art. 11.]

Par. 2. Comp. II. xviii. 1. It would appear from this that duke He had married a lady of Ts'e, a daughter probably of duke Hwan. But that she should accompany him, as here, to a meeting with her father even, was contrary to all Chinese ideas of propriety. Too Yu says:—“A wife does not accompany or meet a visitor beyond the gate; when she sees her brothers, she does not cross the threshold of the harem. To go to this meeting with the duke was contrary to rule.”

[The Chuen adds:—“In summer, the Jung of Yang-k'eu, Ts'euen-kaou, and about the E and the Loh, united in attacking the capital, entered the royal city, and burned the eastern gate; king Hwuy's son Tae having called them. Ts'in and Tsin invaded the Jung in order to relieve the king. In autumn, the marquis of Tsin caused the Jung to make peace with the king.”]

Par. 3. See on II. v. 7.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—“The people of Hwang did not send their tribute to Ts'oo, and a body of men, therefore, from Ts'oo attacked Hwang in the winter.”

### Twelfth year.

十有二年，春，王三月，有食之。庚午，日有食之。夏，楚人滅黃。秋，七月，有月。冬，十有二月，朔，日有食之。黃人不歸楚貢。卒。

左傳曰：十二年春，諸侯城衛。楚丘之郛懼狄難也。黃人恃諸侯之睦于齊也，不共楚職。曰：自郢及我，九百里，焉能害我？夏，楚滅黃。  
 王以戎難故，討王子帶。秋，王子帶奔齊。  
 冬，齊侯使管夷吾平戎于王，使隰朋平戎于晉。王以上卿之禮饗管仲，管仲辭曰：臣賤有司也。有天子之二守國，高在若節春秋，來承王命，何以禮焉？陪臣敢辭。王曰：舅氏，余嘉乃勳，應乃懿德，謂督不忘往踐乃職，無逆朕命。管仲受下卿之禮而還。君曰：管氏之世祀也，宜哉！讓不忘其上。詩曰：愷悌君子，神所勞矣。

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on K'ang-woo, the sun was eclipsed.  
 2 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Hwang.  
 3 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
 4 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ting-chow, Ch'oo-k'ew, marquis of Ch'in, died.

Par. 1. This eclipse took place in the afternoon of March 29th, B. C. 647. Too observes that the historiographer had omitted to enter that K'ang-woo was the 1st day of the moon.

[The Chuen adds here:—“In the spring, the States walled the suburbs of Ts'oo-k'ew of Wei [see II. 1]; fearing troubles from the Teih.”]

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—“The people of Hwang, relying on the friendship of the States with Ts'e, did not render the tribute which was due from them to Ts'oo, saying “From Ying [the capital of Ts'oo] to us is 900 *le*; what harm can Ts'oo do to us?” This summer, Ts'oo extinguished Hwang. Kuh-l'ang says:—“At the meeting in Kwan [II. 4], Kwan Chung said to the marquis of Ts'e, “K'ang and Hwang are far from Ts'e and near to Ts'oo,—States which Ts'oo considers advantageous to it. Should Ts'oo attack them, and you not be able to save them, you will cease to be looked up to by the States.” The marquis would not listen to him, but made a covenant with K'ang and Hwang. On the death of Kwan Chung, Ts'oo invaded K'ang, and extinguished Hwang; and Ts'e, indeed, was not able to save them.” Whether Kwan Chung gave the advice here ascribed to him at Kwan we do not know; but Kuh is wrong in supposing he was now dead;—he died in the 15th year of duke He.

Par. 3. [The Chuen gives here two narratives:—1st. “The king, because of the attack of

the Jung, proceeded to punish his brother Tae;—who fled to Ts'e.”

2d. “In winter, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kwan E-woo to make peace between the Jung and the king; and Seih P'ang to make peace between the Jung and Tsin. The king wanted to feast Kwan Chung with the ceremonies due to a minister of the highest grade. But Kwan Chung declined them, saying, “I am but an officer of mean condition. There are Kwoh and Kaou in Ts'e, both holding their appointment from the son of Heaven. If they should come in spring or in autumn to receive your majesty's orders, with what ceremonies should they be entertained? A simple servant of my prince, I venture to refuse the honour you propose.” The king said, “Messenger of my uncle, I approve your merit. You maintain your excellent virtue, which I never can forget. Go and discharge the duties of your office, and do not disobey my commands.” Kwan Chung finally accepted the ceremonies of a minister of the lower grade, and returned to Ts'e.

The superior man will say, “Kwan well deserved that his sacrifices should be perpetuated from generation to generation. He was humbly courteous, and did not forget his superiors. As the ode [She, III. i. ode V. 5] says.

“Our amiable, courteous prince  
Was rewarded by the Spirits.”

Par. 4. For 杵 Kung-yang reads 處.

## Thirteenth year.

十<sup>一章</sup>有三年春狄  
侵衛。<sup>二章</sup>夏四月葬陳宣  
公。<sup>三章</sup>公會齊侯宋公  
陳侯衛侯鄭伯  
許男曹伯于鹹。<sup>四章</sup>秋九月大雩。<sup>五章</sup>冬公子友如齊。

○左傳曰十三年春齊侯使仲孫  
湫聘于周且言王子帶事畢不與  
王言歸復命曰未可王怒未怠其  
十年乎不十年王弗召也  
夏會于鹹淮夷病杞故且謀王室  
也  
○秋爲戎難故諸侯成周齊仲孫  
湫致之  
○冬晉荐饑使乞糴于秦秦伯謂  
子桑與諸乎對曰重施而報君將  
何求重施而不報其民必攜攜而  
討焉無衆必敗謂百里與諸乎對  
曰天災流行國家代有救災恤鄰  
道也行道有福平鄭之子豹在秦  
請伐晉秦伯曰其君是惡其民何  
罪秦於是乎輸粟于晉自雍及絳  
相繼命之曰汎舟之役

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the Teih made an incursion into Wei.  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ch'in.  
3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'ao, in H'een.  
4 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
5 In winter, duke [Hwan's] son, Y'ew, went to Ts'e.

Par. 1. It was in anticipation of trouble to Wei from the Teih that the States fortified the suburbs of Ts'oo-k'ew;—as related in the Chuen at the commencement of last year. Chaou P'ang-fei (趙鵬飛; towards the end of the Sung dyn.) supposes that the object of the Teih was to make Wei deliver to them the viscount of W'än, who had fled there, as related in X. 2.

[The Chuen adds here:—“This spring, the marquis of Ts'e sent Chung-sun Ts'ao on a mission of friendly inquiries to Chow, and to speak about the king's brother Tae; but when the former business was concluded, Ts'ao did not speak further to the king; and when giving an account of his mission, on his return, he said, “We cannot yet speak about Tae. The king's

anger has not subsided. Perhaps it will do so in 10 years. But in less than ten years, the king will not recall him.”]

Par. 3. H'een was in Wei,—GO le south-east from the pres. K'ae Chow (開州), dep. Taming, Chih-le. The Chuen says;—“The meeting at H'een was because the E of the Hwae were distressing Ke, and also to consult about the royal House.”

[The Chuen has here another brief narrative:—“In autumn, because of the difficulties created by the Jung, the States determined to guard Chow; and Chung-sun Ts'ao of Ts'e conducted their troops to it.”]

Par. 5. This was the 3d visit which Y'ew had now made in He's time to Ts'e. We see what a sway he must have had in Loo, and what service the marquis of Ts'e required for his protectorate.

[The Chuen adds here:—“In winter Ts'in was suffering a second time a season of scarcity, and sent to Ts'in to be allowed to buy grain. The earl of Ts'in asked Tsze-sang [Kung-sun Che] whether he should give the grain, and that officer replied, “If you grant this great favour, and the marquis of Ts'in make a due return for it, you will have nothing more to require. If you grant it, and he make no return, his people will be alienated from him. If you then

proceed to punish him, not having the multitudes with him, he is sure to be defeated. “The earl put the same question to his minister Pih-le, who replied, “The calamities inflicted by Heaven flow abroad, and different States have them in their turn. To succour in such calamities, and compassionate one's neighbours, is the proper way; and he who pursues it will have blessing.”

“Paou, the son of P'e Ch'ing, was then in Ts'in, and asked leave to lead an expedition to attack Ts'in, but the earl said to him, “Its ruler is evil; but of what offences have his people been guilty?” On this Ts'in contributed grain to Ts'in, vessels following one another from Yung to K'ang; and the affair was called “The service of the trains of boats.”] See the 國語, IV. iii. (晉語, 三), art. 5. Wang Seih-ts'oh (王錫爵; Ming dyn., A.D. 1534-1610)

gives an opinion on the merits of the advice tendered in the above matter by Kung-sun Che and Pih-le He respectively, which may well be called in question. “Pih-le's words,” he says, “were benevolent, kind, and entirely generous; but they were not equal to Kung-sun Che's, based on a calculation of consequences. A truly worthy minister he was!”

## Fourteenth year.

十<sup>一章</sup>有四年春  
諸侯城緣陵。<sup>二章</sup>夏六月季姬  
及鄆子遇于  
防。使鄆子來  
朝。<sup>三章</sup>秋八月辛卯  
沙鹿崩。<sup>四章</sup>狄侵鄭。<sup>五章</sup>冬蔡侯  
肸卒。

左傳曰十四年春諸侯城緣陵  
而遷杞焉不書其人有闕也  
鄆季姬來寧公怒止之以鄆子  
之不朝也夏遇于防而使來朝  
秋八月辛卯沙鹿崩晉卜偃曰  
期年將有大咎幾亡國  
○冬秦饑使乞糴於晉晉人弗  
與慶鄭曰晉施無親幸災不仁  
貪愛不祥怒鄰不義四德皆失  
何以守國號臯曰皮之不存毛  
將安傳慶鄭曰棄信背鄰患孰  
恤之無信患作失援必斃是則  
然矣號臯曰無損於怨而厚於  
寇不如勿與慶鄭曰晉施幸災  
民所棄也近猶讐之况怨敵乎  
弗聽退曰君其悔是哉



- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, the States walled Yuen-ling.  
 2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke's youngest daughter and the viscount of Tsang met in Fang, when she caused the viscount to come and pay the duke a court-visit.  
 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-maou, [part of the hill of] Sha-luh fell down.  
 4 The Teih made an incursion into Ch'ing.  
 5 In winter, Hih, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'The States walled Yuen-ling, and removed Ke to it, as its capital. The various princes engaged in the work are not mentioned, through the omission of the historiographers.' Yuen-ling was a town of Ke, 50 *le* south-east of the pres. dis. city of Ch'ang-loh, dep. Ts'ing-chow. To this the lord of Ke wished to move his capital from Yung-k'ew (雍邱), in the dis. of Ke, (杞), dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan, where he was much distressed by the E of the Hwae; and the marquis of Ts'e took the lead in the movement, and directed the different States to prepare the city for the contemplated removal. Compare the walling of Ts'oo-k'ew in II. 1.

Par. 2. This par. has wonderfully vexed, and continues to vex, the critics. 'Tso-she gives this account of it:—'The duke's youngest daughter, married to the viscount of Tsang, came to Loo to visit her parents. The duke was angry and detained her, because the viscount of Tsang had not been to the court of Loo. In summer, she met the viscount in Fang, and made him pay a visit to the court.' This account of the matter is probably the correct one. The difficulties in its way are the omission of 鄆 before

伯姬; and the 9th par. of next year, which would seem to be a record of the lady's marriage to the viscount. But when the duke detained her, as the Chuen supposes, in Loo, he, no doubt, considered the marriage to be annulled. This may account for the omission of the 鄆; and in the subsequent entry, 歸 will = 'went to her old home,' and not 'went to her new home on being married.'

The principal views which have been taken of the par. appear in the note of the K'ang-he editors:—'The meeting of the duke's daughter with the viscount of Tsang, without the duke's forbidding it, and her asking the viscount to come to the court of Loo and his listening to her, were both contrary to propriety; and the thing is recorded in the Ch'ün Ts'ew to condemn it. The view of Hoo Gan-kwoh, that the duke, from love to his daughter, allowed her to choose her own husband, is based on what is said by Kung and Kuh, and scholars generally have adopted it; but it is wrong. Duke He was a worthy ruler, and his wife, Shing K'ang, has the praise of being a virtuous lady;—would they have been willing to allow such a thing? Some allege that the style, where 鄆 does not precede 伯姬, shows that the lady was not

married; but they do not consider that the duke, in anger at the viscount's not coming to court, annulled the marriage *for the time*; and when he afterwards sent his daughter back, as Tsang here does not precede 伯姬, so neither does it do so in the later record. If, indeed, the viscount had come to court to ask the lady in marriage, there would have been notices subsequently of his presenting the bridal gifts and coming to meet her; but there is nothing of this in the text. Fan Ning had reason when he doubted the view of Kung and Kuh, and regarded that of Tso-she as having more of verisimilitude.'

Kuh-l'ang has 繒 for 鄆. Tsang was a small State in pres. dis. of Yih (沂), dep. Yen-chow. Its lords were Szes (婁), and claimed to be descended from Yu.

Par. 3. The hill of Sha-luh was in Tsin, 45 *le* east of the pres. district city of Yuen-shing (元城), dep. Ta-ming. The Chuen says that when the diviner Yen of Tsin heard of the event, he said, 'By the time a full year is completed, there will be great calamity, so as nearly to ruin our State.'

Par. 4. The repeated incursions and invasions of the Teih show that not only was the royal House very feeble, but that the power of Ts'e was also waning.

Par. 5. This was duke Muh (穆公), a son of the H'een-woo, of whose captivity in Ts'oo we have an account in III. x. 5. There he remained till his death in duke Chwang's 19th year, when Hih became marquis of Ts'ae.

[The Chuen relates here:—'In winter, there was a scarcity in Ts'in, which sent to Tsin to beg to be allowed to buy grain. They refused in Tsin, but K'ing Ch'ing said, "To make such a return for Ts'in's favour to us shows a want of relative feeling; to make our gain from the calamity of others shows a want of benevolence; to be greedy is inauspicious; to cherish anger against our neighbours is unrighteous. When we have lost these four virtues, how shall we preserve our State?" Kwoh Yih said, "When the skin has been lost, where can you place the hair?" Ch'ing replied, "We are casting away faith, and making a vile return to our neighbour;—in the time of our calamity, who will pity us? Calamity is sure to come where there has been no faith; and without helpers we are sure to perish. Thus it will be with us, acting in this way." Kwoh Yih said, "To grant the grain

would not lessen Ts'in's resentment, and we should *only* be kind to our enemy." "Him," said Ch'ing, "who is ungrateful for favours, and makes a gain of the calamities of others, the people reject. Even his nearest friends will feel

hostile to him; how much more his resentful opponents!" The marquis, however, would not listen to his counsel, and K'ing Ch'ing retired, saying, "Would that the marquis might repent of this!"']

### Fifteenth year.

十<sup>一</sup>有五年春王正月公如齊。楚人伐徐。  
 三<sup>三</sup>月公會齊侯宋公陳侯衛侯鄭伯許男曹伯盟于  
 牡丘遂次于匡。  
 公孫敖帥師及諸侯之大夫救徐。  
 夏<sup>五</sup>五月日有食之。  
 秋<sup>七</sup>七月齊師曹師伐厲。八月螽。  
 九月公至自會。季姬歸于鄆。  
 己卯晦震夷伯之廟。  
 冬<sup>十</sup>宋人伐曹。楚人敗徐于婁林。  
 十<sup>一</sup>有一月壬戌晉侯及秦伯戰于韓獲晉侯。



之入而未定列，猶吾憂也。苟列定矣，敢不承命。韓簡退曰：吾幸而得囚，壬戌戰于韓原，晉戎馬還淨而止，公號慶鄭。慶鄭曰：懷諫違卜，固敗是求，又何逃焉？遂去之。梁由靡御韓簡，虢射爲右，輅秦伯將止之。鄭以救公誤之，遂失秦伯。秦獲晉侯以歸，晉大夫反首拔舍從之。秦伯使辭焉，曰：二三子，何其感也？寡人之從君而西也，亦晉之妖夢是踐，豈敢以至？晉大夫三拜稽首曰：君履后土而戴皇天，皇天后土實聞君之言，羣臣敢在下風。穆姬聞晉侯將至，以犬子營弘與女簡璧登臺而履薪焉。使以兔服衰經逆，且告曰：上天降災，使我兩君，匪以玉帛相見，而以興戎。若晉君朝以入，則婢子夕以死；夕以入，則朝以死。唯君裁之。乃舍諸靈臺。大夫請以入，公曰：獲晉侯以厚歸也，既而喪歸，焉用之？大夫其何有焉？且晉人感憂以重我，天地以要我，不圖晉憂，重其怒也。我食吾言，背天地也，重怒難任，背天不祥，必歸晉君。公子繫曰：不如殺之，無聚慝焉。子桑曰：歸之而質其犬子，必得大成。晉未可滅，而殺其君，祇以成惡。且史佚有言曰：無始禍，無怙亂，無重怒，重怒難任，陵人不祥。乃許晉平。晉侯使卻乞告瑕呂飴甥，且召之。子金教之言曰：朝國人而以君命賞，且告之曰：孤雖歸，辱社稷矣，其卜貳圉也。衆皆哭。晉於是乎作爰田。呂甥曰：君亡之不恤，而羣臣是憂，惠之至也。將若君何？衆曰：何爲而可？對曰：征繕以輔孺子，諸侯聞之，喪君有君，羣臣輯睦，甲兵益多，好我者勸，惡我者懼，庶有益乎？衆說：晉於是乎作州兵。初，晉獻公筮嫁伯姬於秦，遇歸妹之睽，史蘇占之曰：不吉。其繇曰：士刳羊，亦無益也。女承筐，亦無貺也。西鄰責言，不可償也。歸妹之睽，猶無相也。震之離，亦離之震，爲雷爲火，爲贏敗姬，車說其輶，火焚其旗，不利行師，敗于宗丘。歸妹睽孤，寇張之弧，姪其從姑，六年其逋，逃歸其國，而棄其家，明年其死於高梁之虛。及惠公在秦，曰：先君若從史蘇之占，吾不及此。夫韓簡侍曰：龜，象也，筮，數也，物生而後有象，象而後有滋，滋而後有數，先君之敗德及可數乎？史蘇是占，勿從，何益？詩曰：下民之孽，匪降自天，傳沓膺憎，職競由人。

⑤十月，晉陰飴甥會秦伯，盟于王城。秦伯曰：晉國和乎？對曰：不和。小人恥失其君，而悼喪其親，不憚征繕以立

左傳曰：十五年春，楚人伐徐，徐即諸夏故也。

三月，盟于牡丘，尋葵丘之盟，且救徐也。

孟穆伯帥師，及諸侯之師，救徐，諸侯次于匡，以待之。

夏五月，日有食之，不書朔與日，官失之也。

秋，伐厲，以救徐也。

震夷伯之廟，罪之也，於是展氏有隱慝焉。

冬，宋人伐曹，討舊怨也。

楚敗徐于婁林，徐恃救也。

晉侯之入也，秦穆姬屬賈君焉，且曰：盡納羣公子。晉侯烝於賈君，又不納羣公子，是以穆姬怨之。晉侯許賂中大夫，既而皆背之。賂秦伯以河外列城五，東盡虢略，南及華山，內及解梁城，既而不與。晉饑，秦輸之粟，秦饑，晉閉之糴，故秦伯伐晉。卜徒父筮之，吉，涉河，侯車敗，詰之，對曰：乃大吉也。三敗，必獲晉君，其卦遇蠱，曰：千乘三去，三去之餘，獲其雄狐。夫狐，必其君也，蠱之貞，風也，其悔，山也，歲云秋矣，我落其實，而取其材，所以克也，實落材亡，不敗何待？三敗及韓，晉侯謂慶鄭曰：寇深矣，若之何？對曰：君實深之，可若何？公曰：不孫。卜右，慶鄭吉，弗使。步揚御戎，家僕徒爲右，乘小駟，鄭入也。慶鄭曰：古者大事，必乘其產，生其水土，而知其人心，安其教訓，而服習其道，唯所納之，無不如志。今乘異產，以從戎事，及懼而變，將與人易，亂氣狡憤，陰血周作，張脉憤興，外彊中乾，進退不可周旋，不能君必悔之。弗聽。九月，晉侯逆秦師，使韓簡視師，復曰：師少於我，鬪士倍我。公曰：何故？對曰：出因其資，入用其寵，饑食其粟，三施而無報，是以來也。今又擊之，我怠秦奮，倍猶未也。公曰：一夫不可狃，況國乎？遂使請戰，曰：寡人不佞，能合其衆，而不能離也，君若不還，無所逃命。秦伯使公孫枝對曰：君之未入，寡人懼

圉也。曰：必報讐，寧事戎狄。君子愛其君而不知其罪，不憚征繕，以待秦命。曰：必報德，有死無二。以此不和。秦伯曰：國謂君何？對曰：小人感謂之不免，君子恕以爲必歸。小人也。我毒秦，秦豈歸君？君子曰：我知罪矣。秦必歸君，貳而執之，服而舍之。德莫厚焉。刑莫威焉。服者懷德，貳者畏刑。此一役也。秦可以霸。納而不定，廢而不立，以德爲怨。秦不其然？秦伯曰：是吾心也。改館晉侯，饋七牢焉。蛾析謂慶鄭曰：盍行乎？對曰：陷君於敗，敗而不死，又使失刑，非人臣也。臣而不臣，行將焉入？十一月，晉侯歸。丁丑，殺慶鄭而後入。是歲，晉又饑。秦伯又餽之粟，曰：吾怨其君而矜其民，且吾聞唐叔之封也，箕子曰：其後必大。晉其庸可冀乎？姑樹德焉。以待能者。於是秦始征晉河東，置官司焉。

- XV. 1 In his fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.
- 2 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Seu.
- 3 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'aou, when they made a covenant in Mow-k'ew, and then went on till they halted at K'wang.
- 4 Kung-sun Gaou led a force, and, with the great officers of the [other] princes, [endeavoured to] relieve Seu.
- 5 In summer, in the fifth month, the sun was eclipsed.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, an army of Ts'e and an army of Ts'aou invaded Le.
- 7 In the eighth month, there were locusts.
- 8 In the ninth month, the duke arrived from the meeting [with the other princes].
- 9 The duke's third daughter went to her home in Tsăng.
- 10 On Ke-maou, the last day of the moon, the temple of E-pih was struck by lightning.
- 11 In winter, a body of men from Sung invaded Ts'aou.
- 12 The men of Ts'oo defeated Seu at Low-lin.
- 13 In the eleventh month, on Jin-seuh, the marquis of Tsin and the earl of Ts'in fought at Han, when the marquis of Tsin was taken.

Par. 1. Chang Hsiah says:—‘In his 10th year, the duke paid a court-visit to Ts’e, and here again in his 15th he does the same;—a court-visit in 5 years, serving Ts’e as the rule required him to serve the son of Heaven!’

Par. 2. Tso-she says that the reason for this attack was that 'Seu had joined the States' of the north. See on III. 3.

Par. 3,4. Mow-k'ëw was probably in Ts'e,—  
70 *le* to the north-east of the dis. city of Lëaou-

shing (聊城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. K'wang was in Wei, — in dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le. Tso-she says that the covenant at Mow-k'ew was 'to confirm that at K'wei-k'ew [see IX. 2], and for the relief of Seu.' The princes would then seem to have advanced southwards to K'wang, and to have waited there, to allow the troops of Loo, and of other States as well, to arrive and effect a junction, before proceeding to try consequences with the army of Ts'oo. Kung-sun Gaou was the son of K'ing-foo, of whom we had so much in the times of Chwang and Min. He is also known as Mäng Muh-pih (孟穆伯). From p. 12 we see that the endeavour to relieve Seu was unsuccessful. After this the marquis of Ts'e made no more arrangements for the relief of any of the States. The vigour of his presidency was evidently declining.

Par. 5. Tso-she remarks on there being no record of the day on which this eclipse took place, and the absence also of the character 朔; but there was no eclipse in all this year visible in Loo. There was indeed an eclipse of the sun on January 28th, B. C. 644; but it could not have been seen there.

Par. 6. Le was one of the subject States of Ts'oo,—in the pres. Suy Chow (隨州), dep. Tih-gan (德安), Hoo-pih. The object of attacking Le was to effect a diversion in favour of Seu, and so help the relief of that State.

Par. 7. Kung has 螺 for 蝻. See II. v. 8. Kuh-läng tries to lay down a canon here, that when the plague of locusts was very great, the month of its occurrence is given; and when it was light, only the season.

Par. 9. See on p. 2 of last year.

Par. 10. 震 is here used as an impersonal verb. The Shwuh-wán explains it by 劈歷振物者, 'a crash of thunder, shaking things.' Of course it was the lightning which struck the temple, but the Chinese, like the Hebrews, considered the lightning to be a 'hot thunderbolt' (Psalm, LXXVIII. 48). Tso-she observes that we may see from this that the Chen clan (展氏) was chargeable with some secret wickedness. Apart from this interpretation of the event, telling us that the E-pih here belonged to the clan of whose constitution we have an account in the Chuen on I. viii. 10 [E in the text is the honorary title of the officer whose temple suffered, and Pih was his designation],—beyond this we know nothing about him. Kuhl-léang refers to the par. as a case in point, to show that, from the emperor to the lower officers, all had their temples or shrine-houses:—the emperor, 7 of them; princes of States, 5; great officers 3; and lower officers. 2.

Par. 11. Both Sung and Ts'au were at the meeting in Mow-k'ew. This attack boded ill for the relief of Seu, and showed how feeble the control of Ts'e had become.

Par. 12. Low-lin was in Seu,—in the north-east of the dis. of Hung (洪), dep. Fung-yang,

**Gan-hwuy.** Tso-she says that Seu was defeated through relying on the succour of the States.

Par. 13. The Chuen says:— 'When the marquis of Ts'in first entered that State from *Ts'in* [see the 2d narrative appended at the end of the 9th year], Muh Ke, *the earl's wife* [see the Chuen after III. xxviii. 1], charged him to behave kindly to the lady K'ea [see the same Chuen], and also to restore all his brothers, and the sons of the former marquis as well.

The marquis, however, committed incest with the lady Kêa, and did not restore the sons of his predecessors, so that Muh Ke was full of resentment at him. He had made, moreover, promises to several great officers within the State, all of which he broke. To the earl of Ts'in he had promised 5 cities beyond the Ho, with all the country on the east which had formed the territory of Kwoh, as far as mount Hwa on the south, and to the city of Hsiao-lung on the north of the Ho; but he did not surrender any of this territory, any of these cities. Afterwards, when Ts'in was suffering from scarcity, Ts'in sent grain to it; but when scarcity came to the lot of Ts'in, Ts'in shut its markets, and would not allow the sale of grain. In consequence of all these things, the earl of Ts'in determined to invade Ts'in.

"T'oo-foo, the diviner, consulted the milfoil about the expedition, *and said*, "A lucky response;—cross the Ho; the prince's chariots are defeated." The earl asked to have the thing more fully explained, and the diviner said, "It is very lucky. Thrice shall you defeat his troops, and finally capture the marquis of Tsin. The diagram found is Koo (☰), of which it is said,

'The thousand chariots thrice are put  
to flight,  
What then remains you catch,—the  
one fox wight.'

That fox in Koo must be the marquis of Tsin. Moreover, the inner symbol of Koo (Sun, ☲)

represents wind, the outer (Kin, 坤) represents hills. The season of the year is *now* the autumn. We blow down the fruits on the hill, and we take the trees;—it is plain we are to overcome. The fruit blown down, and the trees all taken;—what can this be but defeat to Tsin?"

'After three defeats of *Tsin*, the armies came to Han. The marquis said to King Ch'ing, "The robbers have penetrated far; what is to be done?" "It is your lordship," replied Ch'ing, "who has brought them so far, and can you ask what is to be done?" "He is against me," said the marquis; and he proceeded to divine who should be the spearman upon his right. The response was for King Ch'ing, but he would not employ him. Poo-yang acted as charioteer, and K'ea Puh-too was spearman on the right. The chariot was drawn by four small horses which had been presented by the earl of Ch'ing. King Ch'ing said, "Anciently, on great occasions, the prince was required to use the horses born in his own State. Natives of the climate, and knowing the minds of the people, they are docile to instruction, and accustomed to the roads;—whithersoever they may be directed, they are obedient to their driver's will. Now for the fight that is before us, you are using horses of a different State. When they become afraid, they will

change their usual way, and go contrary to the will of their driver. When they become confused, they will get all excited. Their timorous blood will flush all their bodies, and their veins will everywhere stand out. Externally they will appear strong, but internally they will be exhausted. They will refuse to advance or retire; they will be unable to turn round. Your lordship is sure to repent employing them."

"The marquis paid no attention to this warning; and on the 9th month [*i.e.*, the 9th month of Hëa] he met the army of Ts'in, when he sent Han Këen to survey it. Këen reported, "Their army is smaller than ours, but their spirit for fighting is double ours." "For what reason?" asked the duke. "When you fled the State," returned the officer, "you sought the help of Ts'in; when you entered it again, it was by Ts'in's favour; and in our scarcity, you ate Ts'in's grain. Thrice did you receive Ts'in's benefits, and you made no return for them;—on this account its army is come. Now when we are about to come to blows, we are out of spirit and they are all ardent. To say their spirit is double ours is below the truth."

"The duke, however, said, "Even an ordinary man should not be made arrogant by yielding to him; how much less a State like Ts'in! On this he sent an offer of battle, saying, "Feeble as I am, I have assembled my multitudes, and cannot leave you. If you will not return to your own State, I will certainly not evade your commands." The earl of Ts'in sent Kung-sun Che with his reply, "Before your lordship entered your State, I was full of fears for you; when you had entered it and were not secure in its possession, I was still anxious about your position. But if that be now secure, dare I refuse to accept your commands?" Han Këen retired, saying, "We shall be fortunate if we only meet with captivity."

"On the day Jin-seuh, the battle was fought in the plain of Han. The horses of the marquis of Ts'in's carriage turned aside into a slough, and stuck fast. The marquis shouted to K'ing Ch'ing, who replied, "Obdurate to remonstrance, and disobedient to the oracle, you obstinately sought for defeat; and would you now escape?" and left him. In the meantime, Han Këen, driven by Léang Yëw-mei, and having Kwoh Yih on his right, met the earl of Ts'in, and was about to take him, when K'ing Ch'ing prevented him by sending him away to save the marquis. In the end, Ts'in took the marquis of Ts'in prisoner, and carried him off. Many of the great officers of Ts'in followed their prince, with dishevelled hair, and sleeping on the grass in the open air. The earl sent to decline their presence in such fashion, saying, "Why should you be so distressed? That I am accompanying your ruler to the west, is in fulfilment of that strange dream in Ts'in [see the Chuen after X. 6]; I dare not proceed to extremities with him." The officers of Ts'in did obeisance thrice with their heads to the ground, saying, "Your lordship treads the sovereign Earth, and has over your head the great Heaven. Great Heaven and sovereign Earth have heard your lordship's words. On your servants here below they come as the wind."

"When Muh Ke heard that the marquis of Ts'in was approaching, she took her eldest son Yung, with his brother Hwang, and her daughters, Këen and Peih, and ascended a tower,

treading as she went upon faggots [which she caused to be placed on the ground and steps]. She then sent a messenger, clad in the deepest mourning, to meet the earl, and to deliver to him her words, "High Heaven has sent down calamity, and made my two lords see each other, not with gems and silks, but with the instruments of war. If the marquis of Ts'in come here in the morning, we die in the evening. If he come in the evening, we die in the morning. Let my lord consider the matter, and determine it." On this the earl lodged his prisoner in the Marvellous tower [See the She, III. i. VIII. Ts'in had come into possession of this tower, when it received the territory of K'e-chow]. The great officers begged leave to bring him into the city, but the earl said, "With the marquis of Ts'in as my prisoner, I was returning as with great spoil; but the end may be that I return over so many deaths. How can I do so? Of what good would it be to you, my officers? Those men of Ts'in, moreover, have been heavy on me with their distress and sorrow; I have bound myself by appealing to Heaven and Earth. If I do not consider kindly the sorrow of those men, I shall increase their anger; if I eat my words, I shall be false to Heaven and Earth. Their increased anger will be hard to endure; to be false to Heaven and Earth will be inauspicious. I must restore the marquis of Ts'in." The Kung-tze Chih said, "You had better put him to death, and not allow him to collect his resources for further mischief." Tsze-sang [Kung-sun Che] said, "Restore him, and get his eldest son here as a hostage;—this will lead to great results. Ts'in is not yet to be extinguished, and if you put its ruler to death, the result will only be evil. Moreover, there are the words of the historiographer Yih, "Do not initiate misery; do not trust to the disorder of others; do not increase their anger. Increased anger is hard to endure; oppressive treatment is inauspicious."

"The earl then offered Ts'in conditions of peace, and the marquis sent K'ëoh K'ëih to tell Leu E-sang of Hëa, and to call him to meet him. Tsze-kin [the designation of Leu E-sang] instructed him how to act, saying, "Call the people of the State to the court, and reward them as if by command of the marquis, giving them also this message as from him, 'Although I may return to Ts'in, our altars will be disgraced. Consult the tortoise-shell, and let Yu [the eldest son] take my place.'"

"All the people wept on hearing these words; and E-sang proceeded to take some lands of the marquis and appropriate them to reward the people, saying, "Our prince does not grieve for his own exile, but his sorrow is all for his subjects;—this is the extreme of kindness. What shall we do for our prince?" They all asked him what could be done, and he said, "Let us collect our revenues and look to our weapons, in order to support his young son. When the States hear of it, how, while we have lost one prince, we have another in his son, how we are all united and harmonious, and how our preparations for war are greater than before, those who love us will admire and encourage us, and those who hate us will fear;—this perhaps will be of advantage to our condition." The people were all pleased, and throughout the State, in every district, they prepared their weapons.

"Years before this, when duke Hëen of Ts'in was divining by the milfoil about the marriage of his eldest daughter to the earl of Ts'in, he got the diagram Kwei-mei (䷋), and then the dia-

gram K'wei (䷋). The historiographer Soo interpreted the indication, and said, "It is unlucky. The sentence [on the top line in Kwei-mei] is, 'The man cuts up his sheep, and there is no blood; the girl presents her basket, but there is no gift in it.' The neighbour on the west reproaches us for our words which cannot be made good. And Kwei-mei's becoming K'wei is the same as our getting no help from the union."

For the symbol Chin (䷒) to become Le (䷒) is the same as for Le to become Chin; we have thunder and fire,—the Ying defeating the Ke. The connection between the carriage and its axle is broken; the fire burns the flags:—our military expeditions will be without advantage; there is defeat in Tsung-k'ëw. In Kwei-mei's becoming K'wei we have a solitary, and an enemy against whom the bow is bent [see the Yih, on the top line of the diagram K'wei. But it seems to me of no use trying to make out any principle of reason in passages like the present.] Then the nephew follows his aunt. In 6 years he makes his escape. He flies back to his State, abandoning his wife. Next year he dies in the wild of Kaou-lëang." When duke Hwuy came to be in Ts'in, he said, "If my father had followed the interpretation of the historiographer Soo, I should not have come to my present condition." Han Këen was by his side, and said, "The tortoise-shell gives its figures, and the milfoil its numbers. When things are produced, they have their figures; their figures go on to multiply; that multiplication goes on to numbers. Your father's violations of virtue were almost innumerable. Although he did not follow the interpretation of the historiographer Soo, how could that increase your misfortune? As the ode says (She II. ii. ode IX. 7):—

"The calamities of the inferior people  
Do not come down from Heaven.  
Fair words and hatred behind the back:—  
The earnest, strong pursuit of this is from  
men."

In this par. there appears for the 1st time in the text the great State of Ts'in, which went on till it displaced the dynasty of Chow in about 4 centuries from this time. Its lords were Yings (嬴), who claimed to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-hëuh, through Shun's minister Pih-e (伯益 or 翳). Fei-tze (非子), 19th in descent from Pih-e, was appointed lord of the small attached territory of Ts'in [in pres. dis. Ts'ing-shwuy (清水), Ts'in Chow, in Kan-suh], in B.C. 908, by king Hëaou. In B.C. 769, Ts'in became an independent earldom; and in 713, the ruling earl (duke Ning; 寧公) moved the capital to P'ing-yang [in dis. of Mei (郿), dep. Fung-ts'ëang, Shen-se]. In B.C. 676, another change was made to Yung (雍), in dis. of Fung-ts'ëang, which was the seat of its power at this time. Han was in Ts'in,—in Hëa Chow, Shen-se.

[The Chuen continues its narrative of the relations between Ts'in and Ts'in.—"In the 10th month, E-sang of Yin [Yin was another city, in addition to Hëa above, held by E-sang] from Ts'in had a meeting with the earl of Ts'in, when they made a covenant in the old royal city. The earl asked whether they were united in Ts'in, and the other replied, "We are not. The smaller people are ashamed at losing their ruler, and grieved at the death of their friends. They do not shrink from contributing their revenues, and getting their weapons in order, that they may sustain Yu; and they say, 'We must have vengeance on our foes. We had rather serve the Jung and the Teih than not have it.' Superior men love their ruler, while they know his transgressions. Neither do they shrink from contributing their revenues, and preparing their weapons, to be in readiness for the commands of Ts'in; and they say, 'We must repay the conduct of Ts'in. Though we die, we shall not swerve from this.' In this way there is not a harmony of views." The earl then asked what they said in the State about their marquis. E-sang said, "The inferior people are full of distress, saying he will not get off; but superior men, judging by their own estimate of things, think he is sure to return. The inferior people say, 'We have only injured Ts'in:—how should Ts'in restore our prince?' Superior men say, 'We know our transgressions;—Ts'in is sure to restore our prince. To take him prisoner because of his doubtfulness, and to let him go on his real submission:—what virtue could be greater than this? what punishment more awing? Those who submit to Ts'in will cherish the virtue; those who are disaffected will dread the punishment:—the presidency of Ts'in over the States may be secured by its conduct in this one case. You put him in the marquisate, but he was not secure in it; you have displaced him, and perhaps will not restore him:—this will be to turn your virtue into a cause of resentment. We do not think that Ts'in will act thus.'" The earl said, "This is also my view;" and he proceeded to change the place of the marquis's confinement, and lodged him in a public reception-house. He also sent him seven oxen, seven sheep, and seven pigs.

"When the marquis was about to return, Go Sih said to K'ing Ch'ing, "Had you not better go to another State?" K'ing replied, "I plunged our ruler into defeat; on his defeat I was unable to die. Should I now cause him to fail in punishing me, I should not play the part of a subject. A subject and yet not a subject, to what State should I go?"

"In the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'in returned from Ts'in; on the day Ting-ch'ow he caused K'ing Ch'ing to be put to death, and then entered his capital.

"That same year, Ts'in had again a scarcity, and the earl of Ts'in again supplied it with grain, saying, "I feel angry with its ruler, but I pity its people. I heard, moreover, that when T'ang-shuh was appointed to Ts'in, the count of Ke said, 'His descendants are sure to become great.' How can I expect to annex Ts'in? Let me meanwhile plant more deeply my virtue, and wait for a really able ruler to arise in Ts'in." On this Ts'in for the first time appropriated the territory yielded by Ts'in on the east of the Ho, and placed officers in charge of it.]

## Sixteenth year.

十<sup>一</sup>有六年春王正月戊申朔隕石于宋五。是月，六鷁退飛，過宋都。三月壬申，公子季友卒。夏四月丙申，鄆季姬卒。秋七月甲子，公孫茲卒。冬十有二月，公會齊侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、鄭伯、許男、邢侯、曹伯于淮。

左傳曰：十六年春，隕石于宋五。隕星也。六鷁退飛，過宋都。襄公問焉，曰：「是何祥也？」吉凶焉在？對曰：「今茲魯多大喪，明年齊有亂，君將得諸侯，而不終退而告人曰：『君失問，是陰陽之事，非吉凶所生也。』」吉凶由人，吾不敢逆君故也。

夏，齊伐厲，不克，救徐而還。秋，狄侵晉，取狐廚，受鐸涉汾及昆都，因晉敗也。

王以戎難告于齊，齊徵諸侯而戍周。

冬十一月乙卯，鄭殺子華也。城鄆，役人病，有夜登丘而呼，曰：「齊有亂，不果城而還。」

- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Mow-shin, the first day of the moon, there fell stones in Sung,—five [of them]. In the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards, past the capital of Sung.
- 2 In the third month, on Jin-shin, duke [Hwan's] son, Ke Yëw, died.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-shin, the duke's youngest daughter—she of Tsäng—died.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Këah-tsze, Kung-sun Tsze died.
- 5 In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the marquis of Hing, and the earl of Ts'au in Hwae.

Par. 1. For 隕 Kung-yang has 寶. Tso-she says these stones were 'stars'; but that is merely his interpretation of the phenomenon. 隕=落, 'to fall from a height.' 鷁 is explained as 水鳥, 'a water-fowl';—it is the fish hawk represented on the sterns of junks. The flying backwards of the six hawks was occasioned, acc. to Tso-she, by the wind, which was so strong that they could not make head against it, and were carried back, struggling, by its current. The 是月 between the two notices seems to be introduced merely to express that the strange flight of the hawks was not on the same day as the fall of the stones. Kung, Kuh, and the K'ang-he editors, all write nonsensically on this point.

The Chuen says:—'At this time, Shuh-hing, historiographer of the interior, was in Sung, on a visit of friendly inquiries from Chow, and duke Sëang asked him about these strange appearances, saying, "What are they ominous of? What good fortune or bad do they portend?" The historiographer replied, "This year there will be the deaths of many great persons of Loo. Next year Ts'e will be all in disorder. Your lordship will get the presidency of the States, but will not continue to hold it." When he retired, he said to some one, "The king asked me a wrong question. It is not from these developments of the Yin and Yang that good fortune and evil are produced. They are produced by men themselves. I answered as I did, because I did not venture to go against the duke's idea."'

Par. 2. See III. xxv. 6; xxvii. 3; V. i. 9; et al. The K'ang-he editors foolishly agree here with Kung and Kuh in thinking that we have the 公子, the designation 季, and the name 友, all together, on purpose to express the sage's approval of the character of Ke Yëw.

Par. 3. See XIV. 2; XV. 9. [The Chuen adds here:—'In summer, Ts'e invaded Le, but did not subdue it. Having relieved Seu, however, the army returned.' See p. 6 of last year.]

Par. 4. For 茲 Kung-yang has 慈. See V. iv. 8; v. 3. It may be added here that he was the son of Shuh-ya, whose death or murder appears in III. xxxii. 3.

[The Chuen adds here three brief notices:—1st. 'In autumn, the Teih made an incursion into Tsin, and took Hoo-ch'oo, and Show-toh. They then crossed the Fun, and advanced to K'wun-too;—taking advantage of the defeat of Tsin by Ts'in.'

2d. 'The king sent word to Ts'e of the troubles still raised by the Jung, and Ts'e called out troops from the various States to guard Chow.'

3d. 'In winter, in the 11th month, on Yih-maou, Ch'ing put to death the earl's eldest son Hwa.' See VII. 4, and the Chuen there].

Par. 5. Hwae was in the present Sze Chow (泗州), Gan-hwuy, taking its name from the Hwae river. We have here for the first time the marquis of Hing present at these meetings of the States, and his place is given him after the earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Heu. This order is supposed to have been determined by the marquis of Ts'e. The Chuen says:—'This meeting was held to consult about Tsäng [which was hard pressed by the E of the Hwae], and to make a progress in the east. It was proposed to wall Tsäng, but the soldiers engaged in the service fell sick. Some one got on a mound in the night, and cried out, "There is disorder in Ts'e;" and so they returned without completing the work.' This was the last of the meetings called by the marquis of Ts'e as president of the States. From the 1st at Pih-häng (III. xiii. 1) down to this, he had held eleven meetings of a pacific character (衣裳之會), and four prelude of military operations (兵車之會).

His influence declined after the meeting at K'wei-k'ëw (IX. 2). The fabric of his greatness had been reared more by Kwan Chung than himself. The minister was now gone, and the prince was soon to follow him, by a miserable end, and leave his own State a prey to years of confusion.

## Seventeenth year.

十<sup>一</sup>有七年春齊人徐人伐英氏。夏滅項。秋夫人姜氏會齊侯于卞。九月公至自會。冬十有二月乙亥齊侯小白卒。



左傳曰十七年春齊人爲徐伐英氏以報婁林之役也。夏晉天子圍爲質於秦秦歸河東而妻之惠公之在梁也梁伯妻之梁嬴孕過期卜招父與其子卜之其子曰將生一男一女招曰然男爲人臣女爲人妾故名男曰圉女曰妾及子圉西質妾爲宦女焉師滅項淮之會公有諸侯之事未歸而取項齊人以爲討而止公秋聲姜以公故會齊侯于卞九月公至書曰至自會猶有諸侯之事焉且諱之也齊侯之夫人三王姬徐嬴蔡姬皆無子齊侯好內多內寵內嬖如夫人者六人長衛姬生武孟少衛姬生惠公鄭姬生孝公葛嬴生昭公密姬生懿公宋華子生公子雍公與管仲屬孝公於宋襄公以爲大子雍許之立武孟管仲卒五公子皆求立冬十月乙亥齊桓公卒易牙入與寺人貂因內寵以殺羣吏而立公子無虧孝公奔宋十二月乙亥赴辛巳夜殯

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, a body of men from Ts'e and a body from Seu invaded Ying-she.  
 2 In summer, we extinguished Hëang.  
 3 In autumn, the [duke's] wife, the lady Këang, had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in P'ëen.  
 4 In the ninth month, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Hwae].  
 5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih-hae, Sëaou-pih, marquis of Ts'e, died.

Par. 1. Ying-she was a small State, which acknowledged the jurisdiction of Ts'oo,—in the present Chow of Luh-gan (六安), Gan-hwuy. In the west of the Chow, close on the borders of the district of Ying-shan (英山), is a city called Ying. This expedition was undertaken by Ts'e in the interest of Seu, 'to avenge,' Tso says, 'the defeat of Seu by Ts'oo at Low-lin,' in the duke's 15th year.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In summer, Yu, the eldest son of the marquis of Ts'in, went as a hostage to Ts'in, and Ts'in restored the territory on the east of the Ho, which had been ceded by Ts'in, giving also a wife to Yu. When duke Hwuy [the marquis of Ts'in] was a refugee in Lëang, the earl of it gave him to wife Lëang Ying [Ying was the surname of the House of Lëang]. As she went in pregnancy beyond the usual time, the diviner, Shaou-foo, and his son, con-

sulted the tortoise-shell about the matter. The son said, 'She will have both a boy and a girl.' 'Yes,' added the father, 'and the son will be another's subject, and the daughter will be a concubine.' On this account the boy was called Yu [a groom], and the girl was named Ts'ëeh [concubine]. When Yu went a hostage to the west, Ts'ëeh became a concubine in the harem of Ts'in.]

Par. 2. Hëang was a small State—the name of which remains in the dis. of Hëang-shing (項城), dep. Ch'in-chow (陳州), Ho-nan. Kung and Kuh both attribute the extinction of Hëang to Ts'e, and the K'ang-he editors defend their view ingeniously; but in that case 齊 would have appeared in the text. A notice like the present, without the name of another State preceding the verb, must always be understood of

Loo. The Chuen says:—'An army extinguished Hëang. At the meeting of Hwae, the duke was engaged with the other princes on the business before them; but, before he returned, he took Hëang. Ts'e thought it was matter for punishment, and detained the duke as a prisoner.' This account might have been more explicit. We cannot suppose that duke He himself left the conference at Hwae, and conducted the troops which extinguished Hëang. He had probably entrusted the expedition to one of his officers; and when the news of it reached the assembly, Ts'e was able to detain him as a prisoner. And yet it is not easy to understand how the princes should have remained so long at Hwae.

Par. 3. The wife of duke He was probably a daughter of the marquis of Ts'e;—see on XI. 2. Tso-she says:—'Shing Këang met the marquis of Ts'e at this time on the duke's account; meaning, no doubt, that her object was to procure her husband's liberation. P'ëen was in Loo,—50 le east from the pres. dis. city of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 4. Tso says the wording of this par. intimates that, after the meeting at Hwae, there had been some business of the States, and conceals it; i. e., it says nothing about the duke's having been kept a prisoner by Ts'e.

Par. 5. Sëaou-pih had thus had a long rule of 43 years. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ts'e had three wives:—a Ke of the royal House; a Ying of Seu; and a Ke of Ts'ae; but

none of them had any son. The marquis loved a full harem, and had many favourites and concubines in it. There were six who were to him as wives:—the elder Ke of Wei, who bore Woo-mäng [Mäng is the 'elder; Woo, the hon. title. This youth is commonly mentioned by his name Woo-k'wei (無虧)]; the younger Ke of Wei, who bore a son, who was afterwards duke Hwuy; a Ke of Ch'ing, who bore a son, afterwards duke Hëaou; a Ying of Koh, who bore a son, afterwards duke Ch'au; a Ke of Meih, who bore a son, afterwards duke E; a Tsze of the Hwa clan of Sung, who bore a son, called Tsze-yung.

'The marquis and Kwan Chung had given him who was afterwards duke Hëaou in charge to duke Sëang of Sung, as the intended heir of the State. Woo, the chief cook, however, had favour with Kung Ke of Wei [the elder Ke of Wei above], and by means of T'ëaou, the chief of the eunuchs, who introduced his viands to the marquis, he had favour with him also, and obtained a promise from him that Woo-mäng should be his successor. On the death of Kwan Chung, five of the six sons all begged to be declared heir. When the marquis died on Yih-hae of the 10th month, Yih-ya [the designation of Woo the cook] entered the palace, and along with the eunuch T'ëaou, by the help of the favoured officers of the interior, put all the other officers to death, and set up Woo-k'wei in his father's place, the brother who was afterwards duke Hëaou fleeing to Sung. The date of the marquis's death, as communicated to Loo, was Yih-hae; but it was the night of Sin-sze [67 days after] before his body was put into a coffin at night, such was the disorder and confusion.

### Eighteenth year.

十有八年春王正月  
 宋公曹伯衛人邾人  
 伐齊  
 夏師救齊  
 五月戊寅宋師及齊  
 師戰于鄆齊師敗績  
 秋狄救齊  
 八月丁亥葬齊桓  
 公  
 冬邢人狄人伐衛



○左傳曰十九年春遂城而居之。  
宋人執滕宣公。  
夏宋公使邾文公用鄆子于次睢之社欲以屬東夷。司馬子魚曰古者六畜不相爲用小事不用大牲而況敢用人乎。祭祀以爲人也民神之主也用人其誰饗之。齊桓公存三亡國以屬諸侯。義士猶曰薄德。今一會而虐二國之君又用諸淫昏之鬼將以求霸不亦難乎得死爲幸。  
秋衛人伐邢以報莒圍之役於是衛大旱卜有事於山川不吉甯莊子

梁曰秦將襲我民懼而潰秦遂取  
弗堪則曰某寇將至乃溝公宮  
伯好土功亟城而弗處民罷而  
梁亡不書其主自取之也初梁  
好也齊桓之德冬盟于齊修桓公之  
陳穆公請修好於諸侯以無忘  
盍姑內省德乎無闕而後動  
乃猶有所闕而以伐人若之何  
于兄弟以御于家邦今君德無  
之因壘而降詩曰刑于寡妻至  
軍三旬而不降退修教而復伐  
宋公曰文王聞崇德亂而伐之  
宋人圍曹討不服也子魚言於  
衛討邢乎從之師興而雨  
無道諸侯無伯天其或者欲使  
曰昔周饑克殷而年豐今邢方

- XIX. 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, the people of Sung seized Ying-ts'e, viscount of T'ang.
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, the duke of Sung, an officer of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, made a covenant in the south of Ts'aou.
- 3 The viscount of Tsang met and covenanted [with them] in Choo.
- 4 On Ke-yew, the people of Choo seized the viscount of Tsang, and used him [as a victim].
- 5 In autumn, a body of men from Sung invested [the capital of] Ts'aou.
- 6 A body of men from Wei invaded Hing.
- 7 In winter, [the duke] had a meeting with an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Ts'ae, an officer of Ts'oo, and an officer of Ch'ing, when they made a covenant in Ts'e.
- 8 Lëang perished.

[The Chuen, resuming the brief narrative at the end of last year, adds that, in the duke's 19th year, in spring, 'Ts'in proceeded to wall the place which it had taken, and occupied it.']

Par. 1. The Chuen says nothing to explain why Sung made this seizure of the viscount of T'ang. Its words are merely, 'The people of Sung seized duke Seuen of T'ang.' The duke of Sung is understood to be intended by 宋人; and the use of 人 is supposed to be condemnatory of the procedure. But Mao shows that such a canon for the use of 人, in the accounts of seizures, cannot be applied all through the Classic. The adding the name of the viscount of T'ang is supposed by Hoo Gan-kwoh and a host of other critics to be condemnatory of him; but even the K'ang-he editors reject the view.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 宋人 instead of 宋公, and of course 邾婁 for 邾. The proper reading, however, is that of the text.

The duke of Sung was ambitious to continue the presidency of Hwan of Ts'e, and had tried to get a large gathering of the princes to this covenant. But not one was present. Even the earl of Ts'aou, in whose State the place of meeting was, did not appear in person; and was negligent also, it appears, in sending the supplies of provisions for the covenanting parties; which the lord of the State where they met was always expected to contribute.

Par. 3, 5. The viscount of Tsang came too late for the covenant in Ts'aou. Whether he had been minded from the first to come, but been detained; or had been summoned, as Mao supposes, by a special message sent from Ts'aou by the duke of Sung, and yet after all been too late, we do not know. However, too late he was; but, being fearful probably of the consequences, he followed some at least of the covenanters to Choo, and would appear there, from p. 3, to have taken the covenant. This did not avail, however, to save him from a terrible fate. Too says, 用之言若用畜牲, 'The word

used means that they used him as an animal victim.' The thing was done by Choo at the command of the duke of Sung. The Chuen narrates:—'The duke of Sung made duke Wän of Choo sacrifice the viscount of Tsang at an altar on the bank of the Suy, to awe and draw to him the wild tribes of the east. The duke's minister of War, Tsze-yu [the duke's brother, Muh-e; (see the Chuen at the end of the 8th year, and of the 9th)], said, "Anciently, the six domestic animals were not used at the same sacrifice; for small affairs they did not use great victims:—how much less would they have presumed to use human beings! Sacrifices are offered for the benefit of men. Men are the hosts of the Spirits at them. If you sacrifice a man, who will enjoy it? Duke Hwan of Ts'e preserved three perishing States, and thereby drew all the princes to him; and yet righteous scholars say that his virtue was too slight. But now our lord, at his first assembling of the princes, has treated with oppression the rulers of two States, and has further used one of them in sacrifice to an unlicensed and irregular Spirit;—will it not be difficult to get the presidency of the States in this way? If he die a natural death, he will be fortunate.'

I must add here that Kuh-lëang gives a much mitigated meaning of the 用, 'used,' thinking that all which it denotes is that they struck the viscount of Tsang on the nose till it bled, and then smeared all the sacrificial vessels with the blood!

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'This attack of Ts'aou was to punish it for its not submitting to Sung. Tsze-yu said to the duke of Sung, "King Wän heard that the marquis of Ts'ung had abandoned himself to disorder, and invaded his State; but after he had been in the field for 30 days, the marquis tendered no submission. Wän therefore withdrew; and, after cultivating afresh the lessons of virtue, he again invaded Ts'ung, when the marquis made submission before he had quitted his entrenchments. As is said in the She (III. i. ode VI. 2),

'His example acted on his wife,  
Extended to his brothers,  
And was felt by all the clans and States.'

May it not be presumed that the virtue of your Grace is in some respects defective; and if, while it is so, you attack others, what will the

result be? Why not for a time give yourself to self-examination and the cultivation of virtue? You may then proceed to move, when that is without defect.'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'This attack of Hing was in return for the siege of T'oo-p'oo [see on p. 6 of last year]. At this time there was a great drought in Wei, and the marquis divined by the tortoise-shell whether he should sacrifice to the hills and rivers, and obtained an unfavourable reply. The officer Ning Chwang [莊 is the hon. title] said, "Formerly there was a scarcity in Chow; but after the conquest of Yin there ensued an abundant year. Now Hing acts without any regard to principle, and there is no leader among the princes. May not Heaven be wishing to employ Wei to punish Hing?" The marquis followed his advice; and immediately after the army was in motion, it rained.'

Par. 7. Kung has 公 before 會; and it is probable that duke He himself was present at this meeting. If he were not there himself, he must have been represented by one of his great officers. The meeting is important as the first general assembly of northern States, to which Ts'oo sent its representative. The account of the conference given by Tso-she is:—'Duke Muh of Ch'in asked that a good understanding should be cultivated between the princes of the various States, and that they should not forget the virtue and services of Hwan of Ts'e. In the winter, they made a covenant in Ts'e, and renewed their good fellowship under Hwan.' But what good fellowship had Ts'oo had with the States of the north under the presidency of Ts'e? The meeting was held most likely to consult how to meet the ambition of the duke of Sung, against whom we shall presently find Ts'oo taking most decided part. Indeed, Këang Ping-chang supposes that the meeting was called by Ch'in at Ts'oo's instigation.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'Lëang perished;—it is not said at whose hands:—it brought the ruin on itself. Before this, the earl of Lëang had been fond of building, walling cities which he had not people to fill. The people in consequence got weary, and could not endure the toil, and it was said, "Such and such an enemy is coming." When they were roofing the duke's palace, they said, "Ts'in will take us by surprise." They got frightened, and dispersed; and forthwith Ts'in took Lëang.'

Twentieth year

二十年春新  
作南門。  
夏郛子來朝。  
五月乙巳酉  
宮災。  
鄭人入滑。  
秋齊人狄人  
盟于邢。  
冬楚人伐隨。

左傳曰：二十年春，新作南門。書不時也。凡啟塞從時。滑人叛鄭，而服於衛。夏，鄭公子士洩堵寇，帥師入滑。秋，齊狄盟于邢，爲邢謀衛難也。於是衛方病邢。隨以漢東諸侯叛楚。冬，楚鬬穀於菟帥師伐隨，取成而還。君子曰：隨之見伐，不量力也。量力而动，其過鮮矣。善敗由己，而由人乎哉？詩曰：豈不風？夜謂行多露。宋襄公欲合諸侯，臧文仲聞之曰：以欲從人，則可以人從欲，鮮濟。

- XX. 1 In his twentieth year, in spring, [the duke] renewed and altered the south gate [of the capital].  
 2 In summer, the viscount of Kaou came [to Loo] on a court-visit.  
 3 In the fifth month, on Yih-sze, the western palace was burnt.  
 4 A body of men from Ch'ing entered Hwah.  
 5 In autumn, an officer of Ts'e and an officer of the Teih made a covenant in Hing.  
 6 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Suy.

Par. 1. This was the 'southern gate' of the capital, as in the translation (南門，魯城南門也). Before this, it was, acc. to Tso Yu, called the Tseih gate (稷), but after the alterations now made, it got the name of Kaou mun, or High gate (高門). 新 indicates the substitution of a new gate for the old one, (言新以易舊), and 作 indicates that the new gate was on a diff. plan from the old (所修有舊制而今又稍變之，則曰作). The Chuen says that the record of this transaction was made to show its unseasonableness, adding that all works for opening communication [such as gates, roads, and bridges], or for closing it [such as walls and moats], should be undertaken as they were required. Tso-she's idea, of course, is that this was a work of ornament more than of necessity, and that the season of the year for such an undertaking had gone by.

Par. 2. This Kaou was a small State in the pres. dis. of Shing-woo, dep. Ts'aou-chow. As we learn from the Chuen on XXIV. 2, it was held by the descendants of one of king Wan's sons. Nothing is heard of it before or after the trivial incident in the text.

Par. 3. 災, —see II. xiv. 4: III. xx. 2. What building is here spoken of is not well known. Kuh's opinion that it was the temple or shrine-house of duke Min has been exploded. Some portion of the harem is probably intended.

Par. 4. Hwah, —see III. iii. 5. The Chuen says:—'The people of Hwah had revolted from

Ch'ing, and submitted to Wei; and this summer, Sze, a son of the earl of Ch'ing, and S'eh Too-k'ow led a force and entered its chief city.'

Par. 5. Tso-she says that 'this covenant was in the interest of Hing, to consult about the difficulties it was in from Wei, which was then much distressing Hing.' We have seen the Teih and Hing leagued against Wei in XVIII. 6; and the same year, Wei had taken part in the invasion of Ts'e.

Par. 6. The name of Suy still remains in Suy Chow dep. of Tih-gan (德安) Hoo-pih. It was a marquise, and its lords were Kes (姬). The Chuen says:—'Suy, with the various States east of the Han, had revolted from Ts'oo; and this winter, Now Too-woo-t'oo left Ts'oo, led a force against it, accepted its proffers of submission, and returned. The superior man may say that Suy suffered this invasion, because it had not measured its strength. The errors of those who move only after they have measured their strength are few. Do success and defeat come from one's-self or from others? The answer is in the words of the She [I. ii. ode VI. 1],

"Might I not have been there in the early morning?

But there was too much dew on the path."

[The Chuen adds here:—'Duke S'ang of Sung wished to call together the princes, and unite them under himself. Tsang Wan-chung heard of it, and said, 'He may succeed who curbs his own desires to follow the views of others; but he will seldom do so who tries to make others follow his desires.']

Twenty-first year.

二十有一年春，狄侵衛。宋人齊人，楚人盟于鹿上。夏，大旱。秋，宋公、楚子、陳侯、蔡侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯會于孟，執宋公以伐宋。冬，公伐邾。楚人使宜申來獻捷。十有二月癸丑，公會諸侯，盟于薄，釋宋公。

左傳曰：二十一年春，宋人爲鹿上之盟，以求諸侯於楚。楚人許之，公子目夷曰：小國爭盟，禍也。宋其亡乎？幸而後敗。夏，大旱。公欲焚巫尪，臧文仲曰：非旱備也。脩城郭，貶食省用，務穡勸分，此其務也。巫尪何爲？天欲殺之，則如勿生，若能爲旱，焚之滋甚。公從之。是歲也，饑而不害。秋，諸侯會宋公于孟。子魚曰：禍其在此乎？君欲已甚，其何以堪之？於是楚執宋公以伐宋。冬，會于薄，以釋之。子魚曰：禍猶未也，未足以懲君。○任宿、須句、顓臾，風姓也，實司犬皞與有濟之祀，以服事諸夏。邾人滅須句，須句子來奔，因成風也。成風爲之言於公曰：崇明祀，保小寡，周禮也。蠻夷猾夏，周禍也。若封須句，是崇皞濟，而脩祀紓禍也。

- XXI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-first year, in spring, the Teih made an incursion into Wei.  
 2 An officer of Sung, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Ts'oo, made a covenant at Luh-shang.  
 3 In summer, there was great drought.  
 4 In autumn, the duke of Sung, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Ts'ac, the earl of

Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'au, had a meeting in Yu, when the others seized the duke of Sung, and went on to invade Sung.

- 5 In winter, the duke invaded Choo.
- 6 The people of Ts'oo sent E-shin to Loo, to present [some of the] spoils [of Sung.]
- 7 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with [several of] the princes, when they made a covenant in Poh, and liberated the duke of Sung.

Par. 1. This incursion was, no doubt, in the interests of Hing, and a sequel of the covenant between the Teih and Ts'e in p. 5 of last year.

Par. 2. Luh-shang was in Sung,—in the pres. dis. of T'ao-ho (太和), dep. Ying-chow. Gan-hwuy. Tso-she says:—'The idea of this covenant originated with Sung, and the object in it of the duke of Sung was to ask the States from Ts'oo [i.e. to ask Ts'oo to cede its influence over the various States to Sung]. Ts'oo granted the request, when Muh-e, the duke's brother, said, "A small State is sure to bring calamity on itself by striving for the power of commanding covenants;—is Sung now going on to perish? We shall be fortunate if there ensue defeat only." Hoo Ning (胡寧; Sung dyn., a little earlier than Choo He), Woo Ch'ing, and the critics generally, suppose that the princes of the States are intended by 人; but such a view lands the translator of the Classic in inextricable difficulties. Why should the princes be reduced to 'men,' simply in this par., and then have their titles given to them in p. 4? Too Yu observes that 宋人, preceding 齊人, shows that the meeting and covenant originated with Sung.

Par. 3. Too observes that the language intimates that the drought continued after the usual sacrifice for rain (雩) had been presented; and Ying-tah expands the remark by saying that in the Classic we have sometimes the entry 雩, and sometimes 旱; that in the former case the sacrifice has been followed by rain, while in the latter the drought continues. The Chuen says:—'The duke wished, in consequence of the drought, to burn a witch and a person much emaciated. Ts'ang Wán-chung said to him, "That is not the proper preparation in a time of drought. Put in good repair your walls, the inner and the outer; lessen your food; be sparing in all your expenditure. Be in earnest to be economical, and encourage people to help one another;—this is the most important preparation. What have the witch and the emaciated person to do with the matter? If Heaven wish to put them to death, it had better not have given them life. If they can really produce drought, to burn them will increase the calamity." The duke followed his advice; and that year, the scarcity was not very great.' [In the Le Ke, II. Pt. II. iii. 29, there is an account of exposing in the sun, in a time of drought, a

佺, or person in a state of emaciation (瘠病之人), with the hope that Heaven would have pity on him, and send down rain.]

Par. 4. Yu was in Sung,—in the pres. Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. Kung-yang has 霍, and Kuh-l'ang has 雩. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the princes had a meeting with the duke of Sung in Yu. Tsze-yu said, "Shall our calamity come now? The duke's ambition is excessive;—how can he sustain the difficulties of his position?" At this meeting, Ts'oo seized the duke, and went on to invade Sung.' I believe the seizure of the duke of Sung was made by Ts'oo; but the text leaves the matter quite indefinite;—if we are to make all the princes named the subject of 執, then the duke would be one of his own captors. Kung-yang says absurdly that the viscount of Ts'oo is not named, because the sage would not seem to sanction the capture of a prince of China by a barbarian! The K'ang-he editors approve of the solution of Chao K'wang and others, that the indefiniteness is to blame the other princes for not interfering to prevent the outrage. Much more natural is it to suppose that, while Ts'oo was the principal, the other States were 'art and part' in the transaction,—well pleased to see the ambitious pretensions of the duke thus snuffed out.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'Jin, Suh, Seu-k'eu, and Chuen-yu, were all held by lords of the surname Fung (風), who presided over the sacrifices to T'ao-hao [Fuh-he], and the sacrifice to the Spirit of the Tse, thus rendering service to the bright great land. The people of Choo had extinguished Seu-k'eu, the prince of which came as a fugitive to Loo, and threw himself on Ch'ing Fung, who spoke in his behalf to the duke, saying, "It is the rule of Chow to honour the bright sacrifices, and to protect the little and the few; and it is misery to Chow, when the barbarous tribes disturb the bright great land. If you re-instate Seu-k'eu, you will do honour to the sacrifices to Hao and to the Spirit of the Tse, and by restoring them you will remove the calamity."

Par. 6. See III. xxxi. 4. It here appears that the viscount of Ts'oo was the principal in the seizure of the duke of Sung. 宋 must be supplied before 捷. 人 is to be translated, as in many previous passages, by 'people.'

Par. 7. Poh was in Sung,—in the north-west of pres. dis. of Shang-k'ew, dep. Kwei-tih. The Chuen says, that 'with reference to this meeting, Tsze-yu said, "Our calamity has not yet come. What has happened is not enough to be a warn-

ing to the duke." Too says that this meeting was not called at the duke's instance, but that he happened to hear of it, and went to it. By 諸侯 we are to understand the princes in p. 4.

Twenty-second year.

二十有二年春，公伐邾，取須句。夏，宋公、衛侯、許男、滕子伐鄭。秋，八月，丁未，及邾人戰于升陘。冬，十有一月，己巳朔，宋公及楚人戰于泓，宋師敗績。

左傳曰：二十二年春，伐邾，取須句。反其君焉，禮也。三月，鄭伯如楚。夏，宋公伐鄭，子魚曰：「所謂禍在此矣。」初，平王之東遷也，辛有適伊川，見被髮而祭於野者，曰：「不及百年，此其戎乎？其禮先亡矣。」秋，秦晉遷陸渾之戎于伊川。晉大子圉爲質於秦，將逃歸，謂嬴氏曰：「與子歸乎？」對曰：「子晉犬子，而辱于秦，子之欲歸，不亦宜乎？寡君之使婢子侍執巾櫛，以固子也。從子而歸，棄君命也，不敢從，亦不敢言。」遂逃歸。富辰言於王曰：「請召大叔。」詩曰：「協比其鄰，昏姻孔云。」吾兄弟之不協，焉能怨諸侯之不睦？王說。王子帶自齊復歸于京師，王召之也。邾人以須句故，出師，公卑邾，不設備而禦之。臧文仲曰：「國無小，不可易也。無備，雖衆不可恃也。」詩曰：「戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰。」又曰：「敬之敬之，天維顯思，命不易哉。」先王之明德，猶無不難也。無不懼也。況我小國乎？君其無謂邾小，蠶蠶有毒，而況國乎？弗聽。八月，丁未，公及邾師戰于升陘，我師敗績。邾人獲公冑，縣諸魚門。楚人伐宋以救鄭。宋公將戰，大司馬固諫曰：「天之棄商久矣，君將興之，弗可赦也已。」弗聽。冬十一月，己巳朔，宋公及楚人戰于泓，宋既成列，楚人未既濟，司馬曰：「彼衆我寡，及其未既濟也，請擊之。」



公曰不可。既濟而未成列，又以告。公曰：「未可。」陳而後擊之。宋師敗績，公傷股，門官殲焉。國人皆咎公。公曰：「君子不重傷，不禽二毛，古之爲軍也，不以阻隘也。寡人雖亡國之餘，不鼓不成列。」子魚曰：「君未知戰，勅敵之人，隘而不列，天贊我也。」阻而鼓之，不亦可乎？猶有懼焉。且今之勅者，皆吾敵也。雖及胡者，獲則取之，何有於二毛？明恥教戰，求殺敵也。傷未及死，如何勿重？若愛重傷，則如勿傷。愛其二毛，則如服焉。三軍以利用也，金鼓以聲氣也。利而用之，阻隘可也；聲盛致志，鼓儼可也。

丙子晨，鄭文夫人芈氏姜氏勞楚子於柯澤。楚子使師縉示之俘馘。君子曰：「非禮也。」婦人送迎不出門，見兄弟不踰闕。戎事不邇女器。丁丑，楚子入饗于鄭。九獻，庭實旅百，加籩豆六品。饗畢，夜出，文芈送于軍。取鄭二姬以歸。叔詹曰：「楚王其不沒乎？爲禮卒于無別，無別，不可謂禮。」將何以沒？諸侯是以知其不遂霸也。

- XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, the duke invaded Choo, and took Seu-k'eu.
- 2 In summer, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the baron of Heu, and the viscount of T'äng, invaded Ch'ing.
- 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting-we, we fought with an army of Choo at Shing-hing.
- 4 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke-sze, the first day of the moon, the duke of Sung fought with an army of Ts'oo near the Hung, when the army of Sung was disgracefully defeated.

Par. 1. Seu-k'eu was a small State, whose lords were Fungs, with the rank of viscount, purporting to be descended from Fuh-he, in the pres. Tung-p'ing Chow, dep. T'ae-gan. See the Chuen on p. 5 of last year. Tso-she says here that 'the duke took Seu-k'eu, and restored its ruler,—which was according to rule.' The text says nothing, indeed, of Loo's re-establishment of Seu-k'eu; but we find Loo again taking it, in VI. vii. 2; so that Tso-she's account of what was now done must be correct.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In the 3d month, the earl of Ch'ing went to Ts'oo; and in summer, the duke of Sung invaded Ch'ing. Tsze-yu said, "What I call our calamity will be brought about by this expedition." His seizure in the past year had not taught the duke of Sung the folly of matching himself against Ts'oo, which he could not but know would resent this attack of Ch'ing.'

[The Chuen appends here three narratives:—1st. When king P'ing removed from the old capital of Chow to the east, Sin Y'ew happened to

go to E-ch'uen, and saw there a man sacrificing in the wilderness with dishevelled hair. "Before a hundred years are expired," said he, "I fear this place will be occupied by the Jung. The proper rules of ceremony are already lost in it." This autumn, Ts'in and Tsin removed the Jung of Luh-hwän to E-chuen.—But more than a hundred years from the removal to the eastern capital had elapsed.

2d. 'Yu, the eldest son of the marquis of Tsin was a hostage in Ts'in, and wished to make his escape and return to Tsin.' He said to his wife, the lady Ying, "Shall I take you with me?" But she replied, "You are the eldest son of Tsin, and here you are, the subject of disgrace. It is right that you should wish to return to your own State; but your handmaid was appointed by the ruler of Ts'in to wait on you and hold your towel and comb, to assure you and ensure your stay. Should I follow you to Tsin, I shall be setting at nought his command. I dare not follow you, but neither

dare I tell of your intention." On this the prince made his escape *alone* to Tsin.'

3d. 'Foo Shin spoke to the king, saying, "Let me entreat you to recall T'ae-shuh [who had fled to Ts'e. See the Chuen after XII. 3]. It is said in the She [II. iv. ode VIII. 12].

'They assemble their neighbours,  
And their relatives are full of their praise.'

If brothers among ourselves cannot agree, how can we murmur at the want of harmony among the princes of the States?" The king was pleased, and king Hwuy's son Tae [T'ae-shuh] returned from Ts'e, and was restored to his rank, the king having called him.]'

Par. 3. Shing-hing was in Loo, but its position has not been precisely determined. The Chuen says:—'The people of Choo, because of the affair of Seu-k'eu, came out against us with an army, and the duke set about meeting it, despising Choo, and without preparation. Tsang Wan-chung said, "However small a State be, it is not to be slighted; and if preparations be not made, however numerous a force be, it is not to be relied on. It is said in the She [II. v. ode I. 6],

'We should be apprehensive and careful,  
As if we were on the brink of a deep gulf,  
As if we were treading on thin ice;'

and again (She, IV. i. Pt. iii. ode III.),

'Let me be reverent, let me be reverent;  
Heaven's method is clear,—  
Its appointment is not easily preserved.'

Intelligent as the ancient kings were, they constantly saw difficulties to be overcome and dangers to be feared; how much more should a small State like ours do so! Let not your lordship think of Choo as small. Bees and scorpions carry poison;—much more will a State do so!" The duke would not listen to this remonstrance, and in the 8th month, on Ting-we, he fought with Choo at Shing-hing, when our army was disgracefully defeated. The people of Choo captured the duke's helmet, and suspended it over their Fish gate.'

From the Chuen we learn that Loo was here shamefully beaten; but the text says nothing about that. This is another instance of the strange reticence of Confucius.

Par. 4. Hung was the name of a river. The site of the battle is referred to a spot, 30 *le* north of the dis. city of Chay-shing (柘城), dep. Kwei-tih. The Chuen says:—'An army of Ts'oo invaded Sung, in order to relieve Ch'ing. The duke of Sung being minded to fight, his minister of War remonstrated strongly with him, saying, "Heaven has long abandoned the House of Shang [Sung was the conservator of the Shang sacrifices]. Your Grace may wish to raise it again, but *such opposition to Heaven* will be unpardonable." The duke, however, would not listen to advice, and in winter, in the 11th month, on Ke-sze, the 1st day of the moon, he fought with the army of Ts'oo near the Hung.'

'The men of Sung were all drawn up for battle, before those of Ts'oo had all crossed the river; and the minister of War said to the duke, "They are many, and we are few. Pray let us attack them, before they have all crossed over." The duke refused; and again, when the minister

asked leave to attack them after they had crossed, but when they were not yet drawn up, he refused, waiting till they were properly marshalled before he commenced the attack.'

'The army of Sung was shamefully defeated; one of the duke's thighs was hurt; and the warders of the gates [keepers of the palace gates, who had followed the duke to the field] were all slain. The people of the State all blamed the duke, but he said, "The superior man does not inflict a second wound, and does not take prisoner any one of gray hairs. When the ancients had their armies in the field, they would not attack an enemy when he was in a defile; and though I am but the poor representative of a fallen dynasty, I would not sound my drums to attack an unformed host." Tsze-yu, [the minister of War], said, "Your Grace does not know the rules of fighting:—Given a strong enemy, in a defile or with his troops not drawn up, it is Heaven assisting us. Is it not proper for us to advance upon him so impeded with our drums beating, even then afraid *we may not get the victory*? Moreover, the strong men now opposed to us are all our antagonists. Even the old and withered among them are to be captured by us, if we can only take them;—what have we to do with their being gray-haired? We call into clear display the principle of shame in teaching men to fight, our object being that they should slay the enemy. If our antagonist be not wounded mortally, why should we not repeat the blow? If we grudge a second wound, it would be better not to wound him at all. If we would spare the gray-haired, we had better submit *at once to the enemy*. In an army, what are used are sharp weapons, while the instruments of brass and the drums are to rouse the men's spirits. The sharp weapons may be used against foes entangled in a defile; when their noise is the loudest and the men's spirits are all on fire, the drums may be borne against the enemy in disorder."

[The Chuen gives here the following:—'Early in the morning of Ping-tsze, the ladies Me and K'ang, the wives of Wän, the earl of Ch'ing, went to congratulate the viscount of Ts'oo, and feast his troops, at the marsh of Ko, when the viscount made the band-master Tsin display to them the captives, and the ears of the slain. The superior man will pronounce that this was contrary to rule. A woman, when escorting or meeting a visitor, does not go beyond the gate; when seeing her brothers, she does not cross the threshold. The business of war has nothing to do with the employment of women.'

'On Ting-ch'ow, the viscount entered the city of Ch'ing, and was feasted. Nine times the cup was presented to him; the courtyard was filled with a hundred diff. objects; six kinds of food were set forth in the dishes more than ordinary. He left the city at night after the feast, Wän Me accompanying him to the army; and he took the earl's two daughters with him to Ts'oo. Shuh-chen said, "The king of Ts'oo will not die a natural death! The ceremonies shown on his account have ended in his breaking down the distinctions regulating the intercourse between the sexes; and where this is done, there can be no propriety. How should he die a natural death? The princes may know that he will not attain to the presidency of them."']



Twenty-fourth year.

二十有三  
年春齊侯  
伐宋圍緡。  
夏五月庚  
寅宋公茲  
父卒。  
秋楚人伐  
陳。  
冬十有一  
月杞子卒。

左傳曰二十三年春齊侯伐宋圍緡以討其不與盟于齊也。  
夏五月宋襄公卒傷於泓故也。  
秋楚成得臣帥師伐陳討其貳於宋也遂取焦夷城頓而還子文以爲之功使爲令尹叔伯曰子若國何對曰吾以靖國也夫有大功而無貴仕其人能靖者與有幾。  
○九月晉惠公卒懷公命無從亡人期期而不至無赦狐突之子毛及偃從重耳在秦弗召冬懷公執狐突曰子來則免對曰子之能仕父教之忠古之制也策名委質貳乃辟也今臣之子名在重耳有年數矣若又召之教之貳也父教子貳何以事君刑之不濫君之明也臣之願也淫刑以逞誰則無罪臣聞命矣乃殺之卜偃稱疾不出曰周書有之乃大明服已則不明而殺人以逞不亦難乎民不見德而唯戮是聞其何後之有十一月杞成公卒書曰子杞夷也不書名未同盟也凡諸侯同盟死則赴以名禮也赴以名則亦書之不然則否辟不敏也。  
○晉公子重耳之及於難也晉人伐諸蒲城蒲城人欲戰重耳不可曰保君父之命而享其生祿於是乎得人有人而校罪莫大焉吾其奔也遂奔狄從者狐偃趙衰顓頊魏武子司空季子狄人伐廆咎如獲其二女叔隗季隗納諸公子公子取季隗生伯儵叔劉以叔隗妻趙衰生盾將適齊謂季隗曰待我二十五年不來而後嫁對曰我二十五年矣又如如是而嫁則就木焉請待子處狄十二年而行過衛衛文公不禮焉出於五鹿乞食於野人野人與之塊公子怒欲鞭之子犯曰天賜也稽首受而載之及齊齊桓公妻之有馬二十乘公子安之從者以爲不可將行謀於桑下蠶妾在其上以告姜氏姜

氏殺之而謂公子曰子有四方之志其聞之者吾殺之矣公子曰無之姜曰行也懷與安實敗名公子不可姜與子犯謀醉而遣之醒以戈逐子犯及曹曹共公聞其驕奢欲觀其裸浴薄而觀之僖負羈之妻曰吾觀晉公子之從者皆足以相國若以相夫子必反其國反其國必得志於諸侯得志於諸侯而誅無禮曹其首也子盍蚤自貳焉乃饋盤飧寘璧焉公子受飧反璧及宋宋襄公贈之以馬二十乘及鄭鄭文公亦不禮焉叔詹諫曰臣聞天之所啟人弗及也晉公子有三焉天其或者將建諸君其禮焉男女同姓其生不蕃晉公子姬出也而至于今一也離外之患而天不靖晉國殆將啟之二也有三士足以上人而從之三也晉鄭同儕其過子弟固將禮焉況天之所啟乎弗聽及楚楚子饗之曰公子若反晉國則何以報不穀對曰子女玉帛則君有之羽毛齒革則君地生焉其波及晉國者君之餘也其何以報君曰雖然何以報我對曰若以君之靈得反晉國晉楚治兵遇於中原其辟君三舍若不獲命其左執鞭弭右屬櫜鞬以與君周旋子玉請殺之楚子曰晉公子廣而儉文而有禮其從者肅而寬忠而能力晉侯無親外內惡之吾聞姬姓唐叔之後其後衰者也其將由晉公子乎天將興之誰能廢之違天必有大咎乃送諸秦秦伯納女五人懷嬴與焉奉匜沃盥既而揮之怒曰秦晉匹也何以卑我公子懼降服而囚他日公享之子犯曰吾不如衰之文也請使衰從公子賦河水公賦六月趙衰曰重耳拜賜公子降拜稽首公降一級而辭焉衰曰君稱所以佐天子者命重耳重耳敢不拜。

- XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Sung, and laid siege to Min.  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on K'ang-yin, Tsze-foo, duke of Sung, died.  
3 In autumn, an officer of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.  
4 In winter, in the eleventh month, the viscount of Ke died.

Par. 1. Min (here and afterwards Kuh-l'ang has 閔) was a town of Sung, —30 *le* to the north-east of the present dis. city of Kin-heang (金鄉, dep. Yen-chow. Kung-yang says that the mention of besieging a town (邑) such as Min is condemnatory of the violence of Ts'e's action against Sung; and Kuh-l'ang thinks that invasion and siege, both related in the same short par., stamp the action of Ts'e as excessive and

bad. Neither of these views can be accepted. Tso-she's account of the par. is, that the marquis of Ts'e wished to punish Sung because of the duke's absenting himself from the covenant in Ts'e mentioned in XIX. 7. Certainly the duke of Sung deserved well of the marquis of Ts'e at the first, supporting him against his brothers, and securing his claim to the State in the room of his father. We may speculate as to jealousies and misunderstandings which subsequently sprang up between them; but we have not sufficient information to enable us to speak positively of the real causes of the invasion of Sung here mentioned.

Par. 2. Kung-yang gives the name 慈父. The duke's death, according to Tso, was in consequence of the wound he received at the battle of Hung. His career by no means corresponded to the expectations excited by him on his first appearance in the history of this period;—see the Chuen at the end of the 8th year. He is commonly enumerated as one of the 'five leaders of the States'; but he never attained to that position. It is difficult to believe that he was really sane.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, Ch'ing Tih-shin of Ts'oo led an army, and invaded Ch'in, to punish it for inclining, against Ts'oo, to the side of Sung [It would be difficult to make this out from the text of the classic]. He took Ts'au and E; walled Tun; and returned. Tsze-wan, thinking Tih-shin had done good service, procured his appointment as chief minister of Ts'oo in his own room. Shuh-pih asked him on what views for the good of the State he had done so; and he replied, "I have done it to secure the quiet of the State. When you have men who have rendered great service, and you do not give them the noblest offices, are they likely to remain quiet? There are few who can do so."

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Ts'in:—In the 9th month, duke Hwuy of Ts'in died, and his successor, duke Hwae [Yu, who escaped from Ts'in], commanded that none should follow the fugitive, Ch'ung-urh, and defined the period of 12 months, after which there would be pardon no more for any that remained with him. Maou and Yen, the sons of Hoo Tuh, had followed Ch'ung-urh, and were with him in Ts'in; but their father did not call them home. In consequence, duke Hwae apprehended him in winter, and said, "If your sons come back, you shall be let off." Tuh replied, "The ancient rule was that when a son was fit for official service, his father should enjoin upon him to be faithful. The new officer, moreover, wrote his name on a tablet, and gave the pledge of a dead animal to his lord, declaring that any wavering in his fidelity should be punished with death. Now the sons of your servant have had their names with Ch'ung-urh for many years. If I should go on to call them here, I should be teaching them to swerve from their allegiance. If I, as their father, should teach them to do so, how should I be fit to serve your lordship? Punish without excess or injustice, according to your intelligence;—this is what your servant desires to see. If you punish more than is right, to gratify yourself, who will be found without

guilt?—But I have heard your commands." On this the duke put him to death.

'Yen, the master of divination, saying that he was ill, did not leave his house; but, when he heard of Tuh's execution, he remarked, "It is said in one of the Books of Chow [Shoo, V. ix. 9], "So, by a grand intelligence, will you subdue the minds of the people." But when our prince puts people to death to gratify himself, is not the case hard? The people see none of his virtue, and hear only of his cruel executions;—is he likely to leave any of his children in Ts'in?"

Par. 4. Tso-she says:—'This was the death of duke Ch'ing of Ke. His name is not given, because he had never covenanted with Loo [The canon cannot be substantiated]. The rule was, that when any prince had covenanted with others, the announcement of his death was accompanied with his name, and the historians recorded it. Where this was not the case, they did not enter the name;—to avoid making any mistake through want of the proper exactness.

The lords of Ke, as being the representatives of the sovereigns of the Hsia dynasty, were originally dukes. In II. ii. 5, we have—"the marquis of Ke;" elsewhere, the rank is reduced to that of 'earl;' here there is a further reduction to 'viscount.' These degradations are supposed to have been made by the kings of Chow.

[The Chuen now takes up the wanderings of Ch'ung-urh, who became duke Wan of Ts'in:—'When Ch'ung-urh, son of duke Hsien of Ts'in, first met with misfortune, a body of men from Ts'in attacked him in the city of P'oo, the men of which wanted to fight with them. Ch'ung-urh, however, would not allow them to do so, saying, "By favour of the command of my ruler and father, and through possession of the emolument he has assigned me, I have got the rule over these people; and if I should employ them to strive with him, my crime would be very great. I will fly."

'He then fled to the Teih (B. C. 654); and there followed him—Hoo Yen, Chaou Ts'uy, T'ien K'eh, Wei Woo-tsze [Woo is the hon. title; 子 = officer], Ke-tsze, minister of Works [with many others]. In an invasion of the Ts'ang-kaou-joo, the Teih captured the two daughters of their chief, Shuh Wei and Ke Wei, and presented them to the prince. He took Ke Wei to himself as his wife, and she bore him Pih-chow and Shuh-l'ew. Her elder sister he gave to Chaou Ts'ui, who had by her his son Tun. When he was about to go to Ts'e, he said to Ke Wei, "Wait for me five and twenty years; and if I have not come back then, you can marry another husband." She replied, "I am now 25; and if I am to marry again after other 25, I will go to my coffin. I had rather wait for you."

'The prince left the Teih (B. C. 643) after residing among them 12 years. Travelling through Wei, duke Wan treated him discourteously; and as he was leaving it by Woo-luh, he was reduced to beg food of a countryman, who gave him a clod of earth. The prince was angry, and wished to scourge him with his whip; but Tsze-fan [Hoo Yen] said, "It is Heaven's gift [a gift of the soil; a happy omen]." On this he bowed his head to the earth, received the clod, and took it with him in his carriage.

'When he came to Ts'e, duke Hwan gave him a lady of his own surname to wife, and he had 20 teams of 4 horses each. He abandoned himself to the enjoyment of his position, but his followers were dissatisfied with it, determined to leave Ts'e, and consulted with him about what they should do under the shade of a mulberry tree. There happened to be upon the tree a girl of the harem, employed about silkworms, who overheard their deliberations, and reported them to the lady K'ang, the prince's wife. Her mistress put her to death, and said to the prince, "You wish to go again upon your travels. I have put to death one who overheard your design [Meaning so to prevent the thing getting talked about]." The prince protested that he had no such purpose; but his wife said to him, "Go. By cherishing me and reposing here, you are ruining your fame. The prince refused to leave; and she then consulted with Tsze-fan, made the prince drunk, and sent him off, his followers carrying him with them. When he awoke, he seized a spear, and ran after Tsze-fan.

'When they came to Ts'au, duke Kung, having heard that the prince's ribs presented the appearance of one solid bone, wished to see him naked, and pressed near to look at him when he was bathing. The wife of He Foo-ke [an officer of Ts'au] said to her husband, "When I look at the followers of the prince of Ts'in, every one of them is fit to be chief minister of a State. If he only use their help, he is sure to return to Ts'in and be its marquis; and when that happens, he is sure to obtain his ambition, and become leader of the States. He will then punish all who have been discourteous to him, and Ts'au will be the first to suffer. Why should you not go quickly, and show yourself to be a different man from the earl and his creatures. On this, Foo-ke sent the prince a dish of meat, with a peih of jade also in it. The prince accepted the meat, but returned the peih.

'When they came to Sung, the duke presented to the prince 20 teams of horses; but when they came to Ch'ing, duke Wan there was another to behave uncivilly. Shuh-chen remonstrated with him, saying, "I have heard that men cannot attain to the excellence of him whose way is opened by Heaven. The prince of Ts'in has three things which make it likely that Heaven may be going to establish him;—I pray your lordship to treat him courteously. When husband and wife are of the same surname, their children do not prosper and multiply. The prince of Ts'in [himself a Ke] had a Ke for his mother; and yet he continues till now:—this is one thing. During all his troubles, a fugitive abroad, Heaven has not granted quiet to the State of Ts'in, which would seem as if it were preparing the way for his return to it:—this is a second thing. There are three of his officers, sufficient to occupy the highest places; and yet they adhere to him:—this is the third thing. Ts'in and Ch'ing, moreover, are of the same stock. You might be expected to treat courteously any scions of Ts'in passing through the State; and how much more should you so treat him whose way Heaven is thus opening!" To this remonstrance, the earl of Ch'ing would not listen.

'When they came to Ts'oo, the viscount of Ts'oo was one day feasting the prince, and said, "If you return to Ts'in, and become its marquis, how will you recompense my kindness to you?" The prince replied, "Women, gems, and silks, your lordship has. Feathers, hair, ivory and hides, are all produced in your lordship's country; those of them that come to Ts'in, are but your superabundance. What then should I have with which to recompense your kindness?" 'Nevertheless," urged the viscount, "how would you recompense me?" The prince replied, "If by your lordship's powerful influence I shall recover the State of Ts'in, should Ts'oo and Ts'in go to war and meet in the plain of the Middle Land, I will withdraw from your lordship three stages [each of 30 *le*]. If then I do not receive your commands to cease from hostilities, with my whip and my bow in my left hand, and my quiver and my bow-case on my right, I will manoeuvre with your lordship."

'On this, Tsze-yuh, [Ch'ing Tih-shin of the Chuen on p. 3], begged that the prince might be put to death, but the viscount said, "The prince of Ts'in is a grand character, and yet distinguished by moderation, highly accomplished and yet courteous. His followers are severely grave and yet generous, loyal and of untiring ability. The present marquis of Ts'in has none who are attached to him. In his own State and out of it, he is universally hated. I have heard, moreover, that the Kes of Ts'in, the descendants of Shuh of T'ang [See the Shoo, V. ix.], though they might afterwards decay, yet would not perish;—may not this be about to be verified in the prince? When Heaven intends to prosper a man, who can stop him? He who opposes Heaven must incur great guilt."

'After this, the viscount sent the prince away with an escort to Ts'in, where the earl presented him with five ladies, Hwae Ying [the earl's daughter, who had been given to Yu, who fled from Ts'in, and became duke Hwae of Ts'in] among them. The prince made her hold a goblet, and pour water from it for him to wash his hands. When he had done, he ordered her away with a motion of his *wei* hands [the meaning of the Chuen here is variously taken], on which she said in anger, "Ts'in and Ts'in are equals; why do you treat me so, as if I were mean?" The prince became afraid, and humbled himself, putting off his robes, and assuming the garb of a prisoner.

Another day, the earl invited him to a feast, when Tsze-fan said, "I am not so accomplished as Ts'uy; pray make him attend you. The prince sang the Ho-shwuy [a lost ode; unless, indeed, as is likely, the M'een-shwuy, II. iii. IX., is intended, so that the prince would compare himself to the Ho, and Ts'in to the sea, to which the Ho flows], and the earl, the Luh-yueh [She, II. iii. ode II. The ode celebrates the services of an ancient noble in the cause of the kingdom, as if the earl of Ts'in were auspicing such services to be rendered hereafter by the prince of Ts'in]. Chaou Ts'uy said, "Ch'ung-urh, render thanks for the earl's gift." The prince then descended the steps, and bowed with his head to the ground. The earl also descended a step, and declined such a demonstration. Ts'uy said, "When your lordship laid your charge on Ch'ung-urh as to how he should assist the son of Heaven, he dared not but make so humble an acknowledgement."']

Twenty-fourth year.

二十有四  
年春王正月  
夏狄伐鄭  
秋七月  
冬天王出  
居于鄭  
晉侯夷吾卒

①左傳曰二十四年春王正月秦伯納之不書不告入也及河子犯以璧授公子曰臣負羈紲從君巡於天下臣之罪甚多矣臣猶知之而況君乎請由此亡公子曰所不與舅氏同心者有如白水投其璧于河濟河圍令狐入桑泉取白衰二月甲午晉師軍于廬柳秦伯使公子繫如晉師師退軍于郇辛丑狐偃及秦晉之大夫盟于郇壬寅公子入于晉師丙午入于曲沃丁未朝于武宮戊申使殺懷公于高梁不書亦不告也

②呂卻畏偃將焚公宮而弑晉侯寺人披請見公使讓之且辭焉曰蒲城之役君命一宿汝即至其後余從狄君以田渭濱汝爲惠公來求殺余命汝三宿汝中宿至雖有君命何其速也夫祛猶在汝其行乎對曰臣謂君之入也其知之矣若猶未也又將及難君命無二古之制也除君之惡唯力是視蒲人狄人余何有焉今君即位其無蒲狄乎齊桓公置射鉤而使管仲相君若易之何辱命焉行者甚衆豈唯刑臣公見之以難告三月晉侯潛會秦伯于王城己丑晦公宮火瑕甥卻芮不獲公乃如河上秦伯誘而殺之晉侯逆夫人嬴氏以歸秦伯送衛於晉三千人實紀綱之僕

③初晉侯之豎頭須守藏者也其出也竊藏以逃盡用以求納之及入求見公辭焉以沐謂僕人曰沐則心覆心覆則圖反宜吾不得見也居者爲社稷之守行者爲羈紲之僕其亦可也何必罪居者國君而讐匹夫懼者甚衆矣僕人以告公遽見之

④狄人歸季隗于晉而請其二子文公妻趙衰生原同屏括樓嬰趙姬請逆盾與其母子餘辭姬曰得寵而忘舊何以使人必逆之固請許之來以盾爲才固請于公以爲嫡子而使其三子下之以叔隗爲內子而已下之

⑤晉侯賞從亡者介之推不言祿祿亦弗及推曰獻公之子九人唯君在矣惠懷無親外內棄之天未絕晉必將有主主晉祀者非君而誰天實置之而二三子以爲己力不亦誣乎竊人之財猶謂之盜況貪天之功以爲己力乎下義其罪上賞其姦上下相蒙難與處矣其母曰盍亦求之以死誰對對曰尤而效之罪又甚焉且出怨言不食其食其母曰亦使知之若何對曰言身之文也身將隱焉用文之是求顯也其母曰能如是乎與女偕隱遂隱而死晉侯求之不獲以綿上爲之田曰以志吾過且旌善人

⑥鄭之入滑也滑人聽命師還又即衛鄭公子士洩堵俞彌帥師伐滑王使伯服游孫伯如鄭請滑鄭伯怨惠王之入而不與厲公爵也又怨襄王之與衛滑也故不聽王命而執二子王怒將以狄伐鄭富辰諫曰不可臣聞之犬上以德撫民其次親親以相及也昔周公弔二叔之不咸故封建親戚以蕃屏周管蔡邶霍魯衛毛聃邰雍曹滕畢原酆郇文之昭也邢晉應韓武之穆也凡蔣邢茅胙祭周公之胤也召穆公思周德之不類故糾合宗族于成周而作詩曰常棣之華鄂不韡韡凡今之人莫如兄弟其四章曰兄弟鬩于牆外禦其侮如是則兄弟雖有小忿不廢懿親今天子不忍小忿以棄鄭親其若之何庸勳親親瞻近尊賢德之大者也即聾從昧與頑用鬻姦之大者也棄德崇姦禍之大者也鄭有平惠之勳又有厲宣之親棄嬖寵而用三良於諸姬爲近四德具矣耳不聽五聲之和爲聾目不別五色之章爲昧心不則德義之經爲頑口不道忠信之言爲鬻狄皆則之四姦具矣周之有懿德也猶曰莫如兄弟故封建之其懷柔天下也猶懼有外侮扞禦侮者莫如親親故以親屏周召穆公亦云今周德既衰於是乎又淪周召以從諸姦無乃不可乎民未忘禍王又興之其若文武何王弗聽使頹叔桃子出狄師

⑦夏狄伐鄭取櫟王德狄人將以其女爲后富辰諫曰不可臣聞之曰報者倦矣施者未厭狄固貪惓王又啟之女德無極婦怨無終狄必爲患王又弗聽初甘昭公有寵於惠后惠后将立之未及而卒昭公奔齊王復之又

通於隗氏。王替隗氏。頹叔桃子曰：我實使狄，狄其怨我。遂奉大叔以狄師攻王。王御士將禦之。王曰：「先后其謂我何？」寧使諸侯圖之。王遂出，及坎欽，國人納之。秋，頹叔桃子奉大叔以狄師伐周，大敗周師，獲周公忌父、原伯毛伯、富辰。王出適鄭，處於汜。大叔以隗氏居于溫。

○鄭子華之弟子臧，出奔宋，好聚鵠冠。鄭伯聞而惡之，使盜誘之。八月，盜殺之于陳宋之間。君子曰：服之不衷，身之災也。詩曰：「彼己之子，不稱其服。」子臧之服，不稱也。夫詩曰：「自詒伊戚，其子臧之謂矣。」夏書曰：「地平天成，稱也。」

○宋及楚平。宋成公如楚，還入於鄭。鄭伯將享之，問禮於皇武子。對曰：「宋先代之後也，於周爲客。天子有事，膳焉有喪，拜焉有豐，厚可也。」鄭伯從之，享宋公有加禮也。

冬，王使來告難。曰：「不穀不德，得罪于母弟之寵子帶，鄙在鄭地汜，敢告叔父。臧文仲對曰：「天子蒙塵于外，敢不奔問。」官守王使簡師，父告于晉，使左鄆父告于秦。天子無出，書曰：「天王出居于鄭。」辟母弟之難也。天子凶服，降名禮也。鄭伯與孔將鉏、石甲父、侯宣多，省視官具于汜，而後聽其私政，禮也。

○衛人將伐邢，禮至曰：「不得其守，國不可得也。」我請昆弟仕焉。乃往得仕。

- XXIV. 1 It was the duke's twenty-fourth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, the Teih invaded Ch'ing.  
 3 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
 4 In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] left [Chow], and resided in Ch'ing.  
 5 E-woo, marquis of Tsin, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen continues the account of the fortunes of Ch'ung-urh in the following narratives:—

1st. 'In spring, the earl of Ts'in restored Ch'ung-urh:—the event is not recorded in the text, because the marquis of Tsin did not announce his entrance to Loo. When the invaders came to the Ho, Tsze-fan delivered up to the prince a pair of peih [which he had received from the earl of Ts'in], saying, "Your servant has followed your lordship all about

under heaven, as if bearing a halter and bridle; and my offences have been very many. I know them myself, and much more does your lordship know them. Allow me from this time to disappear." The prince said, "Wherein I do not continue to be of the same mind as my uncle [Tsze-fan was the brother of the prince's mother], may the Spirit of this clear water punish me!" And at the same time he threw the peih into the stream. Having crossed the Ho, the troops laid siege to Ling-hoo, entered Sang-

ts'euén, and took K'ew-ts'uy. In the 2d month, on K'eah-woo, the army of Tsin came to meet them, and took post at Leu-l'ew. The earl of Ts'in sent his general Chih, a son of duke Ch'ing, to it, when it retired, and encamped in Sun. There, on Sin-ch'ow, Hoo Yen and the great officers of Ts'in and Tsin made a covenant. On Jin-yin the prince entered the army of Tsin; on Ping-woo, he entered K'eh-yuh; on Ting-we, he went solemnly to the temple of duke Woo; and on Mow-shin, he caused duke Hwae to be put to death in Kaou-l'ang. This does not appear in the text for the same reason that no announcement of it was made to Loo.'

2d. 'Leu and K'eh [Leu E-sang and K'eh Juy, ministers of dukes Hwuy and Hwae], fearing lest the new marquis should be hard upon them, planned to burn the palace and murder him. P'e, the chief of the eunuchs [who had been commissioned by his father, duke H'een, and afterwards, by his brother, duke Hwuy, to kill Ch'ung-urh], begged an interview, but the marquis sent to reproach him, and refused to see him, saying, "In the affair at the city of P'oo, my father ordered you to be at the place the next day, and you came on that same day. Afterwards, when I was hunting on the banks of the Wei with the chief of the Teih, you came, in behalf of duke Hwuy, to seek for me and kill me. He ordered you to reach the place in three days, and you reached it in two. Although the undertaking was by your ruler's orders, why were you so rapid in the execution? The sleeve [of which you cut off a part at P'oo] is still in my possession;—go away." P'e replied, "I said to myself that his lordship, entering the State [after so long a period of trial], was sure to have knowledge [of the world]. If he still have it not, he will again find himself in difficulties. It is the ancient rule, that, when an officer receives his ruler's commands, he think of no other individual. Charged to remove the danger of my ruler, I regarded nothing but how I might be able to do it. What was his lordship at P'oo, or among the Teih, to me? Now his lordship is master of the State;—is there no P'oo, are there no Teih [against which he may need my help]? Duke Hwan of Ts'e forgot all about the shooting of the buckle of his girdle, and made Kwan Chung his chief minister. If his lordship is going to act differently, I shall not trouble him to say anything to me. There are very many who will have to go away, and not a poor eunuch like me only." The marquis then saw him, when he told him of the impending attempt, on which the marquis, in the 3d month, secretly withdrew, and joined the earl of Ts'in in the [old] royal city. On Ke-ch'ow, the last day of the moon, the palace was set on fire; but Sang of H'ea and K'eh Juy [of course] did not find the marquis. They then proceeded to the Ho, from which the earl of Ts'in contrived to wile them to his presence, when he put them to death. The marquis then met his wife, the lady Ying, and took her with him to Tsin. The earl sent an escort also of 3,000 men as guards, and who should superintend all the departments of service about the court.'

3d. 'In earlier years, the marquis had a personal attendant called T'au-seu, who had charge of his treasury. This boy, when the prince was obliged to flee, ran away, carrying the contents

of the treasury with him. He had used them all, however, in seeking to procure the marquis's return; and when he did re-enter the State, he sought an interview with him. The marquis declined to see him, and sent word that he was bathing. T'au-seu said to the servant [who brought the reply], "In bathing, the heart is turned upside down [Referring to the position of the body in bathing, with the head bent down], and one's plans are all reversed. It was natural I should be told that I cannot see him. Those who stayed in Tsin were his ministers, guarding the altars of the land; and those who went with him were his servants, carrying halter and bridle. Both may stand accepted. Why must he look on those who stayed in the country as criminals? If he, now lord of the State, show such enmity to a poor man like me, multitudes will be filled with alarm." The servant reported these words to the marquis, who instantly granted T'au-seu an interview.'

4th. 'The chief of the Teih sent Ke Wei to Tsin, and asked what should be done with the marquis's two children by her. The marquis had given [a daughter of his own] to Chaou Ts'uy to wife, who bore to him T'ung of Yuen, Kwoh of Ping, and Ying of Low. This lady—Chaou Ke—begged her husband that he would bring home from the Teih his son Tun, with his mother Shuh Wei. Tsze-yu [Chaou Ts'uy's designation] refused to do so, but Ke said, "He who in the enjoyment of present prosperity forgets his old friends is not fit to command others. You must meet them, and bring them here." She pressed the matter so strongly, that at last he agreed that they should come. Finding that Tun was possessed of ability, she further pressed it earnestly on the marquis, her father, to cause him to be declared Ts'uy's eldest son and heir, while her own three sons were ranked below him. She also caused Shuh Wei to be made mistress of the harem, and occupied herself in an inferior position.'

5th. 'When the marquis of Tsin was rewarding those who had followed and adhered to him during his long exile, K'eah Che-ts'uy [who had once cut off a portion of his own thigh, to relieve the prince's extreme hunger] did not ask for any recompense, and it so happened that none came to him. "The sons of duke H'een," said he, "were nine, and only the marquis remains. Hwuy and Hwae made no friends, and were abandoned by all, whether in the State or out of it. But Heaven had not abandoned the House of Tsin, and was sure to raise some one to preside over its sacrifices;—and who should do that but the marquis? It was Heaven who placed him in his present position; and how false it is in those officers to think it was their strength which did it! He who steals but the money of another man is pronounced a thief; what name shall be given to them who seek to appropriate to themselves the work of Heaven? They, below, think their guilt is their righteousness, and the marquis, above, rewards their unworthiness. He above and they below are deceiving and deceived; it is difficult for me to dwell along with them!" His mother said to him, "Why not go, as well as others, and ask for some recompense? If you die without receiving any, [never having asked], of whom can you complain?" He replied, "Were I to imitate them in their wrongdoing, my offence would be greater than theirs."



And I have spoken [what may seem] words of resentment and complaint;—I will eat none of *their* food." His mother said, "But what say you to letting your case at least be known?" "Words," answered he, "are an embellishment of the person. I shall withdraw my person entirely from the world, and why should I use what is employed to seek its embellishment?" His mother said, "Can you take this course? Then I will retire and hide myself from the world with you." The marquis of Tsin afterwards sought for K'ae Che-ts'uy, but in vain, and endowed a sacrifice to him with the fields of M'een-shang. "It will be a memento," said he, "of my neglect, and a mark of distinction for the good man."

Par. 2. The Chuen says on this:—"When the troops of Ch'ing entered Hwah [see XX. 4], the people of Hwah received its commands; but when they withdrew, it went over again to Wei. Sze, son of the earl of Ch'ing, and S'eh Too-yu-mei went against it with a force, when the king sent Pih-fuh and Y'ew-sun Pih to intercede with Ch'ing in behalf of Hwah; but the earl, resenting how king Hwuy, on his restoration [to the capital], had not conferred a cup on duke Le [see the Chuen at III. xxi. 2-3], and also how king S'ang now took the part of Wei and Hwah, would not listen to his commands, and made the two officers prisoners. The king was angry, and wished to invade Ch'ing with the Teih. Foo Shin remonstrated with him, saying, 'Do not do this. Your servant has heard that in the highest antiquity the people were kept in tranquillity by virtue. Subsequently to this, the sovereigns showed favour to their own relatives, and went on from them to others. Thus the duke of Chow, grieved by the want of harmony in the concluding times [of the two previous dynasties], raised the relatives of the royal House to the rule of States, that they might act as fences and screens to Chow. The princes of Kwan, Ts'ae, Shing, Hoh, Loo, Wei, Maou, Tan, Kaou, Yung, Ts'au, T'ang, Peih, Yuen, Fung, and Seun were all sons of king W'an. Those of Yu, Tsin, Ying, and Han were sons of king Woo. Those of Fan, Ts'ang, Hing, Maou, T'soo, and Chae were descendants of the duke of Chow. Duke Muh of Shaou, thinking of the defectiveness of the virtue of Chow, assembled all the members of the royal House in Ch'ing-chow, and made the ode which says [She, II. i. ode IV.],

'The flowers of the cherry tree,—  
Are they not gorgeously displayed?  
Of all the men in the world,  
There are none like brothers.'

In the 4th stanza it is said,

'Brothers may squabble inside the walls,  
But they will resist insult from without.'

Thus, although brothers may have small quarrels among themselves, they will not for them cast away their relative affection. But now, when Your Majesty, unable to bear the resentment of a slight quarrel, is casting away the affection of Ch'ing, what is to be said? And to employ the meritorious, to show affection to one's relatives, to cultivate the acquaintance of those near at hand, and to honour the worthy:—these are the greatest of virtues. To approach the deaf and to follow the blind, to agree with the wayward and to use the stupid:—these

are the greatest of evils. To cast away what is virtuous and give honour to what is evil, is the greatest of calamities. To Ch'ing belongs the merit of assisting king P'ing and king Hwuy, and its [first earl] was most intimate with Le and Seuen; it *recently* put away its favoured minister and son, and has been employing the three good men; of all the States of the Kes it lies nearest to us:—it gives the opportunity for displaying the [above] four virtues. He whose ear does not hear the harmony of the five sounds is deaf; he whose eye does not distinguish the beauty of the five colours is blind; he whose mind does not accord with the rules of virtue and righteousness is wayward; he whose mouth does not speak the words of loyalty and faith is a stupid chatterer. The Teih approximate to all these four conditions, and to follow them will display the *above* four evils. When Chow was distinguished by admirable virtue, it still said that none were equal to brothers, and advanced them to the rule of States. While it was cherishing with gentle indulgence all under heaven, it was still afraid lest insult should be offered from without; and knowing that to withstand such insult there was no plan so good as to treat with distinguishing affection its relatives, it therefore made them a screen to its domains. Muh of Shaou also expressed himself to the same effect. And now, when the virtue of Chow is in decay, to proceed at this time to depart farther from the maxims of the dukes of Chow and Shaou, and follow the way of all evil, surely this is wrong. Before the people have forgotten their sufferings, you make them commence again;—how will this affect the inheritance transmitted by W'an and Woo?" The king would not listen to this advice, but sent T'ui Shuh and the officer T'au forth with the army of the Teih.

'In summer, the Teih invaded Ch'ing, and took Leih. The king, feeling grateful for their service, was minded to make the daughter of their chief his queen. *Again* Foo Shin remonstrated, saying, "Do not. Your servant has heard that the rewarder gets tired, and the receiver is never satisfied. The Teih most certainly are covetous and greedy, and yet your Majesty is ministering to their disposition. It is the nature of women to be limitless in their desires, and their resentment is undying. The Teih will certainly be your majesty's sorrow." Again, the king would not listen to him. Before this, duke Ch'au of Kan [The king's brother T'ae, whom we have met with before] had been the favourite of king Hwuy's queen, who wished to get the throne for him, but dying before this could be secured, duke Ch'au fled to Ts'e [see the 12th year]. King S'ang had restored him [in the 22d year]; and now he went on to have intercourse with the lady Wei [the king's Teih wife], who was thereupon degraded by the king. T'ui Shuh and the officer T'au said, "It was we who procured the employment of the Teih; their resentment will fall on us." On this they set up T'ae-shuh [duke Ch'au], and with an army of the Teih attacked the king. His guards wished to withstand them, but the king said, "What will my father's queen say of me? It is better to let the States take measures for the occasion." He then left the capital, and proceeded to K'an-t'an, from which the people brought him back. In autumn, T'ui Shuh and

T'au-tsze, supporting T'ae-shuh, invaded Chow with an army of the Teih, inflicted a great defeat on the royal forces, and took Ke-foo, duke of Chow, the earls of Yuen and Maou, and Foo Shin. The king betook himself to Ch'ing, and resided in Fan, while T'ae-shuh and the lady Wei dwelt in W'an.'

[The Chuen appends here two other narratives:—"Tsze-tsang, younger brother of Hwa, heir-son of Ch'ing [who was put to death in the 16th year], had fled to Sung. There he was fond of wearing a cap made of the feathers of the kingfisher. The earl of Ch'ing heard of it, and was displeased, and employed some ruffians to induce him to *follow them*, when, in the 8th month, they killed him between Ch'in and Sung. The superior man may say that when the clothes are not befitting, it indicates calamity to the person. The ode [She I. xiv. ode II.] says,

"Those creatures  
Are not equal to their apparel."

The clothes of Tsze-tsang were not such as were befitting him. The language of another ode (II. vi. ode III. 3),

"I have myself caused the distress,"

may be considered applicable to Tsze-tsang. In the Books of Hea [Shoo, II. ii. 8] it is said, "The earth is reduced to order, and the influences of Heaven operate with effect:—there was a correspondency between them."

'Sung having made peace with Ts'oo, duke Ch'ing of Sung went to Ts'oo. On his return, he entered the capital of Ch'ing, when the earl, wishing to feast him, asked Hwang Woo-tsze about the ceremonies to be employed. Woo-tsze replied, "The dukes of Sung are the descendants of the last dynasty. They appear as guests at the court of Chow. When the son of Heaven sacrifices, he sends them portions of the flesh;

when they condole with him on occasion of a death, he bows to them and thanks them. Let your ceremonies be abundant and generous." The earl acted accordingly, and feasted the duke of Sung with extraordinary ceremonies.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"In winter, the king sent a messenger to announce his troubles to Loo, saying, "Without goodness, without virtue, I offended my own brother T'ae, the favoured son of our mother, and I am now as a borderer in the country of Ch'ing, in Fan. I venture to make this known to my uncle." Tsang Wan-chung said, "The son of Heaven is covered with dust, driven out from Chow. We dare not but fly to ask for his officers and guards." The king sent K'een Sze-foo to inform Tsin of his circumstances, and Tso Yen-foo to inform Ts'in. The son of Heaven cannot be said to leave his country, and yet he is said in the text to have done so;—because he was avoiding the troubles raised by his own brother. For the son of Heaven to wear mourning garments, and to assume such depreciating names for himself, [as in his message to Loo], was proper [in king S'ang's circumstances]. The earl of Ch'ing, with K'ung Ts'ang-tsoo, Shih K'eh-foo, and How Seuen-to, examined and saw that the officers sent sufficient supplies to Fan, and then attended to the government of their own State;—which was proper.'

Par. 5. E-woo, or duke Hwuy, died the previous year; but it is supposed that the announcement of his death was only now made to Loo.

[The Chuen adds here the following account:—"A force from Wei was about to invade Hing, when Le Che said [to the marquis of Wei], "If you do not make sure of *some* of its ministers, the State cannot be secured." Let me and my brother go and take office there." On this the two went to Hing, and became officers in it.]"

### Twenty-fifth year.

二十五年春王正月，  
丙午，衛侯燬滅邢。  
夏四月癸酉，衛侯燬卒。  
宋蕩伯姬來逆婦。  
宋殺其大夫。  
楚人圍陳，納頓子于  
衛。冬十有二月癸亥，公會  
衛子莒慶盟于洮。



左傳曰：二十五年春，衛人伐邢，二禮從國子巡城，掖以赴外，殺之。正月丙午，衛侯燬滅邢，同姓也，故名。禮至爲銘曰：余掖殺國子，莫余敢止。

秦伯師于河上，將納王。狐偃言於晉侯曰：求諸侯莫如勤王，諸侯信之，且大義也。繼文之業，而信宣於諸侯，今爲可矣。使卜偃卜之，曰：吉。遇黃帝戰于阪泉之兆。公曰：吾不堪也。對曰：周禮未改，今之王，古之帝也。公曰：茲之筮之遇，大有之睽，曰：吉。遇公用享于天子之卦，戰克而王饗，吉孰大焉？且是卦也，天爲澤以當日，天子降心以逆公，不亦可乎？大有去睽而復，亦其所也。晉侯辭秦師而下。三月甲辰，次于陽樊，右師圍溫，左師逆王。

夏四月丁巳，王入于王城，取大叔于溫，殺之于隰城。戊午，晉侯朝王，王饗醴，命之宥，請隧，弗許。曰：王章也，未有代德而有二王，亦叔父之所惡也。與之陽樊、溫、原、欒茅之田，晉於是始啟南陽。陽樊不服，圍之，倉葛呼曰：德以柔中國，刑以威四夷，宜吾不敢服也。此誰非王之親姻，其俘之也。乃出其民。

秋，秦晉伐鄆。

楚鬬克、屈禦寇以申息之師戍商密，秦人過析，隈入，而係輿人，以圍商密。昏而傳焉，宵坎血，加書，僞與子儀子邊盟者，商密人懼曰：秦取析矣，戍人反矣。乃降秦師，秦師囚申公子儀。息公子邊以歸，楚令尹子玉追秦師，弗及，遂圍陳，納頓子于頓。

冬，晉侯圍原，命三日之糧，原不降，命去之。謀出曰：原將降矣。軍吏曰：請待之。公曰：信，國之寶也，民之所庇也，得原失信，何以庇之？所亡滋多。退一舍而原降。遷原伯貫于冀，趙衰爲原大夫，狐溱爲溫大夫。

衛人平莒于我十二月，盟于洮。修衛文公之好，且及莒平也。

晉侯問原守於寺人勃鞞，對曰：昔趙衰以壺飧從徑，餒而弗食，故使處原。

- XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ping-woo, Wei, marquis of Wei, extinguished Hing.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Kwei-yëw, Wei, marquis of Wei, died.
- 3 The duke's eldest daughter, married to a Tang of Sung, came [to Loo] to meet the wife [for her son].
- 4 Sung put to death [one of] its great officers.
- 5 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo invested [the capital of] Ch'in, and restored the viscount of Tun to Tun.
- 6 There was the burial of duke Wän of Wei.
- 7 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke had a meeting with the heir-son of Wei and King of Keu, when they made a covenant in T'au.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"In spring, a force from Wei invaded Hing. The two Le [see the last Chuen] were following Kwoh-tsze and going round the city-wall, when they held him fast in their arms, and went off with him to the outside, killing him. In the 1st month, on Ping-woo, Wei, marquis of Wei, extinguished Hing. The lords of Wei and Hing were of the same surname, and therefore the text gives the name of the marquis;—[to his disgrace]. Le Che had the words engraved on a vessel,—“I grasped Kwoh-tsze in my arms and killed him. No one dared to stop me;”—[thus publishing his own shame.]

We see that the preservation of Hing, one of the great achievements of duke Hwan of Ts'e [see III. xxxii. 7; V. i. 2, 3, 4] did not long avail for that State. What is remarkable, is that it should perish at last at the hands of Wei, which had been reduced by the same Teih to even greater straits than itself [see IV. ii. 7]. Most of the critics lay great stress, like Tso-she, on the name of the marquis of Wei being found here in the text; and a passage of the Le Ke [I. Pt. II. ii. 21] is referred to, which would make it out that the mention of the name is condemnatory, and stamps the wickedness of the marquis of Wei in extinguishing a State held by a prince of the same surname as himself. But the canon in that passage was, no doubt, made to suit this single text. Choo He imagines that the 燬 here has got into the text, by the error of a copyist, from the next paragraph.

Par. 2. From the last Chuen on IV. ii. it appears that this prince was a man of perseverance and resources. His character, however, does not stand high with the critics;—see the remarks of Ke Pun in the 集說 on this passage.

Par. 3. There was a powerful family of the clan-name of Tang in Sung, and duke He's eldest daughter must have been married to the head, or some principal scion of it, though the match is not mentioned in the classic. Here she comes to Loo to take back a wife, we must suppose for her son; but nothing is said from what family the young lady was taken. On the phrase 逆婦, instead of 逆女, compare

求婦, in XXXI. 7. The 婦 is determined by the 姑, the husband's mother, being the other party in the transaction.

Par. 4. Comp. III. xxvi. 3. It is folly to seek for mysteries in the silence of the text as to the name of the officer here spoken of. Kung-yang thinks that the duke of Sung had married his daughter, and did not dare therefore, in announcing his death to Loo, to mention his wife's father. Kuh-lëang thinks he was a K'ung (孔), and that Confucius purposely kept back the name of one of his ancestors!

[The Cluen appends here:—"The earl of Ts'in was with an army on the Ho, intending to restore the king [See 4th par. of last year], when Hoo Yen said to the marquis of Ts'in, "If you are seeking the adherence of the States, you can do nothing better than to show an earnest interest in the king's behalf. The States will thereby have faith in you, and you will have done an act of great righteousness. Now is the time to show again such service as was rendered by the marquis Wän [See the Shoo, V. xxviii], and to get your fidelity proclaimed among the States." The marquis made the master of divination, Yen, consult the tortoise-shell about the undertaking. He did so and said, "The oracle is auspicious,—that of Hwang-te's battle in Fan-ts'üen." The marquis said, "That oracle is too great for me." The diviner replied, "The rules of Chow are not changed. The king of to-day is the emperor of antiquity." The marquis then said, "Try it by the milfoil." They consulted the reeds, and found the diagram Ta-yëw [䷊], which then became the diagram K'wei [䷋]. The diviner said, "This also is auspicious. In this diagram we have the oracle,—"A prince presents his offerings to the son of Heaven." A battle and victory; the king receiving your offerings;—what more fortunate response could there be? Moreover, in these diagrams, the trigram of heaven (䷀) becomes that of a marsh, (䷃) lying under the sun, indicating how the son of Heaven condescends to meet your lordship:—

二十有六年春王正月己未公會莒子衛甯速盟于向。  
齊人侵我西鄙公追齊師至鄆弗及。

- XXVI. 1 In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-we, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Keu and Ning Suh of Wei, when they made a covenant in Hëang.
- 2 A body of men from Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders, when the duke pursued the army of Ts'e to He, but did not come up with it.
- 3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'e invaded our northern borders.
- 4 A body of men from Wei invaded Ts'e.
- 5 Suy, son of duke [Ch'wang], went to Ts'oo, to beg [the assistance of] an army.
- 6 In autumn, an officer of Ts'oo extinguished K'wei, and carried the viscount of K'wei back with them.
- 7 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Sung, and besieged Min.
- 8 The duke, with an army of Ts'oo, invaded Ts'e, and took Kuh.
- 9 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.

Par. 1. Hëang,—see on Lii. 2: II. xvi. 4. This Hëang was probably that of Keu. The Chuen tells us that the count of Keu was styled Tsze-p'ei (茲平), and that Ning Suh [Kung-yang, here and afterwards, has 邀], was the officer known by his honorary title of Chwang (莊子), adding that this meeting was to confirm the previous one at T'aou. The count of Keu had only been there by one of his officers, while here he attended in person:—the reconciliation of Loo and Keu might be considered complete.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has here 蕩 and Kuh-lëang 蕩, instead of 鄆. Tso-she has 不 for 弗. He says that the incursion was made by Ts'e, to punish Loo for the two covenants at T'aou and Hëang. A better reason may be found in the antagonistic position which Loo took to the present marquis of Ts'e on his accession;—see on XVIII. 2. He was a town of Ts'e, in the south-west of pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. Yen-chow. The K'ang-he editors have a long note on the change of style in the par. from 齊人 to 齊師, which has wonderfully vexed the critics. If the commonly accepted view, that the term 人 is used of a *small* body of men under a commander of mean rank, and 師 is used of a *large* body of men under a similar command, were indubitably certain, we might be perplexed by the change of terms; but the text surely is an instance in point to show that the two forms of expression may be used to convey the same meaning. Or if it be insist-

ed on that 齊人 = 'an officer of Ts'e,' one of no great rank, commanding in the incursion, the 齊師 can only mean 'the army' or force which he conducted.

Par. 3. Duke Hëaou of Ts'e was himself present with these invading forces. The Chuen says:—'Duke Hëaou of Ts'e invaded our northern borders. Duke He sent Chen He to offer provisions to the invading forces, having first made him receive instructions from Chen K'in [the famous Lëw-hëa Hwuy, He's father]. Accordingly, before the marquis of Ts'e had entered our borders, Chen He followed in his track, came up with him, and said, "My prince, hearing that your lordship was on the march and condescending to come to his small city, has sent myself, his poor servant, with these presents for your officers." The marquis asked whether the people of Loo were afraid. "Small people," replied He, "are afraid; but the superior men are not." "Your houses," said the marquis, "are empty as a hanging musical-stone, and in your fields there is no green grass;—on what do they rely that they are not afraid?" He answered, "They rely on the charge of a former king. Formerly the duke of Chow and T'ae-kung were legs and arms to the House of Chow, and supported and aided king Ch'ing, who rewarded them, and gave them a charge, saying, "From generation to generation let your descendants refrain from harming one another." It was preserved in the repository of Charges, under the care of the grand-master [of Chow]. Thus it was that when duke Hwan assembled the various States, taking measures to cure the want of harmony among them, to heal their short-comings, and to relieve those who were in distress. In all this he was illustrating that ancient charge. When your lordship took his place, all the States were full of hope, saying, "He will carry on the meritorious work of Hwan." On this account

our poor State did not presume to protect itself by collecting its multitudes; and now we say, "Will he, after possessing Ts'e nine years, forget that ancient charge, and cast aside the duty enjoined in it? What in that case would his father say?" Your lordship surely will not do such a thing. It is on this that we rely, and are not afraid." On this the marquis of Ts'e returned.'

Par. 4. Tso-she says this movement of Wei was a consequence of the covenant of T'aou. Wei and Loo had probably then agreed to support each other against Ts'e.

Par. 5. Though Loo had succeeded in inducing the marquis of Ts'e to withdraw his army, as related in the last Chuen, it wished to be prepared against Ts'e in the future, and even to commence hostilities against it in its turn;—this was the reason of this mission to Ts'oo. The Suy in the text had the clan-name of Tung-mun, [because he had his residence by the 'eastern gate']. The Chuen says:—'Tung-mun Sëang [the hon. title]—chung, and Tsang Wän-chung went to Ts'oo to ask the assistance of an army. Tsang-sun [the above Wän-chung] had an interview with Tsze-yuh [the minister of Ts'oo], and tried to persuade him to attack Ts'e and Sung, on the ground of their not performing their duty to the king.'

Par. 6. K'wei (Kung-yang has 隗) was a small State in the pres. dis. of Kwei-chow (歸州), dep. E-ch'ang (宜昌), Hoo-pih.

Its ruling family was of the same surname as the lords of Ts'oo,—an off-shoot from the ruling House of that State. The Chuen says:—'The count of K'wei did not sacrifice to Chuh-yung and Yuh-hëung [the remote ancestors of the House of Ts'oo and also of K'wei], and an officer was sent from Ts'oo to reprove him. He replied, "The founder of our State, Hëung Che, was afflicted with a disease, from which those Spirits did not deliver him, and he was obliged to hide himself here in K'wei. In this way we lost our connection with Ts'oo, and why should we offer these sacrifices?" In autumn, Ch'ing Tih-shin [the prime minister of Ts'oo, Tsze-yuh] and Tow E-shin led an army and extinguished K'wei, when they carried the viscount back with them to Ts'oo.'

Par. 7. For 縉 Kuh-lëang has 閔. Min,—see on XXIII. 1. The Chuen says:—'The duke of Sung, in consequence of the service which he had rendered to the marquis of Tsin in his wanderings [see the Chuen at the end of the 23d year], ventured to revolt from Ts'oo and adhere to Tsin. In winter, Tsze-yuh, chief minister of Ts'oo, and Tsze-se, minister of War, invaded Sung with a force, and laid siege to Min.'

Par. 8. This is the sequel of par. 5. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4, *et al.* The Chuen says:—'Whenever an army is at one's disposal to move it to the right or left, we have the term 以. On this occasion, the duke placed Yung, one of the sons of duke Hwan of Ts'e in Kuh, where Yih-ya supported him, as an aid to Loo, while Shuh-how, duke of Shin, guarded the place on behalf of Ts'oo. Seven of the sons of duke Hwan were great officers in Ts'oo.'

Twenty-seventh year.

二十有七年春杞子來朝。夏六月庚寅齊侯昭卒。秋八月乙未葬齊孝公。冬楚人陳侯蔡侯鄭伯許男圍宋。十有二月甲戌公會諸侯盟于宋。

左傳曰：二十七年春，杞桓公來朝，用夷禮，故曰子公卑杞，杞不共也。夏，齊孝公卒，有齊怨，不廢喪紀，禮也。秋，入杞，責無禮也。

○楚子將圍宋，使子文治兵於睢，終朝而畢，不戮一人。子玉復治兵於蔿，終日而畢，鞭七人，貫三人耳。國老皆賀子文，子文飲之酒，薦賈尚幼，後至不賀。子文問之，對曰：「不知所賀。」子之傳政於子玉，曰：「靖國也。」靖諸內而敗諸外，所獲幾何？子玉之敗，子之舉也。舉以敗國，將何賀焉？子玉剛而無禮，不可以治民，過三百乘，其不能以入矣，苟入而賀，何後之有？」

冬，楚子及諸侯圍宋。宋公孫固如晉告急，先軫曰：「報施救患，取威定霸，於是乎在矣。」狐偃曰：「楚始得曹，而新昏於衛，若伐曹衛，楚必救之，則齊宋免矣。」於是乎蒐于被廬，作三軍，謀元帥。趙衰曰：「卻縠可。」臣亟聞其言矣，說禮樂而敦詩書，義之府也。禮樂，德之則也。德義，利之本也。夏書曰：「賦納以言，明試以功，車服以庸。」君其試之。乃使卻縠將中軍，卻縠佐之，使狐偃將上軍，讓於狐毛而佐之。命趙衰為卿，讓於欒枝，先軫使欒枝將下軍，先軫佐之。荀林父御戎，魏犢為右。晉侯始入而教其民，二年，欲用之，子犯曰：「民未宣知義，未安其居。」於是乎出定襄王，入務利民，民懷生矣。將用之，子犯曰：「民未知信，未宣知禮，未生其共。」於是乎大蒐以示之禮，作執秩以正其官。民聽不惑，而後用之，出穀戍，釋宋圍，一戰而霸，文之教也。

the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Heu, laid siege to [the capital of] Sung.

6 In the twelfth month, on K'eah-seuh, the duke had a meeting with the [above] princes, when they made a covenant in Sung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'Duke Hwan of Ke paid a court-visit, and used the ceremonies of the E, for which reason he is called *merely* viscount. The duke despised Ke, because of its want of respectfulness.' This explanation of the title *viscount* here must be incorrect; see what is said on 杞子 in XXIII. 4. Even the

K'ang-he editors reject Tso-she's view in this place. The lords of Ke had been degraded by the king to the rank of viscount; we shall find hereafter that they regained one step of dignity. It may be mentioned that the viscount in the text is the same who is mentioned in V. 2. as presented by his mother, a sister of duke He, at the court of Loo, when he was a child. He himself became, a few years after this, a son-in-law of He.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'At this time Loo had reason for resentment against Ts'e, but the duke did not neglect the observances proper in cases of death;—which was proper.'

Par. 3. For some reason or other the interment was hurried.

Par. 4. Too observes that the date here must be wrong;—there was no Yih-sze in the 8th month of this year, but that day was the 6th of the 9th month. The Chuen says that this attack of Ke was to punish it for the neglect of the proper ceremonies, assumed in the Chuen on the 1st par. Most critics condemn the action of Loo in making this return to the viscount for his visit in the spring;—and properly. Chaou P'ang-fei (趙鵬飛) says that the

true character of Loo may be seen in it (魯之爲魯，抑可見矣), timorous and crouching before the strong, arrogant and oppressive to the weak.

Par. 5. The Chuen says here:—'The viscount of Ts'oo, wishing to lay siege to the capital of Sung, made Tsze-wan exercise and inspect the troops for the expedition in K'wei, and at the end of a whole morning, he had not punished a single man. Tsze-yuh in the next place was employed to exercise the troops in Wei, and at the day's end he had scourged seven men, and bored through the ears of three. The elders of the State all congratulated Tsze-wan [on his recommendation of Tsze-yuh], when he detained them to drink with him. Wei K'ea was then still a boy, and came late, offering no congratulations. Tsze-wan asked the reason of his conduct, and he replied, "I do not know on what I should congratulate you. You have resigned the government to Tsze-yuh, thinking, no doubt, that his appointment would quiet the State. But with quietness in the State and defeat abroad, what will be gained? The defeat of Tsze-yuh will be owing to your recommendation of him; and what cause for congratulation is there in a recommendation which will bring defeat to the

State? Tsze-yuh is a violent man, and regardless of the observances of propriety, so that he is unfit to rule the people. If he be entrusted with the command of more than 300 chariots, he will not enter the capital again. If I congratulate you after he has returned from being entrusted with a larger command, my congratulations will not be too late."

'In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo and several other princes laid siege to the capital of Sung, the duke of which sent Kung-sun Koo to Ts'in to report the strait in which he was. S'een Chin said to the marquis, 'Now you may recompense the favours received from Sung, and relieve its distress. The opportunity is now presented to acquire the proper majesty and make sure of the leadership of the States.' Hoo Yen said, "Ts'oo has just secured the adherence of Ts'aou, and recently contracted a marriage with Wei. If we invade Ts'aou and Wei, Ts'oo will be sure to go to their help, and so Sung and Ts'e will be delivered from it." On this, the marquis ordered a hunting in Pe-leu, and formed a third army [see the Chuen after IV. 1. 6]. He then consulted about a commander-in-chief. Chaou Ts'ui said, "K'eh Hwoh is the man. I have heard him speak. He explains all about music and proprieties, and is versed in the Books of Poetry and History. Those Books are the repository of righteousness, and in music and proprieties we have the patterns of virtue, while virtue and righteousness are roots of all advantage. In the Books of H'ea [Shoo, II. i. 8, where there is some difference in the text] it is said, "They were appointed by their speech; they were tested by their works; they received chariots and robes according to their services." Let your lordship make trial of him." On this the marquis appointed K'eh Hwoh to command the second army, that of the centre, with K'eh Ts'in as his assistant. Hoo Yen was made commander of the first army, but he declined in favour of Hoo Maou, and acted as his assistant. The marquis ordered Chaou Ts'ui to take the third command, but he declined in favour of Lwan Che and S'een Chin, on which Lwan Che was made commander of the third army, with S'een Chin as his assistant. Seun Lin-foo acted as charioteer for the marquis, and Wei Ch'ow was the spearman on the right.

'When the marquis of Ts'in got possession of the State, he taught the people for two years, and then wished to employ them in war. Tsze-fan said, "While the people do not know righteousness, they will not live quietly." On this, beyond the State, the marquis settled the troubles of king S'ang, and in it he studied the people's advantage, till their lives were happy and cherished by them. He then wished to employ them, but Tsze-fan again said, "The people do not yet know good faith, and do not understand how they are to be employed." On this the marquis attacked Yuen, and showed them what good faith was, so that in their

- XXVII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, the viscount of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, on K'ang-yin, Ch'aou, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Yih-we, there was the burial of duke H'eaou of Ts'e.  
4 On Yih-sze, Suy, son of duke [Chwang], led an army and entered Ke.  
5 In winter, an officer of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'in,



bargains they sought no advantage, and intelligently fulfilled all their words. "May they now be employed?" asked the marquis, but Tsze-fan once more replied, "While they do not know the observances of propriety, their respectfulness is not brought out." On this, the marquis made great huntings, and showed them the gradations of different ranks, making special officers of degrees to adjust all the services. When the people could receive their orders, without making any mistake, then he employed them, drove out the guards of Kuh [see XXVI. 8], and relieved the siege of Sung. The securing of his leadership

of the States by one battle was owing to this intelligent training.  
The 'man of Ts'oo' in the text was Tsze-yuh; but though he commanded, the viscount himself was with the army,—as the Chuen relates.  
Par. 6. Loo now belonged to the party of Ts'oo, and the duke therefore went to Sung, to prove his adhesion. The critics needlessly find a great significance in the express mention of 'the duke' (公), and in the use of the general phrase 'the princes' (諸侯), without any special mention of 'the viscount of Ts'oo.'

Twenty-eighth year.

二十有八年春，晉侯侵曹，晉侯伐衛。  
公子買戍衛，不卒戍，刺之。楚人救衛。  
三月，丙午，晉侯入曹，執曹伯，畀宋人。  
夏四月，己巳，晉侯、齊師、宋師、秦師及楚人戰于城濮，楚師敗績。  
楚殺其大夫得臣。  
衛侯出奔楚。  
五月，癸丑，公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、蔡侯、鄭伯、衛子、莒子、盟于踐土。  
陳侯如會。公朝于王所。  
六月，衛侯鄭自楚復歸于衛，衛元咺出奔晉。

陳侯款卒。秋，杞伯姬來。  
公子遂如齊。  
冬，公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、蔡侯、鄭伯、陳子、莒子、邾子、秦人于溫。  
天王狩于河陽。  
壬申，公朝于王所。  
晉人執衛侯，歸之于京師。  
衛元咺自晉復歸于衛。  
諸侯遂圍許。  
曹伯襄復歸于曹，遂會諸侯圍許。

左傳曰：二十八年春，晉侯將伐曹，假道于衛，衛人弗許，還自南河濟，侵曹，伐衛。正月戊申，取五鹿。二月，晉卻縠卒，原軫將中軍，胥臣佐下軍，上德也。晉侯、齊侯盟于斂孟，衛侯請盟，晉人弗許。衛侯欲與楚，國人不欲，故出其君，以說于晉。衛侯出居于襄牛。  
公子買戍衛，楚人救衛，不克，公懼於晉，殺子叢以說焉。謂楚人曰：不卒戍也。  
晉侯圍曹，門焉多死，曹人尸諸城上，晉侯患之，聽輿人之謀，曰：稱舍於墓，師遷焉。曹人兇懼，為其所得者，棺而出之，因其兇也，而攻之。三月丙午，入曹，數之以其不用，僇負羈之宮，而免其族人也。且曰：獻狀，令無入僇負羈之宮，而免其族報施也。魏犢、顓頊怒曰：勞之不圖，報於何有？燕僇負羈氏，魏犢傷於胸，公欲殺之，而愛其材，使問且視之，病將殺之。魏犢束胸見使者曰：以君之靈，不有寧也。距躍三百，曲踊三百。乃舍之。殺顓頊以徇于師，立舟之僑以為戎右。宋人使門



虛以觀師。曰：少長有禮，其可用也。遂伐其木以益其兵。己巳，晉師陳于莘北。胥臣以下軍之佐當陳蔡。子玉以若敖之六卒將中軍。曰：今日必無晉矣。子西將左，子上將右。胥臣蒙馬以虎皮，先犯陳蔡。陳蔡奔，楚右師潰。狐毛設二旆而退之。欒枝使輿曳柴而偽遁。楚師馳之，原軫卻縠以中軍公族橫擊之。狐毛狐偃以上軍夾攻子西。楚左師潰，楚師敗績。子玉收其卒而止，故不敗。晉師三日館穀，及癸酉而還。

初，楚子玉自爲瓊弁玉纓，未之服也。先戰，夢河神謂己曰：「界余，余賜汝孟諸之麋，弗致也。大心與子西使榮黃諫，弗聽。榮季曰：『死而利國，猶或爲之。況瓊玉乎？』是糞土也，而可以濟師，將何愛焉？弗聽。出告二子曰：『非神敗令尹，令尹其不勤民，實自敗也。』既敗，王使謂之曰：『大夫若入，其若申息之老何？』子西孫伯曰：『得臣將死，二臣止之曰：『君其將以爲戮，及連穀而死。』晉侯聞之，而後喜可知也。』曰：『莫余毒也已。』蔣呂臣實爲令尹，奉己而已，不在民矣。」

甲午，至于衡雍，作王宮于踐土。鄉役之三月，鄭伯如楚，致其師，爲楚師既敗而懼，使子人九行成于晉。晉欒枝入盟。鄭伯五月丙午，晉侯及鄭伯盟于衡雍。丁未，獻楚俘于王，駟介百乘，徒兵千。鄭伯傅王，用平禮也。己酉，王享醴，命晉侯宥。王命尹氏及王子虎、內史叔與父策命晉侯爲侯伯，賜之大輅之服，戎輅之服，彤弓一，彤矢百，鉅弓矢千，鉅鬯一，虎賁三百人。曰：「王謂叔父，敬服王命，以綏四國，糾逃王慝。晉侯三辭從命，曰：『重耳敢再拜稽首，奉揚天子之丕顯休命。』受策以出，出入三覲。衛侯聞楚師敗懼，出奔楚，遂適陳，使元咺奉叔武以受盟。癸亥，王子虎盟諸侯于王庭，要言曰：『皆獎王室，無相害也。有渝此盟，明神殛之，俾隊其師，無克祚國，及而玄孫，無有老幼。』君子謂是盟也信，謂晉於是役也，能以德攻。」

或訴元咺于衛侯曰：「立叔武矣。」其子角從公，公使殺之，咺不廢命，奉夷叔以入守。六月，晉人復衛侯，甯武子與衛人盟于宛濮。曰：「天禍衛國，君臣不協，以及此憂也。今天誘其衷，使皆降心以相從也。不有居者，誰守社稷？不

尹般如晉師告急。公曰：「宋人告急，舍之則絕，告楚不許。我欲戰矣，齊秦未可。若之何？」先軫曰：「使宋舍我而賂齊秦，藉之告楚，我執曹君，而分曹衛之田，以賜宋人。楚愛曹衛，必不許也。喜賂怒頑，能無戰乎？公說，執曹伯，分曹衛之田，以畀宋人。」

楚子入居于申，使申叔去穀，使子玉去宋。曰：「無從晉師，晉侯在外十九年矣，而果得晉國，險阻艱難，備嘗之矣。民之情僞，盡知之矣。天假之年，而除其害，天之所置，其可廢乎？軍志曰：『允當則歸。』又曰：『知難而退。』又曰：『有德不可敵。』此三志者，晉之謂矣。」子玉使伯棼請戰，曰：「非敢必有功也，願以閒執讒慝之口。」王怒，少與之師，唯西廣、東宮與若敖之六卒實從之。子玉使宛春告於晉師曰：「請復衛侯而封曹，臣亦釋宋之圍。」子犯曰：「子玉無禮哉！君取一臣，取二不可失矣。先軫曰：『子與之，定人之謂禮。』楚一言而定三國，我一言而亡之，我則無禮，何以戰乎？不許。楚言是棄宋也，救而棄之，謂諸侯何？楚有三施，我有三怨，怨讐已多，將何以戰？不如私許復曹衛以攜之，執宛春以怒楚，既戰而後圖之。」公說，乃拘宛春於衛，且私許復曹衛。曹衛告絕於楚。子玉怒，從晉師，晉師退。軍吏曰：「以君辟臣辱也，且楚師老矣，何故退？」子犯曰：「師直爲壯，曲爲老，豈在久乎？微楚之惠，不及此。退三舍，辟之，所以報也。晉惠食言，以亢其讐，我曲楚直，其衆素飽，不可謂老。我退而楚還，我將何求？若其不還，君退臣犯，曲在彼矣。退三舍，楚衆欲止，子玉不可。夏四月戊辰，晉侯、宋公、齊國歸父、崔夭、秦小子憖次于城濮。楚師背鄆而舍，晉侯患之，聽輿人之誦曰：『原田每每，舍其舊而新是謀。』公疑焉。子犯曰：「戰也，戰而捷，必得諸侯，若其不捷，表裏山河，必無害也。」公曰：「若楚惠何？」欒貞子曰：「漢陽諸姬，楚實盡之。思小惠而忘大恥，不如戰也。」晉侯夢與楚子搏，楚子伏己而盥其腦，是以懼。子犯曰：「吉。」我得天，楚伏其罪，吾且柔之矣。子玉使鬬勃請戰，曰：「請與君之士戲。」君馮軾而觀之，得臣與寓目焉。晉侯使欒枝對曰：「寡君聞命矣。楚君之惠，未之敢忘，是以在此。爲大夫退，其敢當君乎？既不獲命，敢煩大夫謂二三子：『戒爾車，乘敬爾君事，詰朝將見。』」晉車七百乘，鞞、鞬、鞞、鞞，晉侯登有莘之

有行者，誰扞牧圉，不協之故，用昭乞盟于爾大神，以誘天衷。自今日以往，既盟之後，行者無保其力，居者無懼其罪，有淪此盟，以相及也。明神先君，是糾是殛，國人聞此盟也，而後不貳。衛侯先期入，甯子先，長辟守門，以為便也。與之乘而入，公子歆犬，華仲前驅，叔武將沐，聞君至，喜，捉髮走出，前驅射而殺之。公知其無罪也，枕之股而哭之。歆犬走出，公使殺之。元咺出奔晉。

○城濮之戰，晉中軍風于澤，亡大旆之左旃，祁瞞奸命，司馬殺之，以徇于諸侯。使茅伐之，師還。壬午，濟河，舟之僑先歸。士會攝右。秋七月丙申，振旅愷以入于晉，獻俘授馘，飲至大賞，徵會討貳，殺舟之僑，以徇于國民。於是冬，會于溫，討不服也。

是會也，晉侯召王，以諸侯見，且使王狩。仲尼曰：以臣召君，不可以訓。故書曰：天王狩于河陽。言非其地也。且明德也。壬申，公朝于王所。

衛侯與元咺訟，甯武子為輔，鍼莊子為坐。士榮為大士，衛侯不勝，殺士榮，刖鍼莊子，謂甯俞忠而免之，執衛侯歸之于京師，寘諸深室。甯子職納橐饘焉。

元咺歸于衛，立公子瑕。

丁丑，諸侯圍許。晉侯有疾，曹伯之豎侯犇貨筮史，使曰：以曹為解，齊桓公為會而封異姓，今君為會而滅同姓，曹叔振鐸，文之昭也。先君唐叔，武之穆也。且合諸侯而滅兄弟，非禮也。與衛偕命，而不與偕復，非信也。同罪異罰，非刑也。禮以行義，信以守禮，刑以正邪，舍此三者，君將若之何？公說，復曹伯，遂會諸侯圍許。

○晉侯作三行以禦狄，荀林父將中行，屠擊將右行，先蔑將左行。

- XXVIII. 1 In the duke's twenty-eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin made an incursion into Ts'aou. He [also] invaded Wei.
- 2 Mae, son of duke [Chwang], was guarding Wei. [Because] he did not do so successfully, [the duke] put him to death.
- 3 A body of men from Ts'oo [endeavoured to] relieve Wei.
- 4 In the third month, on Ping-woo, the marquis of Tsin entered [the capital of] Ts'aou, seized the earl of Ts'aou, and gave him to the people of Sung.
- 5 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-sze, the marquis of Tsin, and the armies of Ts'e, Sung, and Ts'in, fought with the men of Ts'oo in Shing-puh, when the army of Ts'oo was disgracefully defeated.
- 6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, Tih-shin.
- 7 The marquis of Wei left his State, and fled to Ts'oo.
- 8 In the fifth month, on Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, the viscount of Wei, and the viscount of Keu, when they made a covenant at Ts'een-t'oo.
- 9 The marquis of Ch'in went to the [above] meeting.
- 10 The duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.
- 11 In the sixth month, Ch'ing, marquis of Wei, returned from Ts'oo to his rule in Wei. Yuen Heuen of Wei left the State, and fled to Tsin.
- 12 Kwan, marquis of Ch'in, died.
- 13 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] eldest daughter, [married to the former viscount] of Ke, came to Loo.
- 14 Suy, son of duke [Chwang], went to Ts'e.
- 15 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ts'ae, the earl of Ch'ing, the heir-son of Ch'in, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and an officer of Ts'in, in W'an.
- 16 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of reception in Ho-yang.
- 17 On Jin-shin, the duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.
- 18 An officer of Tsin seized the marquis of Wei, and carried him to the capital.
- 19 Yuen Heuen of Wei returned from Tsin to his place in Wei.
- 20 The princes then besieged [the capital of] Heu.
- 21 S'ang, earl of Ts'aou, was restored to his State, and forthwith joined the other princes in the siege of Heu.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"In spring, the marquis of Tsin, wishing to invade Ts'au, asked to be allowed to march through Wei, but the people of Wei refused the privilege. On this he retraced his steps, and crossed the Ho at its most southern part, made an incursion into Ts'au, and invaded Wei. In the 1st month, on Mow-shin, he took Woo-luh. In the 2d month, K'oh Hwoh of Tsin died, and Chin of Yuen got the command of the second army, *Seu Shin taking his place* as assistant-commander of the third, —from the marquis's high consideration of his ability. The marquis of Tsin and the marquis of Ts'e made a covenant at L'een-yu. The marquis of Wei begged to be admitted to it, but Tsin refused. He then wished to take the side of Ts'oo, but the people of the State did not wish this, and thrust him out,—in order to please Tsin. On this he left the capital, and resided at S'ang-n'ew."

The repetition of 'the marquis of Tsin' in the text indicates that the raid into Ts'au and the attack of Wei were two distinct undertakings, previously determined on. If the meaning were that Tsin seized the opportunity of being in Ts'au to attack Wei as an afterthought, instead of the second 晉侯 we should have 遂.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"Mae was guarding Wei in the interest of Ts'oo, and when the people of Ts'oo were unsuccessful in relieving it, the duke became afraid of Tsin, and put Ts'e-ts'ung [*i.e.*, Mae] to death to please it, saying at the same time to the people of Ts'oo that *he put him to death* because he failed in maintaining his guard." Maou K'e-ling calls this account of the execution of Mae into question, principally because the action of Ts'oo to relieve Wei had not yet been taken, the mention of it being made only in the next par. But this is being hypercritical. The conduct of Loo in the case illustrates the weakness and vacillation in its government, which have already been pointed out. We have here

刺 instead of 殺, the former term being proper to the execution of a great officer in the record made by the historiographers of the State, as Kung-yang says:—"內諱殺大夫謂之刺之也." The K'ang-he editors approve of this explanation, and show that the use of the term in the Chow Le, BK. XVI, pp. 47, 48, often adduced in illustration of the text, is different.

Par. 3. Here is another instance of the modified signification that must often be allowed to 救. As Chin Foo-l'ung says, 楚欲救衛而不能也, "Ts'oo wished to relieve Wei, but was not able to do so."

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Tsin besieged the capital of Ts'au, and in an attack on one of its gates, many of his soldiers were killed. The people of Ts'au took their bodies, and exposed them on the top of the wall, to his great distress. Having heard his men planning among themselves, and saying, "Let us say that we will go and encamp among their graves," he removed *part of the army* there. The people of Ts'au shuddered in their fear, made coffins for the bodies which they had got, and sent them forth from the city. The army of Tsin

attacked it while in this consternation, and in the 3d month, on Ping-woo, the marquis entered the city, declared to the earl his fault in not employing He Hoo-ke; and finding that there were 300 men, who rode in the carriages of great officers, he required him to produce the record of their services. He gave orders *also* that no one should enter the mansion of He Hoo-ke, and granted protection to all his relatives; thus recompensing the favour that He had formerly done him [See the long Chuen at the end of the 23rd year]. Wei Ch'ow and T'een H'eh were angry at this, and said, "The marquis has not tried to recompense all our labour in his cause, and here he makes such a return for a trifling service." On this they went and burned the house of He, when Wei Ch'ow was hurt in the breast in the conflagration. The marquis wished to put him to death [for violating his command]; but regretting to lose his ability and strength, he sent a messenger to ask for him, and to see how he was, intending, should he be very ill, to execute him. Ch'ow bound up his breast, and, when he saw the messenger, said, "By the good influence of his lordship, I have no serious hurt," jumping up thrice at the same time, and leaping crosswise thrice. On this the marquis let him alone, but he put to death T'een H'eh, and sent his head round the army, appointing also Chow Che-k'eaou to be spearman on the right of his chariot in the room of Wei Ch'ow.

"At this time, the duke of Sung sent Pan, the warden of the gates, to the army of Tsin, to tell the marquis in what straits he was. The marquis said, "Sung here announces its distress. If we leave it unrelieved, Sung will break off from us. If we ask Ts'oo to abandon the siege, it will refuse us. And I want to fight with Ts'oo, but Ts'e and Ts'in are still unwilling to join us. What is to be done?" S'een Chin said, "Let Sung leave us; offer bribes to Ts'e and Ts'in; and get them to intercede with Ts'oo on its behalf. In the meanwhile, let us hold the earl of Ts'au, and give a portion of the lands of Ts'au and Wei to the people of Sung. Ts'oo, being fond of Ts'au and Wei, will be sure to refuse the request of Ts'e and Ts'in, and they, pleased with Sung's bribes, and indignant at Ts'oo's obstinacy, will be ready to take the field with us." The marquis was pleased with the advice, made the earl of Ts'au his prisoner, and gave over to Sung a portion of the lands of Ts'au and Wei."

According to the Chuen, the marquis of Tsin did not give the earl of Ts'au over to Sung, but only a portion of his State. In the text, however, we can supply no other direct object to 界, but the 曹伯, which precedes. The policy of Tsin will be perceived by the reader:—The marquis's object was to set Ts'oo at variance with Ts'e and Ts'in, so that these States should join him against it. By heaping favours, at the expense of Ts'au and Wei, on Sung, he irritated Ts'oo still more against that State, so as not to listen to the solicitations of Ts'e and Ts'in, and be more determined than before to wreak its anger upon it. Ts'oo would thus offend the two powerful States, and be goaded on to try a battle with Tsin.

Par. 5. Shing-puh,—see III. xxvii. 7. The Chuen says:—"The viscount of Ts'oo had in the

meantime taken up his residence in the chief town of Shin, from which he sent word to Shuh-how of Shin to withdraw from Kuh [See on XXVI. 8], and to Tsze-yuh to withdraw from Sung, saying *also to the latter*, "Do not follow the army of Tsin. The marquis of Tsin was a fugitive abroad for 19 years, and yet he has succeeded in getting possession of the State. He has experienced perils, difficulties, and hardships; he is thoroughly acquainted with the truth and the falsehood of men; Heaven has given him length of years, and removed those who wished to injure him:—can he whom Heaven thus establishes be displaced? The Art of War says, 'When things are properly arranged, then return.' When you know yourself to be in difficulties, then withdraw;" and also, "The virtuous man is not to be opposed." These three rules are all applicable to the present case of Tsin.

"Tsze-yuh sent Pih-fun to Shin to beg to be allowed to fight, saying, "I do not presume to say that I shall certainly conquer; but I wish to shut the mouth of my calumniators." The king [*i. e.* the viscount of Ts'oo] was angry, and gave him but a few additional troops;—only the cohort of the west, the guards of the prince of Ts'oo, and the six troops of Joh-gaou, went to join the army in Sung. Tsze-yuh then sent Yuen Ch'un with this message to the army of Tsin:—"Please to restore the marquis of Wei, and re-instate the earl of Ts'au, and I, in my turn, will give up the siege of Sung." Tsze-fan said, "Tsze-yuh has no sense of courtesy or propriety!—Our lord is to get one advantage, and he himself, a subject, is to get two. We must not lose this opportunity of fighting." S'een Chin said to Tsze-fan, "Accede to the proposal. To settle the affairs of men may be called the highest exercise of propriety. Ts'oo by one proposal would settle the difficulties of three States;—if we by one word in reply prevent this settlement, then we are chargeable with the want of propriety;—and on what grounds can we go on to fight? If we refuse to accede to Ts'oo's proposal, we abandon Sung. Our object has been to relieve it; and if we abandon it instead, what will the States think of us? There will be, on our refusal, three States which Ts'oo has sought to benefit, three States whose resentment we have provoked. When those who are displeased with us become so numerous, where will be our means to fight? Our best plan will be privately to promise to restore the princes of Ts'au and Wei, so alienating them from Ts'oo; and at the same time let us seize Yuen Ch'un to make Ts'oo still more angry. After we have fought, we can take further measures on all these points." The marquis was pleased with this advice, and accordingly he kept Yuen Ch'un a prisoner in Wei, at the same time privately promising the princes of Ts'au and Wei to restore them to their States; and they, in consequence, announced to Tsze-yuh their separation from the side of Ts'oo. Tsze-yuh was so angry with these things that he followed the marquis of Tsin, who retreated before him. The smaller officers of the army said, "It is disgraceful for the prince of one State thus to avoid the minister of another. The army of Ts'oo, moreover, has been long in the field; why do we retreat before it?" Tsze-fan said to them, "It is the goodness of its cause which

makes an army strong; you cannot call it old because it may have served a long time. But for the kindness of Ts'oo, we should not be in our present circumstances; and this retreat of three stages is to repay that kindness. If the marquis showed ingratitude for that and ate his words [See the Chuen at the end of the 23d year], so meeting Ts'oo as an enemy, we should be in the wrong and Ts'oo would be in the right;—its host would be as if it had abundant rations, and could not be pronounced old and wearied. If, when we retire, Ts'oo also withdraw its army, what can it be said that we are requiring of it? But if it do not do so, then our prince retires, and its subject keeps pressing upon him;—Ts'oo will be in the wrong." When Tsin had thus retreated 90 *le*, the host of Ts'oo wished to stop, but Tsze-yuh would not do so.

"In summer, in the 4th month, on Mow-shin, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, Kwoh Kwei-foo and Ts'uy Yaou of Ts'e, and Yin, a younger son of the earl of Ts'in, all halted at Shing-puh, while the army of Ts'oo encamped with the height of E in its rear. The marquis was troubled by the strength of the enemy's position, but he heard the soldiers singing to themselves the lines,

"Beautiful and rich is the field on the plain;  
The old crop removed, the new comes again."

The marquis was doubting about their meaning, but Tsze-fan said to him, "Fight. If we fight and are victorious, you are sure to gain all the States; if we do not succeed, we have the outer and inner defences of the mountains and the Ho, and shall not receive any serious injury." "But," said the marquis, "what of the kindness which I received from Ts'oo?" Lwan Ching-tsze said, "All the Ke States north of the Han have been absorbed by Ts'oo. You are thinking of the small kindness which you received yourself, and forgetting the great disgrace done to your surname;—the best plan is to fight." The marquis dreamt that he was boxing with the viscount of Ts'oo, when the viscount knelt down upon him, and sucked his brains. This made him afraid again, but Tsze-fan said, "The dream is lucky. We lie looking to heaven, while Ts'oo is kneeling, as if acknowledging its guilt; and moreover, we deal gently with it."

"Tsze-yuh sent Tow Poh, to request that Tsin would fight with him, saying, "Let me have a game with your men. Your lordship can lean on the cross-board of your carriage and look on, and I will be there to see you." The marquis made Lwan Che give the following reply, "I have heard your commands. I dared not to forget the kindness of the lord of Ts'oo, and therefore I am here. I retired before his officer;—should I have dared to oppose himself? Since I have not received your orders not to fight, I will trouble you, Sir, to say to your leaders, 'Prepare your chariots; see reverently to your prince's business; to-morrow morning I will see you.'"

"The chariots of Tsin were 700, with the harness of the horses on back, breast, belly, and hips, all complete. The marquis ascended the old site of Y'ew-sin to survey the army, when he said, "The young and the old are all properly disposed. The troops are fit to be employed." Thereafter, he caused the trees about to be cut

down to increase his munitions of war. On Ke-se, the army was drawn out for battle on the north of Sin, Seu Shin, with his command, as the assistant leader of the 3d army, being opposed to the troops of Ch'in and Ts'ae. Tse-yuh, with the 6 troops of Joh-gaou, commanded the army of the centre, and said, "To-day shall make an end of Tsin;" while Tse-se commanded on the left, and Tse-shang on the right. Seu Shin, having covered his horses with tiger skins, commenced the battle by attacking the troops of Ch'in and Ts'ae, which took to flight, and the right army of Ts'oo was scattered. Hoo Maou set up two large flags, and then he carried back, while Lwan Che, also pretended to fly, dragging branches of trees behind his chariots [To increase the dust, and make his movement all the more resemble a flight]. The army of Ts'oo dashed after the fugitives, when Yuen Chin and K'eh Tsin, with the 1st army and the marquis's own, came crosswise upon it. At the same time, Hoo Maou and Hoo Yen attacked Tse-se on the other side, and the left army of Ts'oo was scattered. The army of Ts'oo indeed was disgracefully defeated, for Tse-yuh only did not suffer as the other leaders, because he collected his forces, and desisted from the fight. The army of Tsin occupied his camp, and feasted on his provisions for 3 days, retiring on the day Kwei-y'ew.

Par. 6. Tih-chin died by his own hand, his ruler refusing to forgive his waywardness in seeking a battle with Tsin, and the disgrace incurred by his defeat. That the text should describe his death as if he had been publicly executed, or at least put to death by the command of the viscount of Ts'oo, is an instance, tho' only a minor one, of the misrepresentations of fact that abound in the classic, and in which Chinese critics will see only the sagely wisdom of Confucius. The Chuen says:—"At an earlier time, Tse-yuh had made for himself a cap of fawn-skin, adorned with carnation gems and with strings ornamented with jade: but he had not worn it. Before the battle, he dreamed that the spirit of the Ho said to him, "Give your cap to me, and I will give you the marsh of M'ang-choo," and that he would not make the exchange. The dream becoming known, his son Ta-sin and Tse-se sent Yung Hwang to remonstrate with him; but it was in vain. Yung Ke [Ke was the designation of Yung Hwang] said, "If by dying you could benefit the State, peradventure you would do it; how much more should you be prepared to give up those gems and jade! They are but dirt, and if by them you can benefit the operations of the army, why should you grudge them?" The general would not listen to this counsel; and when he came forth, he said to his son and Tse-se, "A Spirit cannot ruin a minister like me. If the minister do not do his utmost in the service of the people, he will ruin himself."

"After the defeat, the viscount of Ts'oo sent to him the message, "If you come here, how will you answer to the elders of Shin and Seih for the death of their children?" Tse-se and Sun-pih [Tse-yuh's son] said to the messenger, "Tih-shin was going to die, but we stopped him, saying that the viscount would himself like to put him to death." Tse-yuh then proceeded to L'een-kuh, and there died [committed suicide]. When the marquis of Tsin heard of it, his joy was great. "There is no

one," he said, "to poison my joy now. Wei Leu-shin will indeed be chief minister in Tse-yuh's room. But he will himself be his own care; he will not be devoted to the people."

Par. 7. We have seen, in the Chuen on par. 5, that the marquis of Tsin had promised to restore the prince of Wei to his State. But the latter probably did not believe the promise; and in an accession of alarm, on hearing of the battle of Shing-puh, he fled to Ts'oo. According to the canon that princes who have lost their States should be mentioned by name, the critics vex themselves to account for the omission of the name here:—see the note of the K'ang-he editors on the subject.

Par. 8. Ts'een-t'oo was Ch'ing, in the northwest of the pres. dis. of Yung-tsih (榮澤), dep. K'ae-fung, Ho-nan. The only difficulty in translating the par. is with 衛子. We are told in the Chuen on the 1st par. how the people of Wei had driven out their ruler, who took up his residence in S'ang-n'ew, till he fled to Ts'oo, as related in the last par. He had left his brother Shuh-woo, however, in charge of the State; and he it was who took part in this meeting and covenant. We cannot translate 子 by 'son' or 'heir-son,' because Shuh-woo was not the son, but the brother, of the ruler of Wei. He seems to be here called 'viscount,' and have his place assigned after the earl of Ch'ing, of whom in other places the 'marquis' of Wei takes precedence.

According to the Chuen, the king himself was present at Ts'een-t'oo, and conferred high honours on the marquis of Tsin, appointing him also to be the chief of the princes, and leader of the States. These things should have been recorded in the classic. That they are not recorded, is another instance—more important than the last—of the peculiarity of the Book, now silent as to certain events, now misrepresenting them.

The Chuen says:—"On K'eah-woo, the marquis of Tsin arrived at H'ang-yung, and caused a palace for the king to be reared in Ts'een-t'oo. Three months before the battle of Shing-puh, the earl of Ch'ing had gone to Ts'oo, and offered the service of his army; but after the defeat of Ts'oo he was afraid, and sent Tse-jin K'ew to offer his submission to Tsin. Lwan Che of Tsin went thereon to the capital of Ch'ing, and made a covenant with the earl, and in the 5th month the marquis himself and the earl made a covenant in H'ang-yung. On Ting-we, the marquis presented the spoils and prisoners of Ts'oo to the king,—100 chariots with their horses all in mail, and 1000 foot-soldiers. The earl of Ch'ing acted as assistant to the king in treating the marquis with the ceremonies with which king Ping had treated his ancestor [Shoo, V. xxviii]. On Ke-y'ew, the king feasted him with sweet spirits, and conferred on him various gifts. He also commissioned the minister Yin and his own brother Hoo, with the historiographer of the Interior, Shuh Hing-foo, to convey the written appointment of the marquis of Tsin to be the chief of the princes, giving him the robes to be worn in the carriage adorned with metal, and those proper for a chariot of war, one red bow and a hundred red arrows, a black bow and a

thousand arrows, a jar of spirits, made from the black millet, flavoured with herbs, and three hundred life-guards. The words of the appointment were, "The king says to his uncle, Reverently discharge the king's commands, so as to give tranquillity to the States in every quarter, and drive far away all who are ill-affected to the king." Thrice the marquis declined his honours; but at last accepting them, he said, "I, Ch'ung-urh, venture twice to do obeisance, with my head bowed to the earth,—and so do I receive and will maintain the great, distinguished, excellent charge of the son of Heaven." With this he received the tablet, and went out. At this meeting, from first to last, thrice he had audience of the king. When the marquis of Wei heard of the defeat of the army of Ts'oo, he became afraid, and fled from S'ang-n'ew to go to Ts'oo. He went, however, to Ch'in, and sent Shuh-woo under the care of Yuen Heuen to take part in the covenant of the princes. On Kwei-hae, Hoo, a son of king Hwuy, presided over a covenant of them all in the court of the king's palace. The words of it were, "We will all assist the royal House, and do no harm to one another. If any one transgress this covenant, may the intelligent Spirits destroy him, so that he shall lose his people and not be able to possess his State, and, to the remotest posterity, let him have no descendant old or young!" The superior man will say that this covenant was sincere, and that in all this service the marquis of Tsin overcame by the virtuous training which he had given to his people.

In the text no mention is made of king S'ang's brother Hoo taking part in the covenant of Ts'een-t'oo. Maou says that he is not mentioned, because, though he presided over the covenant, he was not a party to it, and did not smear his lips with the blood of the victim. The covenant was made, acc. to the text, on Kwei-ch'ow, the 18th day of the month; acc. to the Chuen, on Kwei-hae, the 28th day. Too observes that one or other of these dates must be wrong.

Par. 9. The marquis of Ch'in had been one of the adherents of Ts'oo, but now he wished, like other princes, to join the party of the victorious Tsin. He went to the meeting, but did not arrive at Ts'een-t'oo, till the covenant was over.

Par. 10. This par. implies what is related in the Chuen on p. 8, that the king in person had met the marquis of Tsin on his return from the victory at Shing-puh. 'The king's place' was of course 'the palace' built for him at Ts'een-t'oo. K'uh-l'ang says that when 朝 are mentioned, the place should not be given, and that the mention of the place, where the visit is made or the audience had, intimates that it is not the proper place for the king to be in; but the criticism is groundless. I translate 朝 here as usual. 'Had an audience' would be equally suitable. Wang K'ih-kwan (汪克寬; A. D. 1304—1372) observes that 朝 is a general term to describe audiences with the ruler (朝者觀君之總稱也).

Par. 11. 復歸,—see on II. xv. 5. The Chuen says:—"Some one accused Yuen Heuen to the marquis of Wei, saying that he was raising Shuh-woo to the real marquise, and the marquis thereupon caused Heuen's son, K'eh, who was in attendance on him, to be put to death. Notwithstanding this, Heuen did not disregard the charge which he had received from the marquis, but supported E-shuh [E is the hon. title of Shuh-woo, the marquis's brother] in the guardianship of the State. In the 6th month, the people of Tsin restored the marquis, and then the officer Ning Woo [on the marquis's part] and the people of Wei made the following covenant in Yuen-puh:—"Heaven sent down calamity on the State of Wei, so that the ruler and his subjects were not harmonious, and we were brought to our present state of sorrow. But now Heaven is guiding all minds, bringing them in humility to a mutual accord. If there had not been those who abode in the State, who would have kept the altars for the ruler? If there had not been those who went abroad with him, who would have guarded his cattle and horses? Because of the former want of harmony, we now clearly beg to covenant before you, great Spirits, asking you to direct our consciences;—from this time forward after this covenant, those who went abroad with the marquis shall not presume upon their services, and those who remained in the State need not fear that any crime will be imputed to them. If any break this covenant, exciting dissatisfactions and quarrels, may the intelligent Spirits and our former rulers mark and destroy them!" When the people heard this covenant, they had no longer any doubts in their minds. After this, the marquis wished to enter the capital before the time agreed upon, the officer Ning going before him [to prepare the people]. Ch'ang Tsang who had charge of the gate, thinking he was a messenger, entered in the same carriage with him. Meanwhile the marquis's brother Ch'uen-keuen, and Hwa Chung, rode on ahead of him. Shuh-woo was then about to bathe; but when he heard that the marquis was come, he ran joyfully out to meet him, holding his hair in his hand, and was killed by an arrow from one of those who had rode on before. The marquis knew that he had been guilty of no crime, pillowed the corpse on his own thigh, and wept over it. Ch'uen-keuen ran away, but the marquis sent after him, and put him to death. Yuen Heuen fled to Tsin."

The text says that the marquis of Wei returned 'from Ts'oo (自楚),' to which he had fled in p. 7. The Chuen on p. 8, however, makes us think that he never went so far as Ts'oo, but stooped short in his flight, and went to Tsin. This is also the account of him given in the 列國志. K'uh-l'ang infers from the 自楚 that it was Ts'oo which restored the marquis to his State (楚有奉焉); but Ts'oo was not in a condition at present to put forth such an influence in behalf of its adherents.

Par. 13. In the 1st par. of last year we have the viscount of Ke, son of the lady in the text, at the court of Loo, and in p. 4, an officer of Loo attacks Ke. The visit here was probably







Par. 1. Kēae was a small State held by one of the E or wild tribes of the east;—in the south of the pres Kēaou Chow (膠州), dep. Lae-chow. Koh-loo was the name of its chief at this time. His coming to Loo would be equivalent to a court-visit (朝); but such visits were not interchanged by the princes of China with the barbarous chieftains, and therefore, we have simply 來, 'he came.' The Chuen says:—'Koh-loo of Kēae came to pay a court-visit to the duke, and camped in the country above Ch'ang-yen. The duke being absent at the meeting with the other princes, they sent him forage and rice;—which was proper.'

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh both have 公 before 會. 翟 in Kung is 狄. Teih-ts'ueu was near the capital,—20 *le* north-east from the pres. dis. city of Loh-yang, dep. Ho-nan. The name was taken from that of a spring which formed a small lake. The Chuen says:—'The duke had a meeting with king Hwuy's son Hoo, Hoo Yen of Tsin, Kung-sun Koo of Sung, Kwoh Kwei-

foo of Ts'e, Yuen T'au-t'oo of Chin, and the earl of Ts'in's son Yin, when they made a covenant at Teih-ts'ueu;—to renew and confirm the covenant at Ts'een-t'oo, and to consult about invading Ch'ing. The names of the ministers of the diff. States are not in the text;—to condemn them. According to rule, a minister of a State ought not to hold a meeting with a duke or a marquis, though he may do so with an earl, a viscount, or a baron.' This decision of Tso-she may be called in question. The view of Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, that the title 'duke (公)' is omitted in the text to conceal the disgrace of the marquis meeting with his inferiors, is ridiculous.

Par. 4. Tso-she says the hail amounted to a plague, or great calamity; and that therefore we have a record of it.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'He came again, because he had not seen the duke the former time. He was received in the court, treated with ceremony, and feasted in an extraordinary way. Hearing a cow lowing, he said, 'She has had three calves that have all been used as victims. Her voice says so.' On inquiry this was found to be really the case!'

### Thirtieth year.

三十年春王正月。  
 秋，衛殺其大夫元咺，及公子瑕。  
 夏，狄侵齊。  
 晉人秦人圍鄭。  
 介人侵蕭。  
 冬，天王使宰周公來聘。  
 公子遂如京師，遂如晉。

左傳曰：三十年春，晉人侵鄭，以觀其可攻與否。狄間晉之有鄭虞也。夏，狄侵齊。秋，衛殺其大夫元咺，及公子瑕。晉侯使醫衍酖衛侯，甯俞貨醫，使薄其酖，不死。公爲之請，納玉於王，與晉侯皆十穀。王許之，使昭周。欽治厘曰：「苟能納我，吾使爾爲卿。」周治殺元咺，及公子適子儀，公入祀先君。周治既服，將命。周欽先入，及門遇疾而死。治厘

辭卿。九月甲午，晉侯秦伯圍鄭，以其無禮於晉，且貳于楚也。晉軍函陵，秦軍汜南。佚之狐言于鄭伯曰：「國危矣，若使燭之武見秦君，師必退。」公從之。辭曰：「臣之壯也，猶不如人，今老矣，無能爲也已。」公曰：「吾不能早用子，今急而求子，是寡人之過也。然鄭亡，子亦有不利焉。」許之。夜縋而出，見秦伯曰：「秦晉圍鄭，鄭既知亡矣，若亡鄭而有益於君，敢以煩執事。越國以鄙遠，君知其難也，焉用亡鄭以陪鄰？鄰之厚，君之薄也。若舍鄭以爲東道主，行李之往來，共其乏困，君亦無所害。且君嘗爲晉君賜矣，許君焦瑕，朝濟而夕設版焉，君之所知也。夫晉何厭之有？既東封鄭，又欲肆其西封，若不闕秦，將焉取之？闕秦以利晉，唯君圖之。」秦伯說，與鄭人盟，使杞子、逢孫、楊孫戍之，乃還。子犯請擊之，公曰：「不可。微夫人之力不及此。因人之力而敝之，不仁，失其所與，不知，以亂易整，不武。吾其還也。」亦去之。初，鄭公子蘭出奔晉，從於晉侯伐鄭，請無與圍鄭，許之，使待命于東。鄭石甲父、侯宣多逆以爲犬子，以求成于晉，晉人許之。冬，王使周公閱來聘，饗有昌歠、白、黑，形鹽。辭曰：「國君文足昭也，武可畏也，則有備物之饗，以象其德。」薦五味，羞嘉穀，鹽虎形，以獻其功。吾何以堪之？東門襄仲將聘于周，遂初聘于晉。

- XXX. 1 It was the [duke's] thirtieth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, the Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.  
 3 In autumn, Wei put to death its great officer, Yuen Heuen, and duke [Wän's] son, Hèa.  
 4 Ch'ing, marquis of Wei, returned to Wei.  
 5 A body of men from Tsin and one from Ts'in laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing.  
 6 A body of men from Kēae made an incursion into Sēaou.  
 7 In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent his chief minister, the duke of Chow, to Loo, on a mission of friendly inquiries.  
 8 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to the capital, and at the same time went to Tsin.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'An officer of Tsin was conducting an incursion into Ch'ing, to see whether that State could be attacked with advantage or not. The Teih took the opportunity of Tsin's being thus occupied with Ch'ing, and in the summer made an incursion into Ts'e.' Woo Ch'ing says:—'In the winter of the duke's 28th year, Tsin proceeded from the meeting at Wan to besiege Heu, and yet Heu did not submit. In the summer of the 29th year, at the covenant of Teih-ts'ueu, the marquis consulted about an incursion into Ch'ing, and yet Ch'ing showed no signs of fear. And now in the summer of this year, the Teih seized their opportunity, and made an incursion into Ts'e. It is plain that after the battle of Shing-puh and the meeting of Ts'een-t'oo, the power of duke Wan as leader of the States went on gradually to decay:—the state of things at this time might have led him to reflection.'

Par. 3. Compare on p. 6 of the 28th year. By Wei we must understand the marquis of Wei, who instigated the murder of Yuen, though it was committed before his entrance into the capital. We have in the Chuen:—'The marquis of Tsin employed the physician Yen to poison the marquis of Wei, but Ning Yu bribed the physician to make the poison so weak that his master did not die of it. The duke [of Loo] after this interceded on his behalf, and presented the king and the marquis of Tsin each with 10 pairs of jade ornaments. The king acceded to the duke's intercession, and in autumn the marquis of Wei was released. He then bribed Chow Ch'uen and Yay Kin, saying, 'If you can secure my restoration, I will make you my high ministers.' On this Chow and Yay killed Yuen Heuen, with Tsze-teih and Tsze-e. When the marquis was entering the ancestral temple to sacrifice to his predecessors, Chow and Yay were there in full dress to receive their charge as ministers. Chow preceded, but when he came to the door, he was taken ill, and died, upon which Kin declined the appointment.'

Nothing is said in the Chuen on the 及公子瑕, which in many editions is made to form a paragraph by itself. Two questions have 'vexed' the critics greatly. 1st, H'ea had been marquis of Wei for more than a year [see XXVIII. 19, and the Chuen on it]; how is it that in the text he is simply called 'duke's son' (公子)? To meet this difficulty, L'ew Ch'ang (劉敞; A. D. 1019-1097) denies the truth of the statement, 立公子瑕 in the Chuen referred to, so that H'ea had never been anything but 公子; on which the K'ang-he editors remark that the truth of the Chuen is not to be doubted. Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks that though Yuen Heuen had made H'ea marquis as the Chuen says, yet H'ea had never accepted the dignity, and only considered himself as holding the place of his brother, till he should be liberated from his captivity; and that consequently the 公子 of the text is the endorsement of his integrity. Wang Yuen (王元; in the end of

the Sung dynasty), holds that H'ea had accepted the marquisate from Yuen Heuen, and was as guilty as his minister, so that the text calls him merely 公子, to show that his twelve months' tenure of dignity was only a usurpation. The imperial editors, setting aside these three views approve of that of Too Yu, who admits that H'ea had been made marquis by Yuen, but thinks that the title of 君 or 'ruler' is not given to him, because he had not been recognized by the princes at any general meeting of the States; and they then go on to set forth the usage of the classic in such cases as that of H'ea and his brother more fully than Too had done. 2d, What significance is there in the record of the death of H'ea following that of Yuen, with the connecting 及 between them? Should the ruler thus follow his officer? The text indicates that H'ea had been the tool of Yuen, and was involved consequently in the same fate. Maou aptly refers to II. ii. 1, where the ruler precedes the officers with the same 及 between:—

華督殺孔父及君，書弑君及孔父，以宋公累孔父也。欽治並殺咺與瑕，而書咺及瑕，則瑕為咺累矣。

Par. 4. In XXVIII. 11, the former return of the marquis to his State is described by 復歸; here we have 歸 simply. The reason of the difference in the language probably is, that in the former case the marquis had fled from Wei, and so left it as it were by his own act, while in the other he had been detained from it by the action of the marquis of Tsin, and against his own will.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'In the 9th month, on K'eah-woo, the marquis of Tsin and the earl of Ts'in laid siege to Ch'ing, because of the want of courtesy which the earl of it had shown to the marquis in his wanderings [See the Chuen at the end of the 23d year], and because he was with double-mindedness inclining to Ts'oo. The army of Tsin took a position at Han-ling, and that of Ts'in one at Fan-nan. Yih Che-hoo said to the earl of Ch'ing, "The State is in imminent peril. If you send Chuh Che-woo to see the earl of Ts'in, his army is sure to be withdrawn." The earl took the advice, but Chuh Che-woo declined the mission, saying, "When your servant was in the strength of his age, he was regarded as not equal to others; and now he is old, and unable to render any service." The earl said, "That I was not able to employ you earlier, and now beg your help in my straits, I acknowledge to be my fault. But if Ch'ing perish, you also will suffer loss." On this Che-woo agreed, and undertook the mission.

'At night he was let down from the city-wall by a rope; and when he saw the earl of Ts'in, he said, "With Tsin and Ts'in both besieging its capital, Ch'ing knows that it must perish. If the ruin of Ch'ing were to benefit your lordship, I should not dare to speak to you;—you might well urge your officers and soldiers in

such a case. But you know the difficulty there would be with such a distant border, another State intervening. Of what advantage is it to you to destroy Ch'ing to benefit your neighbour? His advantage will be your disadvantage. If you leave Ch'ing to be master and host here on the way to the east, when your officers go and come with their baggage, it can minister to their necessities;—and surely this will be no injury to you. And moreover, your lordship was a benefactor to the former marquis of Tsin, and he promised you the cities of Ts'eaou and H'ea; but in the morning he crossed the Ho, and in the evening he commenced building defences against you:—this your lordship knows. But Tsin is insatiable. Having made Ch'ing its boundary on the east, it will go on to want to enlarge its border on the west. And how will it be able to do that except by taking territory from Ts'in? To diminish Ts'in in order to advantage Tsin:—this is a matter for your lordship to think about."

'The earl of Ts'in was pleased with this speech, and made a covenant with the people of Ch'ing, appointing Ke Tsze, Fung Sun, and Yang Sun to guard the territory, while he himself returned to Ts'in. Tsze-fan asked leave to pursue and smite him, but the marquis of Tsin said, "No. But for his assistance I should not have arrived at my present state. To get the benefit of a man's help, and then to injure him, would show a want of benevolence. To have erred in those with whom I was to co-operate shows my want of knowledge. To exchange the orderly array in which we came here for one of disorder would show a want of warlike skill. I will withdraw." And upon this he also left Ch'ing.

'Before this, Lan, a son of the earl of Ch'ing, had fled from that State to Tsin. Following the marquis of Tsin in the invasion of Ch'ing, he begged that he might not take any part in, or be present at, the siege. His request was granted, and he was sent to the eastern border of Tsin to wait for further orders. Shih

K'eah-foo and How Seuen-to now came to meet him, and hail him as his father's successor, that by means of him they might ask peace from Tsin;—and this was granted to them.'

It appears from the Chuen that the lords of Tsin and Ts'in were both with their forces in Ch'ing. We must suppose, however, that they did not themselves command, and hence we have 晉人, 秦人 in the text. Too Yu says the 人 were 微者, 'small men' of inferior rank, but 人 need not be so limited; and in fact we know that Tsze-fan was in the army of Tsin.

Par. 6. S'eaou appears before this in the Chuen on III. xii. 3. It was a small State, a Foo-yung of Sung, and has left its name in the pres. dis. of S'eaou, dep. Seu-chow (徐州), K'ang-soo. Chang Heah supposes that the visits of the chief of K'eah to Loo in the last year were somehow connected with the movement in the text.

Par. 7. Compare on I. ix. 1. 宰 is here 太宰, 'the prime minister,' as in IX. 2. The Chuen says:—'At the entertainment to him, there were the pickled roots of the sweet flag cut small, rice, millet, and the salt in the form of a tiger, all set forth. Yueh [the prime minister's name] declined such an entertainment, saying, "The ruler of a State, whose civil talents make him illustrious, and whose military prowess makes him an object of dread, is feasted with such a complete array of provisions, to emblem his virtues. The five savours are introduced, and viands of the finest grains, with the salt in the shape of a tiger, to illustrate his services; but I am not worthy of such a feast."

Par. 8. The Chuen says: 'Tung-mun S'eaung-chung [see the Chuen on XXVI. 5] was going with friendly inquiries to Chow, when he took the occasion to pay a similar visit in the first place to Ts'in.'

### Thirty-first year.

帝丘十有二月，衛遷于  
狄圍衛。杞伯姬來求婦。  
猶三望。秋七月。  
不從，乃免牲。  
夏四月，四卜郊。  
公子遂如晉。  
濟西田。  
三十有一年，春，取

左傳曰三十一年春取濟西田分曹地也使  
臧文仲往宿於重館重館人告曰晉新得諸  
侯必親其共不速行將無及也從之分曹地  
自洮以南東傳于濟盡曹地也  
襄仲如晉拜曹田也  
夏四月卜郊不從乃免牲非禮也猶三望  
亦非禮也禮不卜常祀而卜其牲日牛卜日  
曰牲牲成而卜郊上怠慢也望郊之細也不  
郊亦無望可也  
秋晉蒐于清原作五軍以禦狄趙衰爲卿  
冬狄圍衛衛遷于帝丘卜曰三百年衛成公  
夢康叔曰相奪予享公命祀相甯武子不可  
曰鬼神非其族類不歆其祀杞鄆何事相之  
不享於此久矣非衛之罪也不可以間成王  
周公之命祀請改祀命  
鄭洩駕惡公子瑕鄭伯亦惡之故公子瑕  
出奔楚

- XXXI. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-first year, we took the lands of Tse-se.  
2 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Tsin.  
3 In summer, in the fourth month, [the duke] divined a fourth time for [the day of] the border sacrifice.  
4 The divination was adverse, and so the victim was let go.  
5 Still he offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.  
6 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
7 In winter, duke [Chwang's] eldest daughter—she of Ke—came [to Loo], seeking for a wife [for her son].  
8 The Teih besieged [the capital of] Wei.  
9 In the twelfth month, Wei removed its capital to Te-k'ew.

Par. 1. In III. xviii. 2 the characters 濟西 denote simply 'west of the Tse,' but here, and in VII. i. 8, x. 2, they must be the name of a certain district or tract of country, the exact position of which it is now impossible to define. As Too Yu says, 竟界未定. Tso-she says that it was a portion of the territory of Ts'au, which the marquis of Tsin had apportioned to other States in the duke's 28th year; and he tells the following story about the acquisition of it:—'The duke sent Tsang Wan-chung to receive his portion; who was passing a night at Ch'ung-kwan, the people of which said to him, "Tsin, having recently secured the adherence of the princes, will be most kind to those who are most respectful. If you don't make haste,

you will not be in time to get any." The officer acted accordingly, and got for his share of the territory of Ts'au all the portion extending from Ts'au to the south and east as far as the Tse.' But this account of Loo's acquisition of Tse-se has been much questioned. Chaou K'wang, Lëw Ch'ang, and many others, discarding the idea of its being a gift from Tsin, hold that the territory had formerly belonged to Loo, had been taken from it by Ts'au, and that Loo now claimed and retook it. They make a canon, that wherever Loo is mentioned as 'taking' towns or land, and no name of a State to which they belonged is given, we are to understand that Loo was only retaking its own. Maou, according to his wont, is more bold and decisive in his view, arguing strongly against the alleged grant of Tsin, and saying that Loo took the opportunity of Ts'au's diffi-

culties to attack it and deprive it of this territory. This is the proper explanation of the text. The canon referred to is exploded by VII. i. 2.

Par. 2. Tso-she says that Sëang-chung went to Tsin to render thanks and acknowledgement for the fields of Ts'au. But Loo would think it necessary to communicate its acquisition of the territory to the leader of the States, though not indebted for it to his gift.

Parr. 3—5. The question of which border sacrifice is here spoken of has been much agitated. Kung-yang, followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh and others, thinks it is the sacrifice at the winter solstice, the grand sacrifice to Heaven or God, which was proper only in the king, but the right to offer which had been granted, it is said, by king Ch'ing to the duke of Chow, the founder of the House of Loo. Maou and others think the sacrifice intended is that of the spring,—the sacrifice to God, desiring a blessing on the grain. This is mentioned in the Chuen on II. v. 7; and I must believe it is that referred to here. We cannot suppose that duke He was still, in the 4th month, divining about the sacrifice which should have been offered, if offered by him at all, in the first. The divining was to fix the day on which the sacrifice should be offered, which was restricted to one of the *sin* (辛)

days in the month, the 1st of the 3 being deemed the luckiest. Kung-yang thinks that if the 1st *sin* day of the 1st month was unlucky, then the 1st of the 2d was tried, and so on to the 3d month; but it is better to suppose that on this occasion the 3 *sin* days of the 3d month were all divined for and proved unlucky, so that a fourth divination was made for the 1st *sin* day of the 4th month, as the sacrifice might be presented up to the time of the equinox. When this also proved unfavourable, the sacrifice was put off for that year, and the victim was let go (免猶縱也).

Tan Tsoo (啖助; of the 2d half of the 8th century) says, with regard to the spring sacrifice:—'Two victims were kept and fed;—one for the sacrifice to God, and one for that to How-tseih. If the divinations in the three decades proved all unfavourable, the border sacrifice was not offered. If the former bull died or met with any injury, the tortoise-shell was consulted about using the second in his place. If the divination forbade such a substitution, or that second bull also died, the sacrifice was also in this case abandoned. When this was done, the tortoise-shell was again consulted about letting the victim, if it were alive, go; and it was let go or kept on, as the reply was favourable or not.'

望—see the Shoo II. i. 7. The Wang sacrifice was offered by the emperor or king to all the famous hills and rivers of the country; and by princes of States to those within their own territory. What were the three great natural objects sacrificed to in Loo is doubtful. Most critics, after Kung-yang, make them—mount T'ae, the Ho, and the sea. Too Yu makes them certain stars, with the mountains of Loo and its rivers,—after Këa Kwei and Fuh K'ëen. Ch'ing Heuen, considering that the Ho did not flow through Loo, substituted the Hwae for it in Kung-yang's explanation. The K'ang-he edi-

tors, arguing from a passage in the Chow I.e. Bk. XXII. 8-12, make the Wang sacrifices out to be something different from those to the hills and rivers. Kung-yang's view, or rather Ch'ing Heuen's modification of it, which Maou adopts, is to be preferred.

The Wang sacrifices were offered at the same time as the border, and ancillary to them; and might be disused when the greater sacrifice was given up. They remain now in the sacrifices to the heavenly bodies, the wind, and rain, which accompany the sacrifice of the winter solstice, and those to the mountains, seas, and rivers, offered at the summer.

The above remarks on these parr. have been gathered and digested from many sources. Tso-she says on them:—'What is stated in all the paragraphs was contrary to rule. According to rule, there was no consulting about a regular sacrifice; only the victim and the day were divined about. When the day had been fixed, the bull was called the victim; and when the victim was thus determined on, to go further divining about the sacrifice itself, was for the duke to show indifference to the ancient statutes, and disrespectful urgency to the tortoise-shell and the milfoil.' This view is very questionable.

Par. 6. [To this the Chuen appends a note about Tsin:—'In autumn, the marquis of Tsin held a review in Ts'ing-yuen (i.e. the plain of Ts'ing), and formed [all his troops into] five armies, [the better] to resist the Teih, Chaou Ts'uy being appointed to the chief command [of the two new armies].']

Par. 7. For 婦 here see on XXV. 3. The lady has been mentioned in XXVIII. 13. The son for whom she sought a wife was, no doubt, the ruling viscount of Ke, mentioned in XXVII. 1, as coming to Loo, soon after his accession to the State.

Parr. 8, 9. We saw, in the 2d year of duke Min, what injury the Teih then wrought to Wei. They obliged the removal of its principal city to Ts'oo-k'ew in the 2d year of duke He; and we find them here necessitating another removal. Te-k'ew was in K'ae Chow (開州), dep. Ta-ming. As preliminary to the Chuen, it may be mentioned that How-sëang (后相), the 5th of the sovereigns of Hëa, was obliged to reside for a part of his life in Te-k'ew. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Wei consulted the tortoise-shell about Te-k'ew, and was told his House should dwell there for 300 years. Soon after, he dreamt that K'ang-shuh, [the 1st marquis of Wei], said to him that Sëang took away from him the supplies of his offerings. The marquis on this gave orders to sacrifice also to Sëang; but the officer Ning Woo objected, saying, "Spirits do not accept the sacrifices of those who are not of their own line. What are Ke and Tsang [States of the line of Hëa] doing? For long Sëang has received no offerings here,—not owing to any fault of Wei. You should not interfere with the sacrifices prescribed by king Ch'ing and the duke of Chow. Please withdraw the order about sacrificing to Sëang.'

[The Chuen appends here:—Sëeh Këa of Ch'ing hated Kung-tsze Hëa, and the marquis also hated him. Hëa therefore fled from the State to Ts'oo.]

## Thirty-second year.

三十有二年，春，王正月，己丑，夏四月，己丑，鄭伯捷卒。衛人侵狄。秋，衛人及狄盟。冬，十有二月，己卯，晉侯重耳卒。

①左傳曰：三十二年，春，楚圖章請平于晉，晉陽處父報之，晉楚始通。夏，狄有亂，衛人侵狄，狄請平焉。秋，衛人及狄盟。冬，晉文公卒，庚辰，將殯于曲沃，出絳，柩有聲如牛，卜偃使大夫拜曰：君命大事，將有西師過軼我，擊之必大捷焉。杞子自鄭使告于秦，曰：鄭人使我掌其北門之管，若潛師以來，國可得也。穆公訪諸蹇叔，蹇叔曰：勞師以襲遠，非所聞也。師勞力竭，遠主備之，無乃不可乎？師之所為，鄭必知之，勤而無所，必有悖心，且行千里，其誰不知？公辭焉，召孟明、西乞乙、中行，師之出，不見其入也。公使謂之曰：孟西伯，吾見之，晉人禦師必於殽，殽有二陵焉，其南陵，中壽、繭墓之木拱矣。蹇叔之子與師，哭而送之曰：晉人禦師必於殽，殽有二陵焉，其南陵，必死是間，余收爾骨焉。秦師遂東。

- XXXII. 1 It was the [duke's] thirty-second year, the spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-ch'ow, Tsëeh, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
3 A body of men from Wei made an incursion into [the country of] the Teih.  
4 In autumn, an officer of Wei made a covenant with the Teih.  
5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Ke-maou, Ch'ung-urh, marquis of Tsin, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen here introduces a short note about the relations of Tsin and Ts'oo:— 'In the spring, Tow Chang of Ts'oo came to Tsin and requested peace. Yang Ch'oo-foo returned the visit from Ts'oo. This was the commencement of communications between Tsin and Ts'oo.]

Par. 2. For 捷 Kung-yang has 接.

Parr. 3, 4. The Teih, it appears, had not done Wei so much injury in the previous year, as in the time of duke Min. The Chuen says:— 'In summer, when there was disorder among the Teih, a body of men from Wei made an incur-

sion into their country. The Teih begged for peace, and in autumn an officer of Wei made a covenant with them.

Par. 5. The marquis of Tsin thus enjoyed the dignity at which he arrived, after so many hardships and wanderings, only for nine years. He had several attributes of the hero about him, and we cannot but wish that he had been permitted a longer time in which to exercise his leadership of the States. Confucius (Ana. XIV. xvi.) compares him unfavourably with Hwan of Ts'e; but his judgment of the two men may be questioned.

'The Chuen says:— 'On Käng-shin, they were conveying his coffin to place it in the temple at K'eh-yuh, when, as it was leaving Käng, there came a voice from it like the lowing of an angry bull. The diviner Yen made the great officers do obeisance to the coffin, saying, "His lordship is charging us about a great affair. There will be an army of the west passing by us; we shall smite it, and obtain a great victory."

'Now Ke Tsze [see the Chuen on XXX. 5] had sent information from Ch'ing to Ts'in, saying, "The people of Ch'ing have entrusted to my charge the key of their north gate. If an army come secretly upon it, the city may be got. Duke Muh [the earl of Ts'in] consulted K'een Shuh about the subject, and that officer replied, "That a distant place can be surprised

by an army toiled with a long march is what I have not learned. The strength of the men will be wearied out with toil, and the distant lord will be prepared for them;—does not the undertaking seem impracticable? Ch'ing is sure to know the doings of our army. Our soldiers, enduring the toil, and getting nothing, will become disaffected. And moreover, to whom can such a march of a thousand *le* be unknown?" The earl, however, declined this counsel, called for Mäng-ming [the son of Pih-le He], Se-k'eih, and Pih-yih, and ordered them to collect an army outside the east gate. K'een Shuh wept over it, and said, "General Mäng, I see the army's going forth, but I shall not see its entry again." The earl sent to say to him, "What do you know, you centenarian? It would take two hands to grasp the tree upon your grave [i.e., you ought to have died long ago]." K'een Shuh's son also went in the expedition, and the old man escorted him, weeping and saying, "It will be at Hëaou that the men of Tsin will resist the army. At Hëaou there are two ridges. On the southern ridge is the grave of the sovereign Kaou of the Hëa dynasty; the northern is where king Wän took refuge from the wind and rain. You will die between them. There I will gather your bones." Immediately after this the army of Ts'in marched to the east.'

## Thirty-third year.

三十有三年，春，王二月，秦人入滑。齊侯使國歸父來聘。夏四月，辛巳，晉人及姜戎敗秦于殽。癸巳，葬晉文公。狄侵齊。公伐邾，取訾婁。秋，公子遂帥師伐邾。晉人敗狄于箕。



君賜。秦伯素服郊次，鄉師而哭曰：「孤違蹇叔，以辱二三子，孤之罪也。不替孟明，孤之過也。大夫何罪，且吾不以一眚掩大德。」

狄侵齊，因晉喪也。

公伐邾，取訾婁。以報升陞之役。邾人不設備，秋，襄仲復伐邾。

狄伐晉及箕，八月戊子，晉侯敗狄于箕。卻缺獲白狄子，先軫曰：「匹夫逞志於君，而無討，敢不自討乎？免胄入狄師，死焉。狄人歸其元，面如生。初，白季使過冀，見冀缺耨，其妻饁之，敬相待如賓。與之歸，言諸文公曰：『敬，德之聚也。能敬必有德，德以治民，君請用之。』臣聞之，出門如賓，承事如祭，仁之則也。公曰：『其父有罪，可乎？』對曰：『舜之罪也，殛，鯀其舉也，與禹，管敬仲，桓之賊也，實相以濟。康誥曰：『父不慈，子不祗，兄不友，弟不共，不相及也。』詩曰：『采芣采芣，無以下體。』君取節焉，可也。文公以爲下軍大夫。反自箕，襄公以三命命先且居將中軍，以再命命先茅之縣賞胥臣，曰：『舉卻缺，子之功也。以一命命卻缺爲卿，復與之冀，亦未有軍行。』

冬，公如齊朝，且弔有狄師也。反，薨于小寢，卽安也。

晉陳鄭伐許，討其貳於楚也。

楚令尹子上侵陳，蔡成遂伐鄭，將納公子瑕，門于桔柣之門，瑕覆于周氏之汪，外僕髡屯禽之以獻，文夫人歛而葬之鄆城之下。

晉陽處父侵蔡，楚子上救之，與晉師夾泚而軍。陽子患之，使謂子上曰：「吾聞之，文不犯順，武不違敵，子若欲戰，則吾退舍，子濟而陳，遲速唯命，不然，紿我。」老師費財，亦無益也。乃駕以待。子上欲涉，大孫伯曰：「不可，晉人無信，半涉而薄我，悔敗何及？不如紿之。」乃退舍。陽子宣言曰：「楚師遁矣。」遂歸。楚師亦歸。犬子商臣譖子上曰：「受晉賂而辟之，楚之恥也，罪莫大焉。」王殺子上。

冬十月，公如齊。

十有二月，公至自齊。

乙巳，公薨。

于小寢。

隕霜不殺。

草李梅實。

晉人陳人，鄭人伐許。

左傳曰：三十三年春，秦師過周北門，左右免胄而下，超乘者三百乘，王孫滿尚幼，觀之，言於王曰：「秦師輕而無禮，必敗，輕則寡謀，無禮則脫，入險而脫，又不能謀，能無敗乎？及滑，鄭商人弦高將市於周，遇之，以乘韋先牛十二犒師，曰：『寡君聞吾子將步師出於敝邑，敢犒從者，不腆敝邑，爲從者之淹，居則具一日之積，行則備一夕之衛。』且使遽告于鄭。鄭穆公使視客館，則束載厲兵，秣馬矣。使皇武子辭焉，曰：『吾子淹久于敝邑，唯是脯資餼牽竭矣，爲吾子之將行也，鄭之有原圃，猶秦之有具囿也，吾子取其麋鹿，以閒敝邑，若何？』杞子奔齊，逢孫、楊孫奔宋。孟明曰：『鄭有備矣，不可冀也。』攻之不克，圍之不繼，吾其還也。滅滑而還，齊國莊子來聘，自郊勞至于贈賄，禮成而加之以敏，臧文仲言于公曰：『國子爲政，齊猶有禮，君其朝焉。』臣聞之，服于有禮，社稷之衛也。」

晉原軫曰：「秦違蹇叔，而以貪勤民，天奉我也，奉不可失，敵不可縱，縱敵患生，違天不祥，必伐秦師。」欒枝曰：「未報秦施，而伐其師，其爲死君乎？」先軫曰：「秦不哀吾喪，而伐吾同姓，秦則無禮，何施之爲？」吾聞之，一日縱敵，數世之患也。謀及子孫，可謂死君乎？遂發命，遽興姜戎，以墨衰經。梁弘御戎，萊駒爲右。夏四月辛巳，敗秦師于殽，獲百里孟明視、西乞術、白乙丙，以歸。遂墨以葬文公。晉於是始墨。文嬴請三帥，曰：「彼實構吾二君，寡君若得而食之，不厭，吾何辱討焉？」使歸就戮于秦，以逞寡君之志，若何？公許之。先軫朝，問秦囚，公曰：「夫人請之，吾舍之矣。」先軫怒曰：「武夫力而拘諸原，婦人暫而免諸國，墮軍實而長寇讐，亡無日矣。」不顧而唾。公使陽處父追之，及諸河，則在舟中矣。釋左驂，以公命贈孟明，孟明稽首曰：「君之惠，不以壘臣釁鼓，使歸就戮于秦，寡君之以爲戮，死且不朽，若從君惠而免之，三年將拜。」

於嘗主祀主而耐哭薨凡禮主緩傳  
廟祔烝於特作耐而卒君也非作公葬

- XXXIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army from Ts'in entered Hwah.
- 2 The marquis of Ts'e sent Kwoh Kwei-foo to the duke on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-sze, the men of Tsin and the Këang Jung defeated [the army of] Ts'in at Hëaou.
- 4 On Kwei-sze there was the burial of duke Wăn of Tsin.
- 5 The Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.
- 6 The duke invaded Choo, and took Tsze-low.
- 7 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, led an army, and invaded Choo.
- 8 A body of men from Tsin defeated the Teih in Ke.
- 9 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke went to Ts'e.
- 10 In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from Ts'e.
- 11 On Yih-sze, the duke died in the Small chamber.
- 12 There fell hoar-frost without killing the grass. Plum trees bore their fruit.
- 13 A body of men from Tsin, one from Ch'in, and one from Ch'ing, invaded Heu.

Par. 1. Hwah,—see III. iii. 5. From the last Chuen we see that 秦人 here denotes 'an army of Ts'in,' not inconsiderable in numbers, and under commanders of no mean rank. 入者, 入其國而不據其地也. '入' denotes that they entered the city, but did not keep possession of the territory.' The Chuen says:—'In spring, the army of Ts'in was passing by the north-gate of [the royal city of] Chow, when the mailed men on the right and left of the chariots [merely] took off their helmets and descended, springing afterwards with a bound into the chariots,—the 300 of them. Wang-sun Mwan was still quite young; but when he saw this, he said to the king, 'The army of Ts'in acts lightly and is unobservant of propriety;—it is sure to be defeated. Acting so lightly, there must be little counsel in it. Unobservant of propriety, it will be heedless. When it enters a dangerous pass, and is heedless, being moreover without wise counsel, can it escape defeat?'

'When the army entered Hwah, Hëen Kaou, a merchant of Ch'ing, on his way to traffic in Chow, met it. He went with four dressed hides, preceding 12 oxen, to distribute them among the soldiers, and said [to the general], "My prince, having heard that you were marching with your army, and would pass by his poor city, ventures thus to refresh your attendants. Our poor city, when your attendants come there,

can supply them, while they stay, with one day's provisions, and provide them, when they go, with one night's escort." At the same time he sent intelligence of what was taking place with all possible speed to Ch'ing. The earl, [on receiving the tidings], sent to see what was going on at the lodging houses which had been built for the guards of Ts'in, and found there bundles all ready, waggons loaded, weapons sharpened, and the horses fed. On this he sent Hwang Woo to decline their further services, and say to them, "You have been detained, Sirs, too long at our poor city. Our dried flesh, our money, our rice, our cattle, are all used up. We have our park of Yuen as Ts'in has its of Keu. Suppose you supply yourselves with deer from it to give our poor city some rest." On this Ke Tsze fled to Ts'e, while Fung Sun and Yang Sun fled to Sung. Mäng-ming said, "Ch'ing is prepared for us. We cannot hope to surprise it. If we attack it, we shall not immediately take it; and if we lay siege to it, we are too far off to receive succour. Let us return." The army of Ts'in then proceeded to extinguish Hwah, and returned.]

Par. 2; In the duke's 28th year, Kung-tsze Suy went to Ts'e on a friendly mission. The visit in the text was, probably, the response to it. Kwei-foo was the ambassador's name. The Chuen calls him Kwoh Chwang-tsze, or the officer Kwoh, Chwang being his honorary title. The Chuen says:—'When Kwoh Chwang of Ts'e came on his friendly mission, from his reception in the borders to the parting feast and gifts

to him, he was treated with the utmost ceremony, and also with sedulous attention. Tsang Wän-chung said to the duke, "Since the officer Kwoh administered its govt., Ts'e has again showed all propriety towards us. Your lordship should pay a visit to it. Your servant has heard that submission to those who are observant of propriety is the [surest] defence of the altars."

Par. 3. After 秦, Tso-she and Kuh-lëang have 師. Hëaou was a dangerous defile,—in

the pres. dis. of Yung-ning (永寧), dep. Ho-nan. The Chuen says:—'[Sëen] Chin of Yuen said to the marquis of Ts'in, "[The earl of] Ts'in, contrary to the counsel of Këen Shuh, has, under the influence of greed, been imposing toil on his people;—this is an opportunity given us by Heaven. It should not be lost; our enemy should not be let go unassailed. Such disobedience to Heaven will be inauspicious;—we must attack the army of Ts'in." Lwan Che said, "We have not yet repaid the services rendered to our last lord by Ts'in, and if we now attack its army, this is to make him dead indeed!" Sëen Chin replied, "Ts'in has shown no sympathy with us in our loss, but has attacked [two States of] our surname. It is Ts'in who has been unobservant of propriety;—what have we to do with [former] favours? I have heard that if you let your enemy go a single day, you are preparing the misfortunes of several generations. In taking counsel for his posterity, can we be said to be treating our last ruler as dead?"

'The [new marquis] instantly issued orders [for the expedition]. The Këang Jung were called into the field on the spur of the moment. The marquis [joined the army], wearing his son's garb of unhemmed mourning, stained with black, and also his mourning scarf. Lëang Hwang was his charioteer, and Lae Keu his spearman on the right. In summer, in the 4th month, on Sin-sze, he defeated the army of Ts'in at Hëaou, took [the commanders], Pih-le Mäng-ming-she, Se-k'eh Shuh, and Pih-yih Ping, prisoners, and brought them back with him to the capital, from which he proceeded in his dark-stained mourning garb to enter duke Wän, which thenceforth became the custom in Tsin. Wän Ying [duke Wän's Ts'in wife] interceded for the prisoners, saying, "In consequence of their stirring up enmity between you and him, [my father], the earl of Ts'in, will not be satisfied even if he should eat them. Why should you condescend to punish them? Why should you not send them back to be put to death in Ts'in, to satisfy the wish of my lord there?" The marquis acceded to her advice.

'Sëen Chin went to court, and asked about the Ts'in prisoners. The marquis replied, 'My father's widow requested it, and I have let them go.' The officer in a rage said, 'Your warriors by their strength caught them in the field, and now they are let go for a woman's brief word in the city. By such overthrow of the services of the army, and such prolongation of the resentment of our enemies, our ruin will come at no distant day.' With this, without turning round, he spat on the ground.

'The marquis sent Yang Ch'oo-foo to pursue after the liberated commanders; but when he got

to the Ho, they were already on board a boat. Loosing the outside horse on the left of his chariot, he said he had the marquis's order to present it to Mäng-ming. Mäng-ming bowed his head to the ground, and said, "Your prince's kindness in not taking the blood of me his prisoner to smear his drums [See Mencius, I. Pt. I., vii. 4], but liberating me to go and be killed in Ts'in;—this kindness, should my prince indeed execute me, I will not forget in death. If by your prince's kindness I escape this fate, in three years I will thank him for his gift."

'The earl of Ts'in, in white mourning garments, was waiting for them in the borders of the capital, and wept, looking in the direction where the army had been lost. "By my opposition to the counsel of Këen Shuh," he said, "I brought disgrace on you, my generals. Mine has been the crime; and that I did not [before] dismiss Mäng-ming [from such a service] was my fault. What fault are you chargeable with? I will not for one error shut out of view your great merits.'

The last Book of the Shoo is said to have been made by the earl of Ts'in on occasion of this defeat;—see the note on the name of that Book. The few sentences of the Chuen are much more to the point than all its paragraphs. The K'ang-he editors have a long note, in which they discuss the question whether Tsin was justified in attacking Ts'in in Hëaou, and conclude that it was so. The blame implied, as they fancy, in the 人 of 晉人, they explain as kindly meant to hide the fact of the marquis of Ts'in, in deepest mourning, and his father yet unburied, taking part in such an affair; but this is unnecessary. The marquis may have been near the defile, but all the arrangements were made by Sëen Chin who was the actual commander in the affair. The Këang Jung, represented as descendants of Yao's chief minister, came readily to the help of Tsin, because duke Hwuy had kindly received and protected them, when they were driven out of their old seats by Ts'in.

Par. 5. Tso-she says the Teih ventured on this, 'taking advantage of the mourning in Tsin.'

Parr. 6, 7. For 訾婁 Kung-yang has 叢; Kuh-lëang has 訾樓. The place must have been in Tse-ning Chow (濟寧州), dep. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—'The duke invaded Choo, and took Tsze-low, to repay the action at Shing-hing [see p. 3 of the 22d year]. The people of Choo did not make preparations to receive an enemy; and in autumn Sëang-chung again invaded it.'

Par. 8. Ke was 35 里 south from the pres. dis. city of T'ae-kuh (太谷), dep. T'ae-yuen, Shan-se. The Chuen says:—'The Teih invaded Tsin, and came as far as Ke, where, in the 8th month, on Mow-tsze, the marquis of Tsin defeated them, Këoh Këneh capturing the viscount of the White Teih. Sëen Chin said [to himself], "[No better than] an ordinary man, I vented my feeling on my ruler [Referring to his spitting before the marquis], and I was not punished; but dare I keep from punishing myself?" With this, he took off his helmet, entered the army of the Teih, and died. The Teih

returned his head, when his countenance looked as when he was alive.

'Before this, Ke of K'ew [Seu Shin] was passing by K'e on a mission, and saw Keueh of K'e weeding in a field, when his wife brought his food to him. He showed to her all respect, and behaved to her as he would have done to a guest. Ke therefore took him back with him to the capital, and told duke Wān, saying, "About respect all other virtues gather. He who can show respect is sure to have virtue. Virtue finds its use in the government of the people. I entreat your lordship to employ him. Your servant has heard that outside one's door to behave as if one were receiving a guest, and to attend to all business as if it were a sacrifice [Comp. Ana. XII. ii.], is the pattern of perfect virtue." The duke said, "But should this be done, considering the crime of his father [See the Chuen at the beginning of the 24th year. Keueh's father, Kēoh Juy, had planned to murder duke Wān.]?" "The criminal whom Shun put to death," returned Ke, "was Kwān; and the man whom he raised to dignity was [Kwān's son], Yu. The assaulter of Hwan [of Ts'e] was Kwan King-chung, and yet he became his chief minister, and carried him on to success. In the Announcement to the prince of K'ang it is said, 'The father who is devoid of affection, and the son who is devoid of reverence; the elder brother who is unkind, and the younger who is disrespectful,' are all to be punished, but not one for the offence of the other [See the Shoo, V. ix. 16, but the quotation is very inaccurate]. The ode says [She, I. iii. Ode X.]:—

'When we gather the *fung* and the *fe*,  
They should not be rejected because of their roots.'

On this, duke Wān made Kēoh Keueh great officer of the 3d army.

'On the return of the army from Ke, duke Sēang invested Sēen Tseu-keu [Son of Sēen Chin] with the 3d degree of rank, and made him commander of the 2d or middle army. He gave Seu Shin the second rank, and the city of Sēen Maou, as his reward, saying, "The promotion of Kēoh Keueh was due to you." He conferred the 1st degree on Kēoh Keueh, and made him a high minister, restoring to him the city of K'e; but Keueh did not yet receive the command of an army.'

Par. 11. See on III. xxxii. 4. Too Yu says that 'the Small chamber was the wife's chamber (夫人寢).' The Chuen says:—'In winter the duke went to Ts'e to pay a court-visit, and to condole with the marquis on the attack of the Teih. On his return, he died in the Small chamber, having retired there to be more at rest.' Kuh-léang and other critics say he ought not to have breathed his last there.

Par. 12. For 隕 Kung-yang has 實. *Le* and *mei* are both the names of plum-trees, and their fruits;—I do not know the specific difference between them. The 12th month of Chow was the 10th month of Hēa. To find hoar-frost on the ground, and at the same time the grass still vigorous, and plum-trees still bearing, was

strange; and as an unusual phenomenon it is here recorded. The critics delight to dwell upon its moral significance, and Hoo Gan-kwoh quotes a conversation on the paragraph, with duke Gae, ascribed to Confucius, which is in a similar strain.

Par. 13. Tso-she says the object of this invasion was to punish Heu for its inclining to the side of Ts'oo.

[We have here 3 narratives in the Chuen:—'Tsze-shang, chief minister of Ts'oo, made an incursion into Ts'ae and Ch'in, both of which made their submission; and then he went on to invade Ch'ing, intending to place Hēa, son of duke Wān, as marquis in it. He made an attack at the Kēh-tēh gate, when Hēa was overturned in the pond of the Chow family. K'wān-ch'un, a servant of the marquis stationed outside the walls, caught him and presented his dead body. The marquis's wife covered it with a shroud, put it in a coffin, and buried it near Kwei-shing.'

'Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin made an incursion into Ts'ae, and Tsze-yang of Ts'oo came to its relief. Their two armies faced each other with the river Che between them. Yang, being distressed by the position, sent to say to Tsze-shang, "The man of civil virtue will not attack those who are acting according to an agreement; the man of military prowess will not leave his enemy. If you wish to fight, I will withdraw 30 *le*, till you pass over and arrange your battle, receiving your commands as to the time, less or more. If you do not accept this offer, grant the same indulgence to me. To keep our armies here long in the field, and waste our resources, is of no use." He then had the horses yoked in his carriage to await the answer. Tsze-shang wished to cross the river, but Ta Sun-pih [the Ta-sin of the Chuen on IV. xxviii. 6. He was the son of Tsze-yuh, or Tih-shin, of Ts'oo] said, "No. The men of Tsin have no good faith. If they attack us, when half our troops are crossed over, it will be too late to repent of our defeat. Better grant the indulgence to them." On this the troops of Ts'oo withdrew 30 *le*. When Yang saw this, he spread abroad the report that the army of Ts'oo had retired, and immediately returned to Tsin. Shang-shin, the eldest son of [the viscount of] Ts'oo, slandered Tsze-shang [to his father], saying, "He was bribed by Tsin, and got out of the way of its army,—to the shame of Ts'oo; there could not be a greater crime." On this the viscount put Tsz-shang to death.'

'We buried duke He;—the burial was late [The construction and meaning here are uncertain]. The making the Spirit-tablet was contrary to rule. On occasion of the death of the prince of a State, when the weeping is ended, his spirit is supposed to take its place by that of his grandfather, with reference to which the spirit-tablet has been made, and is now set up. A special sacrifice goes on before this tablet, while the seasonal sacrifices and the fortunate sacrifice at the end of the mourning take place in the temple.'

These immediately preceding remarks are here by some mistake in their wrong place. They belong to the next Book, i. 4, and ii. 2.

## BOOK VI. DUKE WAN.

First year.

元年春王正月公即位。  
二月癸亥日有食之。  
三章  
夏四月丁巳葬我君僖公。  
四章  
天王使毛伯來錫公命。  
五章  
晉侯伐衛。  
六章  
叔孫得臣如京師。  
七章  
秋公孫敖會晉侯于戚。  
八章  
衛人伐晉。  
九章  
冬十月丁未楚世子商弑其君頤。  
十章  
公孫敖如齊。  
十一章  
十二章

左傳曰元年春王使內史叔服來會葬公孫敖聞其能相人也見其二子焉叔服曰穀也食子難也收子穀也豐下必有後於魯國於是閏三月非禮也先王之正時也履端於始舉正於中歸餘於終履端於始序則不惑歸餘於終事則不悖夏四月丁巳葬僖公

文公

王使毛伯衛來錫公命。晉文公之季年，諸侯朝晉，衛成公不朝，使孔達侵鄭，伐綿訾，及匡，晉襄公既祥，使告于諸侯，而伐衛，及南陽，先且居曰：效尤禍也，請君朝王，臣從師。晉侯朝王於溫，先且居胥臣伐衛，五月辛酉朔，晉師圍戚，六月戊戌，取之，獲孫昭子。叔孫得臣如周拜。衛人使告于陳，陳共公曰：更伐之，我辭之。衛孔達帥師伐晉，君子以爲古，古者越國而謀。秋，晉侯疆戚田，故公孫敖會之。初，楚子將以商臣爲太子，訪諸令尹子旗，子旗曰：君之齒未也，而又多愛，黜乃亂也。楚國之舉，恒在少者，且是人也，蠡目而豺聲，忍人也，不可立也。弗聽。既又欲立王子職，而黜太子商臣，商臣聞之，而未察，告其師潘崇曰：若之何而察之？潘崇曰：享江芊而勿敬也。從之。江芊怒曰：呼役夫，宜君王之欲殺汝而立職也。告潘崇曰：信矣。潘崇曰：能事諸乎？曰：不能。能行乎？曰：不能。能行大事乎？曰：能。冬十月，以宮甲圍成王，王請食熊蹯而死，弗聽。丁未，王縊，諡之曰靈。不瞑，曰：成乃瞑。穆王立，以其爲太子之室與潘崇，使爲大師，且掌環列之尹。穆伯如齊，始聘焉，禮也。凡君即位，卿出蒞聘，踐修舊好，要結外援，好事鄰國，以衛社稷，忠信卑讓之道也。忠，德之正也；信，德之固也；卑讓，德之基也。殺之役，晉人既歸秦師，大夫及左右，皆言於秦伯曰：是敗也，孟明之罪也，必殺之。秦伯曰：是孤之罪也。周芮良夫之詩曰：大風有隧，貪人敗類。聽言則對，誦言如醉，匪用其良，覆俾我悖，是貪故也。孤之謂矣。孤實貪以禍夫子，夫子何罪，復使爲政。

- I. 1 In the first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 In the second month, on Kwei-hae, the sun was eclipsed.
- 3 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shuh-fuh to be present at the burial [of duke He].
- 4 In summer, in the fourth month, in Ting-sze, we buried our ruler, duke He.

- 5 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Maou to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].
- 6 The marquis of Tsin invaded Wei.
- 7 Shuh-sun Tih-shin went to the capital.
- 8 A body of men from Wei invaded Tsin.
- 9 In autumn, Kung-sun Gaou had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin in Ts'eih.
- 10 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ting-we, Shang-shin, heir-son of Ts'oo, murdered his ruler, Keun.
- 11 Kung-sun Gaou went to Ts'e.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—文公, 'Duke Wān.' Duke Wān's name was Hing (興). He was the son of duke He by his wife Shing Kēang (聲姜), a daughter of the House of Ts'e. His rule lasted 18 years, B. C. 725—608. His honorary title Wān denotes—'Gentle and kindly, loving the people' (慈惠愛民曰文); or, 'Loyally truthful, and courteous' (忠信接禮曰文).

His 1st year synchronized with the 26th of king Sēang (襄王); the 2d of Sēang (襄) of Tsin; the 7th of Ch'au (昭) of Ts'e; the 9th of Ch'ing (成) of Wei; the 10th of Chwang (莊) of Ts'ae; the 2d of Muh (穆) of Ch'ing; the 27th of Kung (共) of Ts'au; the 6th of Kung (共) of Ch'in; the 11th of Hwan (桓) of Ke; the 11th of Ch'ing (成) of Sung; the 34th of Muh of Tsin; and the 46th of Ch'ing of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. Everything was auspicious at the accession of duke Wān, and therefore we have the account of it in full, without anything to be said against the 卽位, as in II. i. 1. Duke He indeed was not yet buried; but that circumstance was not allowed to interfere with the proclamation of the new rule, and the young marquis's reception of his ministers, on the 1st day of the new year.

Par. 2. Before 日 Kung-yang has 朔, Too Yu, accepting Tso-she's text, observes that the 朔 is omitted through the carelessness of the historiographers. The eclipse took place on the 26th January, B. C. 625.

Par. 3. The prince of one State sent an officer to attend at the interment of the prince of another State; but in the Ch'un Tsew no record is made of the appearance of such envoys at Loo. The record here is because the mission of Shuh-fuh was a special honour done to Loo by the king. The Chuen says that this Shuh-fuh was historiographer of the interior, and adds:—'Kung-sun Gaou had heard that he was a master of physiognomy, and introduced his

two sons to him. Shuh-fuh said, "Kuh will feed you; No will bury you. The lower part of Kuh's face is large;—he will have posterity in the State of Loo."

[Tso-she appends here:—'Here there was an intercalary 3d month;—which was contrary to rule. The method of the former kings in regulating the seasons was—to make a commencement at the proper beginning; to determine the correct beginning of the months from the commencement of the year to the end; and to reserve the overplus of days for the year's end. By making the commencement at the proper beginning, order was secured, and there was no error. By determining the commencements of the months, the people were preserved from error; by reserving the overplus to the end of the year, affairs proceeded in a natural way.]

Par. 4. The Chuen here repeats the text without any addition, showing that the 緩 of the Chuen at the end of last year belongs to this place. The duke should have been buried 5 months after his death; but 6 had now elapsed, or 7, if we count the intercalary month.

Par. 5, 7. Maou was a city and territory within the royal domain, assigned by some to the pres. dis. of E-yang (宜陽), dep. Ho-nan. Its lords were earls, descendants of Shuh-ch'ing (叔鄭), one of the sons of king Wān; and were, one after another, in the service of the court. The 命 here conferred on the duke was doubtless the 'jade token,' proper to his rank as marquis;—see on the Shoo, II. i. 7. Comp. also III. i. 6. The mission of Shuh-sun Tih-shin was to express the duke's acknowledgments for this token of the royal favour;—Tso-she says—如周拜. This Tih-shin was grandson of Ya or Shuh Ya, whose death is mentioned in III. xxii. 3, and who was the ancestor of the Shuh-sun clan. See the Chuen there.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'In the last years of duke Wān of Tsin, the princes of the States came [most of them] to the court of Tsin; but duke Ch'ing of Wei did not come; and he sent K'ung Tah to make an incursion into Ch'ing, attacking also Mēen-tze and K'wang. At the end of his 1st year of mourning, duke Sēang sent word to the States, and invaded Wei. When he had got to Nan-yang, Sēen Tseu-ken said to him, "You are imitating the crime [of Wei], and will meet with calamity. Let me ask your lordship to go to the king's court,



and I will go with the army." On this the marquis paid a court-visit to the king in Wan, while S'een Tseu-keu and Seu Shin prosecuted the invasion of Wei. On Sin-y'ew, the 1st day of the 5th month, their army laid siege to Ts'eih, took it on Mow-seuh in the 6th month, when the officer Sun Ch'au was taken prisoner.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"The people of Wei sent to inform Ch'in of their circumstances. Duke Kung of Ch'in said, "Attack Tsin again. I will speak to the marquis [in your behalf]." On this K'ung Tah of Wei led a force, and attacked Tsin. The superior man will say that this was the ancient method. The ancients passed from their own to take counsel with another State."

Par. 9. Ts'eih was the city of Wei, the capture of which is mentioned in the Chuen on par. 6. It was 7 *le* north of the pres. city of K'ae Chow (開州), dep. of Ta-ming. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, the marquis of Tsin was laying out the boundaries of the lands of Ts'eih, and there Kung-sun Gaou had an interview with him." The K'ang-he editors observe that this is the first instance in the text of the classic of great officers taking it on themselves to have meetings with the princes.

Par. 10. For 賴 Kung and Kuh have 髡. The Chuen says:—"At an earlier period, the viscount of Ts'oo, intending to declare Shang-shin his successor, consulted his chief minister Tsze-shang about it. Tsze-shang said, "Your lordship is not yet old. You are also fond of many [of your children]. Should you degrade him hereafter, he will make disorder. The succession in Ts'oo has always been from among the younger sons. Moreover, he has eyes [projecting] like a wasp's, and a wolf's voice;—he is capable of anything. You ought not to raise him to that position." The viscount did it however. But afterwards he wished to appoint his son Chih instead, and to degrade Shang-shin. Shang-shin heard of his intention, but was not sure of it. He therefore told his tutor P'wan Ts'ung, and asked him how he could get certain information. Ts'ung said, "Give a feast to her of Keang [The viscount's sister], and behave disrespectfully to her." The prince did so, when the lady became angry, and cried out, "You slave, it is with reason that the king wishes to kill you, and appoint Chih in your place." Shang-shin told this to his tutor, saying, "The report is true." Ts'ung then said, "Are you able to serve Chih?" "No." "Are you able to leave the State?" "No." "Are you able to do the great thing?" "Yes."

"In winter, in the 10th month. Shang-shin, with the *guards* of his palace, held the king in siege. The king begged to have bear's paws to eat before he died, which was refused him; and on Ting-we he strangled himself. The prince [immediately] gave him the title of Ling, but his eyes would not shut. He changed it to Ch'ing, and they shut. [Shang-shin] took his place, [and is known as] king Muh. He gave the house where he had lived as the eldest son to P'wan Ts'ung, made him grand-tutor, and commander of the palace guards."

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—"Muh-pih [The hon. title and family place of Kung-sun Gaou] went to Ts'e on a mission of friendly inquiry at the commencement [of the duke's rule];—which was right. On the accession of princes of States, their ministers should go everywhere on such friendly missions, maintaining and cultivating old friendships, and forming external alliances of support. Attention to the services which are due to other States, in order to defend one's own altars, is the course of leal-heartedness, good faith, and humble complaisance. Leal-heartedness is the correct manifestation of virtue. Good faith is the bond of virtue. Humble complaisance is the foundation of virtue."

[The Chuen turns here in conclusion to the affairs of Ts'in:—"After the battle of H'eaou, when the people of Tsin had returned the captive generals to Ts'in, his great officers and others about him said to the earl, "This defeat was all the fault of M'ang-ming; you must put him to death." But the earl said, "It was owing to my fault. They are the words of the ode of (the earl of) Juy of Chow [She, III. iii. Ode III. 13]:—

'Great winds have a path;—  
The covetous men try to subvert their  
peers.  
If he would hear my words, I would speak  
to him;  
But I can [only] croon them over, as if I  
were drunk.  
He will not employ the good,  
And on the contrary causes me this  
distress.'

It was by [my] covetousness. The ode is applicable to me. It was my covetousness which brought the misfortune on him. What crime had he?" Accordingly he again employed [M'ang-ming] in the conduct of the government."

Second year.

二年春王  
二月甲子  
晉侯及秦  
師戰于彭  
衙秦師敗  
績  
丁丑作僖  
公主  
三月乙巳  
及晉處父

盟。夏六月公孫敖會宋公陳  
侯鄭伯晉士穀盟于垂隴。  
自十有二月不雨至于秋  
七月。八月丁卯大事于大廟躋  
僖公。秦。冬晉人宋人陳人鄭人伐  
公子遂如齊納幣。

左傳曰二年春秦孟明視帥師伐晉以報殺之役二月晉侯  
禦之先且居將中軍趙衰佐之王官無地御戎狐鞫居爲右  
甲子及秦師戰于彭衙秦師敗績晉人謂秦拜賜之師戰於  
殺也晉梁弘御戎萊駒爲右戰之明日晉襄公縛秦囚使萊  
駒以戈斬之囚呼萊駒失戈狼蹕取戈以斬囚禽之以從公  
乘遂以爲右箕之役先軫黜之而立續簡伯狼蹕怒其友曰  
盍死之蹕曰吾未獲死所其友曰吾與汝爲難蹕曰周志有  
之勇則害上不登於明堂死而不義非勇也共用之謂勇吾  
以勇求右無勇而黜亦其所也謂上不我知黜而宜乃知我  
矣子姑待之及彭衙旣陳以其屬馳秦師死焉晉師從之大  
敗秦師君子謂狼蹕於是乎君子詩曰君子如怒亂庶遄沮  
又曰王赫斯怒爰整其旅怒不作亂而以從師可謂君子矣  
秦伯猶用孟明孟明增修國政重施於民趙成子言於諸大  
夫曰秦師又至將必辟之懼而增德不可當也詩曰毋念爾  
祖聿修厥德孟明念之矣念德不怠其可敵乎  
丁丑作僖公主書不時也  
晉人以公不朝來討公如晉夏四月己巳晉人使陽處父盟  
公以恥之書曰及晉處父盟以厭之也適晉不書諱之也

公未至，六月，穆伯會諸侯，及晉司空士穀盟于垂隴。晉討衛故也。書士穀，堪其事也。陳侯爲衛請成于晉，執孔達以說。

秋八月丁卯，大事于大廟，躋僖公，逆祀也。於是夏父弗忌爲宗伯，尊僖公，且明見曰：吾見新鬼大，故鬼小。先大後小，順也。躋聖賢，明也。明順禮也。君子以爲失禮，禮無不順。祀國之大事也，而逆之，可謂禮乎？子雖齊聖，不先父食久矣。故禹不先鯀，湯不先桀，文武不先不窋，宋祖帝乙，鄭祖厲王，猶上祖也。是以魯頌曰：春秋匪解，享祀不忒。皇皇后帝，皇祖后稷，君子曰：禮謂其後稷親而先帝也。詩曰：問我諸姑，遂及伯姊。君子曰：禮謂其姊親而先姑也。仲尼曰：臧文仲其不仁者三，不知者三。下展禽廢六關，姜織蒲，三不仁也。作虛器，縱逆祀，祀爰居，三不知也。

冬，晉先且居，宋公子成，陳轅選，鄭公子歸生，伐秦，取汪，及彭衙，而還，以報彭衙之役。卿不書，爲穆公故，尊秦也，謂之崇德。

襄仲如齊，納幣，禮也。凡君即位，好舅甥，修昏姻，娶元妃，以奉粢盛，孝也。孝，禮之始也。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on K'eah-tsze, he marquis of Tsin and the army of Ts'in fought a battle in P'ang-ya, when the army of Ts'in was disgracefully defeated.
- 2 On Ting-ch'ow, [the duke] made the Spirit-tablet of duke He.
- 3 In the third month, on Yih-sze, [the duke] made a covenant with Ch'oo-foo of Tsin.
- 4 In summer, in the sixth month, Kung-sun Gaou had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and Sze Hwoh of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Ch'uy-lung.
- 5 From the twelfth month [of the last year] it had not rained until the autumn [of this] in the seventh month.
- 6 In the eighth month, on Ting-maou, there was the great [sacrificial] business in the grand temple, when [the tablet of] duke He was advanced [to the place of that of duke Min].
- 7 In winter, a body of men from Tsin, one from Sung, one from Ch'in, and one from Ch'ing invaded Ts'in.
- 8 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e, with the marriage offerings [for the duke].

Par. 1. The site of P'ang-ya (in Kung-yang, 彭牙) is not well ascertained. Probably it was in Ts'in, as Kung and Kuh say. According to Too, it should be found 60 *le* to the north-east of the pres. dis. city of Pih-shwuy (白水), dept. T'ung-chow, Shen-se. The Chuen says:—'In the 2d year, in spring, M'ang-ming She of Ts'in led an army against Ts'in, to repay his defeat at H'eaou. In the 2d month, the marquis of Tsin went to meet him, S'een Tseu-keu commanding the army of the centre, with Chaou Ts'uy as his assistant. Woo-te of Wang-kwan acted as charioteer, and Hoo Kuh-keu was spearman on the right. On K'eah-tsze they fought in P'ang-ya, when the army of Ts'in received a severe defeat, the men of Tsin calling it the army with which Ts'in acknowledged their marquis's gift [See M'ang-ming's language at the end of the Chuen on p. 3 of the 33d year of duke He]. At the battle of H'eaou, L'ang Hwang had been charioteer, and Lae Keu the spearman on the right. On the day after it, duke S'ang had one of the prisoners bound, and ordered Lae Keu to kill him with a spear. The prisoner gave a shout, and Keu dropt the spear, on which Lang Shin took it up, killed him, and, taking his *left ear*, followed the marquis's chariot, who made him the spearman on the right.

'At the battle of Ke, S'een Chin degraded Lang, and appointed Suh K'een-pih in his place. Lang was angry, and one of his friends said to him, "Why not die here?" He replied, "I have here no proper place to die in." "Let me and you do a difficult thing," said the friend [Meaning that they should kill the general]; but Lang replied, "It is said in one of the histories of Chow, 'The brave who kills his superior shall have no place in the hall of Light.' He who dies doing what is not righteous is not brave; he who dies in the public service is brave. By bravery I sought the place of spearman on the right; I am degraded as not being brave;—it is my present place. If I should say that my superior does not know me, and did that which would make my degradation right, I should only prove that he did know me. Wait a little, my friend."

'At P'ang-ya, when the army was marshalled for the battle, Lang Shin, with his own followers, dashed into the army of Ts'in, and died. The army of Tsin followed him, and gained a great victory. The superior man will say that Lang Shin in this way proved himself a superior man. It is said in the ode [She, II. v. ode IV. 2]:—

"Let the superior man be angry.

And disorder will be stopt;"

and again [She, III. i. ode VII. 5]:—

"The king rose majestic in his wrath,  
And marshalled his troops."

When Lang in his anger would not be guilty of disorder, but went on to do good service in the army, he may be called a superior man.

'The earl of Ts'in, [notwithstanding this fresh defeat], still employed M'ang-ming, who paid increased attention to the government of the State, and made great largesses to the people. Chaou Ch'ing [Ch'ing is the hon. title of Chaou Ts'uy] said to the officers of Tsin, "The army of Ts'in will be here again, and we must get out of its way. He who in his apprehension

increases his virtue cannot be matched. The ode says [She, III. i. ode I. 6]:

"Ever think of your ancestors,  
Cultivating your virtue."

It is in this way that M'ang-ming thinks. Thinking of his virtue, without remitting his efforts, can he be resisted?"

Par. 2. Tso says that this records the wrong time at which the thing was done. Here belongs the greater part of the 3d par. in the Chuen at the end of He's last year. According to Maou, the practice of the Chow dynasty on the death of the prince of a State was this:—1st, The spirit-tablets of the former princes were all taken from their shrines, and laid up for 5 months in the 'grand apartment,' during which time no sacrifices were offered to them. 2d, When the time at the end of those months came to place the tablet of the recently deceased prince by that of his grandfather, a procession was made with it to take the other tablets from their repository, and replace them in their shrines. The new tablet was placed in the shrine of the deceased's grandfather, and a sacrifice was offered to them two. 3d, After this, the new tablet was carried back to the chamber where the prince had died, where sacrifices were offered to it, while all the others were left in their shrines, and sacrificed to as usual [As the Chuen

says, 特祀于主, 烝嘗禘于廟]. 4th, At the conclusion of the mourning, the new tablet was taken to its proper shrine in the temple, and one of the older ones was removed;—in the form and order prescribed.

This account seems to be correct. Kung-yang thinks that, after the burial, a tablet of the wood of the mulberry tree was made, and sacrificed to in the chamber; and that, at the end of a year from the death, this was changed for a tablet made of the wood of the chestnut tree. If it were so, and the 2d tablet be here spoken of, yet the time for making and setting it up had long gone by.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'The people of Tsin, because the duke had not paid a court visit to their marquis, came to punish him. On this he went to Tsin; and in summer, in the 4th month, on Ke-sze, Yang Ch'oo-foo was commissioned to make a covenant with him. This was done to disgrace the duke. The words of the text 'made a covenant with Ch'oo-foo of Tsin,' indicate dissatisfaction with that individual. The duke's visit to Tsin is not recorded;—purposely, to keep it concealed.' The Chuen correctly gives the day Ke-sze in the 4th month, instead of the 3d month of the text.

Par. 4. Kuh-l'ang gives 穀 for 穀; and both Kung and Kuh give 垂歛 for 垂隴. Ch'uy-lung was in the north-east of the pres. dis. of Yung-tsih, dep. K'ae-fung.

The Chuen says:—'The duke had not arrived [from Tsin]; and in the 4th month, Muh-pih had a meeting with the princes named, and Sze Hwoh, minister of Works in Tsin, at Ch'uy-lung, with reference to Ts'in's punishment of Wei. The marquis of Ch'in begged that Tsin would accept the submission of Wei, and also seized K'ung Tah, in order to please Ts'in.' Tso-she interjects that Sze Hwoh is here mentioned by

his name and surname, because of his ability for his work.

Par. 5. Chaou P'ang-fei contrasts the way in which so many months of drought are here summarily mentioned with the notices under duke He in V. ii. 5, iii. 4;—which see.

Par. 6. The 'great business' here is what is called the 'fortunate *te* sacrifice' in IV. ii. 2, where its nature has been sufficiently explained. Here, as there, it was performed 3 months before the proper time; and this coincidence might lead us to think that some new regulation affecting the date of the service had been adopted in Loo. The stress of the paragraph, however, is in the conclusion,—the advancing the tablet of duke He into the place which had been for more than 30 years occupied by that of his brother and predecessor, Min. This has given rise to numerous subtle and perplexing discussions. The account of it in the Chuen is the following:—This was contrary to the order of sacrifice [逆祀]. Too explains the phrase thus:—"He was the elder brother, and they could not be placed as father and son; he had been the subject of Min, and his proper place was beneath him. But now his tablet was placed above Min's;—hence the expression 逆祀." On this, Hsü-foo Fuh-ke, who was then director of the ancestral temple, wished to honour duke He, and told what he had seen, saying, "I saw the new Spirit great, and the old Spirit small. To put the great one first, and the small one after it, is the natural order. And to advance him who was sage and worthy, is the act of intelligence. What is according to natural order and intelligence has a principle of reason in it." But the superior man must consider the act to have been contrary to the propriety of the ceremony. In ceremonies everything must be in the proper natural order; and sacrifice is the great business of the State. How can it be called propriety to go contrary to the order of it? The son may have been reverend and sage, but he does not take precedence of the father, who has enjoyed the sacrifice long. Thus it was that Yu did not take precedence of Kwän, nor T'ang of Söeh, nor Wän and Woo of P'uh-chueh. The emperor Yih was the ancestor of the House of Sung, and king Le the ancestor of that of Ch'ing; and notwithstanding their bad character, they keep in the temples their superior position. Thus also in the Praise-songs of Loo [She IV. ii. Song IV. 3] we have,

"In spring and in autumn, without delay,  
He presents his offerings without error,  
To the great and sovereign God,  
And to his great ancestor How-tseih;"

the superior man thus in effect saying, "Here is the order of ceremony; tho' How-tseih be near in relationship, yet God takes the precedence in the sacrifice." Another ode says [She, I. iii. ode XIV. 2]:—

"I will ask for my aunts,  
And then for my sister;"

the superior man thus saying, "Here is the order of ceremony; tho' the sister be the nearest in relationship, yet the aunts take the precedence of her." Chung-ne said, "There were

three things which showed Tsang Wän-chung's want of virtue, and three which showed his want of knowledge. His keeping Chen K'in [Lêw-hsü Hwuy] in a low position; his removing the six gates; and his making his concubines weave rush mats for sale:—these showed his want of virtue. His making vain structures [See Ana. V. xvii.]; his allowing a sacrifice contrary to the proper order [The case in the text]; and his sacrificing to the Yuen-k'ew [A strange bird]:—these showed his want of knowledge."

The reader will probably think that this long note does not make the text plainer than it was before.—It was explained on IV. ii. 2, and on the 19th chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that in the ancestral temple the shrines were arranged in two rows, on either side of the shrine of the founder of the House. On one side were the shrines of fathers fronting the south. These were called *ch'au* (昭). On the other side, fronting the north, were those of sons. They were called *muh* (穆). Of course the sons were fathers in their turn; but the situation in the row was determined by reckoning from the founder. His grandson was the 1st *ch'au*, his son the 1st *muh*, and so on. But what was to be done when brothers followed one another in the succession, as here in the case of Min and He? Some critics say their tablets went all into the same shrine; but this is not the orthodox view. That holds that they were placed just as if they had been father and son, and the theory of the arrangement was overturned. Now when the tablet of Min got its place in the temple, he was a *ch'au*. That of He should have gone into the other row, opposite to it, pushing out the *muh* which was at the top. But duke Wän wished his father to have the more honourable *ch'au* place; and so Min's tablet was removed to the *muh* row, and He's took its place at the bottom of the *ch'aus*. The director of the temple lent himself to this infringement of the rule. He was in reality older than Min; but Min had taken precedence of him in the succession, as the son of duke Chwang's wife, preferable to an elder brother who was only the son of a concubine.

[Tso-she's own remarks in the Chuen begin at 君子以爲失禮. He is the 君子 or 'superior man' there. The other two 君子 are to be taken as the authors of the odes which are quoted, adduced by Tso-she in confirmation of his own view. The Praise-song of Loo was made after the time of duke He.]

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"In winter, Ssün Tseu-keu of Ts'in, Kung-tse Ch'ing of Sung, Yuen Seuen of Ch'in, and Kung-tse Kwei-sang, of Ch'ing, invaded Ts'in, when they took Wang and P'ang-ya, and returned. The object of the expedition was to repay Ts'in for the campaign of P'ang-ya. The ministers are not named in the text, [and they are only called 人], on account of duke Muh [of Ts'in], out of regard to the honour of Ts'in;—an example of the respect paid to virtue." [This last sentence is merely Tso-she's own erroneous criticism of the text.]

Par. 8. The marriage of the duke with a daughter of Ts'e is recorded in IV. 2. The presenting the offerings of silk, denoted by 幣, was subsequent to the ceremonies of the engagement, and therefore I think, notwithstanding the protest of the K'ang-he editors, that Too's view is very likely,—that the engagement had been made before the death of duke He, and that, as soon as the conclusion of the mourning

permitted, Wän proceeded to take the next step. The Chuen says:—"This visit to Ts'e of Ssäng-chung was according to rule. When a prince comes to the rule of a State, he shows his affection for the States whose princes are related to him by affinity, cultivates all relationships by marriage, and takes a head wife, to attend to the grain-vessels of the temple. This is filial piety, and filial piety is the beginning of propriety."

### Third year.

三年<sup>一章</sup>春王正月叔孫得臣會  
晉人宋人陳人衛人鄭人伐  
沈<sup>二章</sup>沈潰<sup>三章</sup>秦人伐晉<sup>四章</sup>  
夏五月王子虎卒<sup>五章</sup>  
秋楚人圍江<sup>六章</sup>  
雨螽于宋<sup>七章</sup>  
冬公如晉十有二月己巳公  
及晉侯盟<sup>八章</sup>  
晉陽處父帥師伐楚以救江<sup>九章</sup>

左傳曰三年春莊叔會諸侯之師  
伐沈以其服于楚也沈潰凡民逃  
其上曰潰在上曰逃  
○衛侯如陳拜晉成也  
夏四月乙亥王叔文公卒來赴弔  
如同盟禮也  
秦伯伐晉濟河焚舟取王官及郊  
晉人不出遂自茅津濟封穀尸而  
還遂霸西戎用孟明也君子是以  
知秦穆公之爲君也舉人之周也  
與人之壹也孟明之臣也其不解  
也懼思也子桑之忠也其知人  
也能舉善也詩曰于以采芣于沼  
于汙于以用之公侯之事秦穆有  
焉夙夜匪解以事一人孟明有焉  
諂厥孫謀以燕翼子子桑有焉  
秋雨螽于宋陳而死也楚以救江

晉人懼其無禮於公也，請改盟。公如於晉，及晉侯盟。晉侯饗公，賦菁菁者莪。莊叔以公降拜，曰：「小國受命於大國，敢不慎儀。君貺之，以大禮，何樂如之。」抑小國之樂，大國之惠也。晉侯降辭，登成拜。公賦嘉樂。冬，晉以江故，告于周。王叔桓公、晉陽處父伐楚，以救江。門于方城，遇息公子朱而還。

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shuh-sun Tih-shin joined an officer of Tsin, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Ch'ing, in invading Shin, the people of which dispersed.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, king [He's] son, Hoo, died.
- 3 A body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.
- 4 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo besieged Këang.
- 5 It rained locusts in Sung.
- 6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin; and in the twelfth month, on Ke-sze, he made a covenant with the marquis of Tsin.
- 7 Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin led a force, and invaded Ts'oo, in order to relieve Këang.

Par. 1. Shin was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of the House of Chow;—in the pres. dis. of Joo-yang (汝陽), dep. Joo-ning, Ho-nan. Tso-she says that Chwang-shuh [莊叔; Chwang is the hon. title given to Shuh-sun Tih-shin] joined the armies of the States in this expedition, because Shin had submitted to Ts'oo. He adds, in explanation of the term 潰, that 'the people's flying and deserting their superior is indicated by that term, while their ruler's fleeing is expressed by 逃.' The first meaning given to 潰 in the dict. is 'a large body of water rushing away by a new channel.' Such is the dispersion of the people fleeing from an enemy.

[The Chuen appends:—'The marquis of Wei went to Ch'in, to express his acknowledgments for the peace with Tsin,'—obtained by the mediation of Ch'in;—see the Chuen on par. 4 of last year.]

Par. 2. Tso-she says:—'In the 4th month, on Yih-hae, the king's uncle, duke Wän (文公; the hon. title given to Hoo) died. A messenger came to Loo with the announcement, and condolences were sent to Chow as on the death of a prince who had covenanted with the duke.' The Hoo in the text was the 'king's officer' of V. xxix. 3, who covenanted with duke He in Teih-ts'üen. The news of his death

was sent therefore to duke Wän, as being He's son, and condolences were returned to Chow, as if Hoo had been the prince of a State. As the Chuen says he was king Sëang's uncle, he must have been a son of king He (僖王). Kuh-lëang wrongly identifies him with the Shuh-fuh of I. 3, who was not yet dead.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'The earl of Ts'in invaded Tsin, and burned his boats when he had crossed the Ho. He then took Wang-kwan and Këaou; and as the troops of Tsin did not come out against him, he crossed the Ho at the ford of Maou, collected the bodies in Hëaou [See V. xxxiii. 3], raised mounds over them, and then returned to Ts'in. In consequence of this expedition, he was acknowledged as their leader by the Western Jung, and continued to employ Mäng-ming. From this the superior man recognizes the style of ruler that duke Muh of Ts'in was;—what entire confidence he reposed in the men whom he employed, and with what single-heartedness he stood by them. He recognizes also the qualities of Mäng-ming, how diligent he was and able, from his anxiety to exercise his thoughts more profitably; and the loyalty finally of Tsze-sang [The Kung-sun Che, who first recommended Mäng-ming], well knowing men, and introducing the good to the notice of his prince. What is intimated in the ode [She, I. i. ode I. 3],

"She goes to gather the white southernwood,  
By the ponds, by the pools;  
And then she employs it,  
In the business of our prince,"

was found in duke Muh. Again, the words, [She, III. iii. ode VI. 4],

"Never idle day or night.  
In the service of the one man,"

were exemplified in Mäng-ming. And those [She, III. i. ode X. 8],

"His counsels reached on to his descendants,  
To give happiness and strength to his posterity,"

were exemplified in Tsze-sang.

Acc. to the Chuen, the earl of Ts'in himself was in this expedition. Still the 秦人 of the text shows that he only accompanied it, and that the command was held by one of his ministers. The conclusion of this expedition does seem a more fitting occasion for the Speech of the earl of Ts'in which concludes the Shoo than the defeat at Hëaou, to which it is commonly referred.

Par. 4. Këang.—see V. ii. 4. From the time of the meeting recorded in that par., Këang, notwithstanding its proximity to Ts'oo, had continued to adhere to the northern States, and was now to suffer the consequences from its powerful neighbour. Ts'oo was, no doubt, emboldened to recommence its aggressive movements by the long continued hostilities between Tsin and Ts'in. The Chuen says that, on this occasion, 'Sëen Puh of Tsin invaded Ts'oo in order to relieve Këang.'

Par. 5. 蝻.—see II. v. 8. The Chuen says that these 'locusts fell down and died.' This seems to be Tso-she's explanation of the text that 'it rained locusts.' This would be a prodigy, and not a calamity or plague, as Kuh-lëang makes out the visitation to have been. Sung was noted for such strange appearances;—see V. xvi. 1.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'They were apprehensive in Tsin that they had behaved uncourtously to the duke [in the matter of the covenant, par. 3 of last year], and asked him to make a new covenant. The duke went accordingly to Tsin, and made a covenant with the marquis, who feasted him, and sang the ode beginning,

"Abundant grows the aster-southern-wood" (She, II. iii. ode II.).

Chwang-shuh [See on par. 1] descended the steps with the duke, that he might acknowledge [the honour done to him], saying, "My small State having received the orders of your great State, I dare not but be most careful in my observances. Your lordship has conferred on me a great honour, and nothing could exceed my happiness. The happiness of my small State is from the kindness of your great one." The marquis also descended the steps, and declined the acknowledgments [which the duke was going to make]. They then re-ascended the steps, when the duke bowed twice, and sang the ode beginning "Our admirable, amiable Sovereign" (She, III. ii. ode V.).

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'In winter, Tsin represented the case of Këang to the court of Chow. In consequence, Wang-shuh, the duke Hwan, and Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin, invaded Ts'oo in order to relieve Këang. They attacked Fang-shing, and having met with Tsze-choo, duke of Seih, they returned.' This narrative of the Chuen is not clear. Tsze-choo was the commander of the expedition of Ts'oo against Këang. He retired before the troops of Tsin, and then the relieving force also withdrew, having accomplished its object very imperfectly. Kung and Kuh leave out the 以 before 救. The K'ang-he editors enter here into a defence of the conduct of Tsin in this transaction, against the condemnation of Hoo Gan-kwoh and other critics. Too Yu says that the duke Hwan in the Chuen was a son of duke Wän, king's son Hoo, whose death is recorded in the second par. If it was so, then the Wang-shuh (王叔) in the Chuen here must be taken as a clan-name and not as 'the king's uncle.' I have so translated the characters in the former Chuen, because the relationship of Hoo seems to be determined by his being called both 'king's son,' and king's uncle.'

Fourth year.

四年春，公至自晉。夏，逆婦姜于齊。狄侵齊。秋，楚人滅江。晉侯伐秦。衛侯使甯俞來聘。冬，十有一月，壬寅，夫人風氏薨。



冬成風薨。覺報宴今陪臣來繼舊好，君辱貶之，其敢干大禮以自取戾。

所憐而獻其功，王於是乎賜之彤弓一，彤矢百，珪弓矢千，以宴樂之。于是乎賦湛露，則天子當陽，諸侯用命也。諸侯敵王使行人私焉。對曰：臣以為肄業及之也。昔諸侯朝正於王，王衛甯武子來聘，公與之宴，為賦湛露及彤弓，不辭，又不答賦。

政不獲，惟此四國。爰究爰度，其秦穆之謂矣。

秋，晉侯伐秦，圍祁，新城，以報王官之役。

楚人滅江，秦伯為之降服，出次，不舉，過數，大夫諫，公曰：同盟滅，雖不能救，敢不矜乎？吾自懼也。君子曰：詩云：惟彼二國，其國必亂，在家必亡，不允，宜哉。詩曰：畏天之威，于時保之。敬主之謂也。

逆婦姜于齊，卿不行，非禮也。君子是以知出姜之不允於魯也。曰：貴聘而賤逆之，君而卑之，立而廢之，棄信而壞其主，在國必亂，在家必亡，不允，宜哉。詩曰：畏天之威，于時保之。敬主之謂也。

曹伯如晉，會正。

夏，衛侯如晉，拜。

左傳曰：四年春，晉人歸孔達于衛，以為衛之良也，故免之。

- IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
 2 In summer, [the duke] met his wife K'ang in Ts'e.  
 3 The Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.  
 4 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished K'ang.  
 5 The marquis of Tsin invaded Ts'in.  
 6 The marquis of Wei sent Ning Yu to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.  
 7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jin-yin, the wife [of duke Chwang], the lady Fung, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here three short notices:—1st, 'In spring they returned K'ung T'ah from Tsin to Wei [See the Chuen on II. 4], considering him to be Wei's good man, and therefore letting him go.' 2d, 'In summer, the marquis of Wei went to Tsin to make his acknowledgments [for the restoration of K'ung Tah].' 3d, 'The earl of Ts'aou went to Tsin to have an understanding about the contributions [to the marquis, as the leader of the States].']

Par. 2. This par. has reference to duke Wan's marriage,—his bringing home to Loo the daughter of Ts'e, on whose account Kung-tsze Suy conveyed the marriage gifts as related in II. 8. There are difficulties, however, in the interpretation and translation of it, arising from there being no subject of the verb expressed,

and from the phrase 逆婦 instead of the regular one 逆女;—comp. II. iii. 5, and III. xxiv. 3. Tso-she holds that the subject of 逆 is some person of mean rank, who was employed on this mission. The Chuen says:—'A high minister did not go to meet the lady;—which was contrary to rule.' It is then added 'The superior man, knowing from this that Ch'uh Keang (so the lady was afterwards styled) would not be trusted in Loo, might say, "A man of noble rank acted at her betrothal, and a mean man met her [at her marriage]. While she was becoming duchess, she was treated as mean, and in the act of establishing her she was disowned. The duke threw away his confidence

in her, and her authority as mistress of the harem was overthrown. This was a sure prelude of disorder in the State, and of ruin in the family. Right was it that she should not be trusted. What is said in the ode (She, IV. i. [i.] ode VII.),

"Revere the majesty of Heaven,  
And ever preserve its favour,"

may be considered as spoken of the reverence to be accorded to the mistress of the harem.

Kung-yang sees in this notice the indication of the indifference with which the lady was treated, and supposes she was not a daughter of the marquis of Ts'e, but only of one of his officers, of the same surname as the ruling House. But there can be no doubt the lady was a daughter of the marquis. K'uh-l'ang would supply 公 as the subject of 逆. The duke went in person to Ts'e for his bride, as duke Chwang is said to have done in III. xxiv. 3. There the 公 is expressed, while here it is wanting; but we have found it wanting in the same way in more than a score of other paragraphs. Here, therefore, I must agree, as the K'ang-he editors do, with K'uh-l'ang rather than with Tso. The duke went himself to Ts'e to receive his bride.

But how have we 逆婦, instead of 逆女, as in III. xxiv. 3? Tso-she does not meet this question, but T'oo repeats the explanation of the term 婦, which is given under V. xxv. 3. K'uh-l'ang also adduces it, but I do not see how it can be admitted in this case. And there is no necessity for it. The duke went to Ts'e, and in his impatience completed the marriage there, instead of escorting his bride to Loo, and there going through the ceremonies proper to the occasion;—as he ought to have done. Instead of 姜 simply, we might have 姜氏 as in II. iii. 6, 8, et al.; but it is needless to find either praise or blame in the omission of the 氏.

Par. 3. See V. xxx. 3. These northern hordes seem to have become more and more restless and daring.

Par. 4. The relief of K'ang in the end of last year proved of little value. The Chuen says:—'When Ts'oo extinguished K'ang, the earl of Ts'in wore mourning an account of it; removed from his proper bed-chamber; and did not allow his table to be fully spread:—going beyond the regular bounds [of sorrow]. One of his great officers remonstrated with him, but he said, "When a State with whose lord I had covenanted is extinguished, although I could not save it, I dare not but feel compassion. And I fear for myself." The superior man will say that the words of the ode (She, III. i. Ode VII. 1)

'There were those two dynasties,  
But they failed in their government.  
Throughout all the States in all the kingdom,  
He examined, he exercised consideration.'

might be spoken of Muh of Ts'in.'

Par. 5. Tso-she says that in this invasion the marquis of Tsin besieged Yuen and Sin-shing, to repay Ts'in for the campaign of Wang-kwan;—see the Chuen on par. 3 of last year. The marquis of Tsin conducted the invasion in person. It is absurd to seek for any other reason for the text's saying so, and yet the K'ang-he editors express their agreement with Chang H'eah in the view that the marquis's title is here given to indicate the sage's emphatic condemnation of his persistence in hostilities!

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'Ning Woo of Wei having come to Loo with friendly inquiries, the duke was feasting with him, and had the "Heavy lies the dew," (She, II. ii. ode X.) and the "Red Bows" (She, II. iii. ode I), sung on his account. He did not protest against these odes, nor did he make answer with any other. The duke sent the officer of communication with envoys from other States to ask him privately [the reason of his conduct]. He replied, "I supposed that the musicians, in practising their art, happened to come to the two pieces. Formerly, when princes of States appeared at the king's court to receive instructions about their government, and the king gratified them with an entertainment, then the "Heavy lies the dew" was sung, the son of Heaven being the sun [There spoken of], and the princes receiving his commands, [As the dew is affected by the sun]. When they had battled with any against whom the king was angry, and were reporting their successful services, the king gave them a red bow with a hundred red arrows, and a black bow with a thousand arrows, to show how the feast was one of recompense. Now I, an officer of a State, am here to perpetuate the old friendship between Wei and Loo; and though his lordship condescends to bestow them, how dare I accept such grand honours to bring on myself the charge of crime?" Confucius has celebrated the virtue of Ning Woo in the Ana., V. xx., and especially a "stupidity that could not be equalled." The critics are fond of finding in the narrative of the Chuen an illustration of that stupidity.

Par. 7. Tso says that 'in winter Ch'ing Fung died,' Ch'ing being the title or epithet by which she was called after death. She had been a concubine of duke Chwang, and she is mentioned in two Chuen:—that in V. xxi. 5, and the 2d one appended to IV. ii. On her son's coming to be marquis she partook of his nobility (母以子貴), and she here appears as 夫人 or 'wife' of duke Chwang. She was of the House of Jin (任), which had the surname of Fung.

## Fifth year.

五年春王正月王使榮叔歸含且贈。三月辛亥葬我小君成風。夏公孫敖如晉。秦人入郛。秋楚人滅六。冬十月甲申許男業卒。

左傳曰：五年春，王使榮叔來含且贈。召昭公來會葬，禮也。初，郛叛楚，即秦，又貳於楚。夏，秦人入郛。六人叛楚，即東夷，秋，楚成大心、仲歸帥師滅六。冬，楚公子變滅蓼，滅文仲。聞六與蓼滅，曰：「皇陶庭堅，不祀，忽諸，德之不建，民之無援，哀哉。」晉陽處父聘于衛，反過甯，甯嬴從之，及溫而還。其妻問之，嬴曰：「以剛商書曰：『沈漸剛克，高明柔克。』夫子壹之，其不沒乎？天爲剛德，猶不干時，況在人乎？且華而不實，怨之所聚也，犯而聚怨，不可以定身。余懼不獲其利，而離其難，是以去之。」晉趙成子、欒貞子、霍伯、白季皆卒。

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the king sent Shuh of Yung, with mouth-jewels and a carriage and horses [for the funeral of Ch'ing Fung.]  
 2 In the third month, on Sin-hae, we buried our duchess, Ch'ing Fung.  
 3 The king sent the earl of Shaou to be present at the burial.  
 4 In summer, Kung-sun Gaou went to Tsin.  
 5 A body of men from Ts'in entered Joh.  
 6 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Luh.  
 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on K'eah-shin, Yeh, baron of Heu, died.

Par. 1. Comp. I. i. 4, and III. i. 6. On the former of these passage 贈 is explained. 含 was the name of certain jewels.—Too calls them 珠玉, 'pearls and gems,'—which were put into the mouth of the corpse (口實). A Yung Shuh was the king's messenger, mentioned in the second passage referred to, as well as here; but it could not be the same man. The messenger on

this occasion was probably a son of the former. On that passage, Too Yu says that Yung was the 氏 or clan-name. Here Fan Ning says that Yung Shuh was a great officer of the 1st rank in the service of the king, and that Yung was the name of his 采邑, or the territory from which he derived his revenue. This is probably correct, but the name of the territory became the clan-name of the family. The 且 between

舍 and 贈 intimates, acc. to Kung and Kuh, that the two gifts were distinct, and that each should have been conveyed by its proper envoy, while here they were both entrusted to Yung Shuh;—contrary to rule. But this criticism is more than doubtful. The K'ang-he editors, after a host of critics, see, in the omission of 天 before 王, a strong expression of the sage's condemnation of the king in thus sanctioning the elevation of duke Chwang's concubine to the rank of wife. This criticism is no more valuable than the former.

Par. 2. Comp. III. xxii. 2. As the lady Fung was now regarded as duke Chwang's wife, there is no difficulty with the terms of this paragraph. Hoo Gan-kwoh, indeed, says that this would involve a further departure from the rules of propriety, as there would be the spirit-tablets of two wives to go into duke Chwang's temple-shrine. It is admitted that in the shrine of a king only the tablet of his proper queen could be placed; but the tablets admissible into the shrines of great officers were not so limited; and what the rule was in regard to princes of States and their wives is not ascertained. See Maou K'e-ling in loc.

Par. 3. For 召伯 Kuh-l'ang has 毛伯. The earl of Shaou was a minister of the king, who derived his revenue from Shaou, in the present dis. of Yuen-k'eh (垣曲), K'ang Chow (絳州), Shan-se. Tso-she says his mission was according to rule, as well as that of Yung Shuh, in par. 1;—an opinion vehemently disputed by many of the critics.

Par. 4. The Chuen says nothing about this mission. Kaou K'ang (高閼) and other critics dwell with justice on the court Loo paid to Tsin, while no messenger went to Chow to acknowledge all the king's favours.

Par. 5. Joh was at this time a small State in the south-west of the pres. dis. of Neu-h'ang (內鄉), dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. It was

afterwards removed by Ts'oo farther south, to the dis. of E-shing (宜城) dep. S'ang-yang, Hoo-pih. See the Chuen on V. xxv. 5. The Chuen here says:—'Before this, Joh had revolted from Ts'oo, and become an adherent of Ts'in. Now it was inclining again to Ts'oo, and in the summer, a body of men from Ts'in entered it.'

Par. 6. Luh was a small State,—in the pres. Chow of Luh-gan (六安州), Gan-hwuy.

Its lords were Yens (偃), representatives of the ancient Kaou-yaou. The Chuen says:—'The people of Luh had revolted from Ts'oo, and joined the E of the east. In autumn, therefore, Ch'ing Ta-sin and Chung-kwei, of Ts'oo led a force and extinguished Luh. In winter, Kung-tze S'eh of Ts'oo extinguished L'eaou. When Tsang Wan-chung heard of the extinction of the two States, he said, "Thus suddenly have ceased the sacrifices to Kaou-yaou T'ing-k'een [See on the title of Bk. iii., Pt. II. of the Shoo]! Alas that the virtue [of their lords] was not established, and that there was no help for the people!"'

Par. 7. This was duke He; he was succeeded by his son, Seih-go (錫我). [The Chuen appends here:—'Yang Ch'oo-foo of Tsin had gone to Wei on a mission of friendly inquiries, and on his return passed by Ning. Ying of Ning followed him, but returned when they had got to Wan. His wife asked him [why he had left Yang Ch'oo-foo so soon], and he replied, "Because of his hard rigour. In the Shang Shoo [See the Shoo, V. iv. 17] it is said, "For the reserved and retiring there is the rigorous rule; for the lofty and intelligent there is the mild rule." This officer is all for rigour;—he will probably not die a natural death. Heaven displays the virtue of rigour, yet not so as to disturb the seasons;—how much more should this be the case with men! Moreover, round a man of flowers without fruit resentments will collect. Coming into collision with men, and the object of many resentments, he will not be able to maintain himself. I was afraid I should not share in advantages he might secure, but would be involved in his difficulties, and so I left him."']

There is added an additional short notice:—'At this time, the officers of Tsin, Ch'ao Ch'ing [Ch'ao Ts'uy, general of the 1st army], Lwan Ch'ing [Lwan Che, general of the 3d army], Hoh Pih [S'een Tseu-keu, general of the army of the centre], and K'ew Ke [Seu Shin, assistant-general of the 3d army], all died.'

## Sixth year.

六年春，公夏季葬許僖。行父如陳。秋季，行父如晉。八月乙亥，葬我小君成風。

亥，晉侯驩卒。  
冬十月，公子遂如晉葬晉襄公。  
晉殺其大夫陽處父。  
晉狐射姑出奔狄。  
閏月不告月，猶朝于廟。

③左傳曰：六年春，晉蒐于夷，舍二軍，使狐射姑將中軍，趙盾佐之。陽處父至自溫，改蒐于董，易中軍。陽子，成季之屬也，故黨於趙氏。且謂趙盾能，曰：「使能國之利也。」是以上之宣子，於是乎始爲國政，制事典，正法罪，辟獄刑，董逋逃，由質要，治舊沔，本秩禮，續常職，出滯淹，既成，以授大傅陽子，與大師賈佗，使行諸晉國，以爲常法。

④秦伯任好卒，以子車氏之三子奄息、仲行、鍼虎爲殉，皆秦之良也。國人哀之，爲之賦黃鳥。君子曰：秦穆之不爲盟主也，宜哉！死而棄民，先王違世，猶詒之法，而況奪之善人乎？詩曰：人之云亡，邦國殄瘁，無善人之謂。若之何奪之古之王者，知命之不長，是以竝建聖哲，樹之風聲，分之采物，著之語言，爲之律度，陳之藝極，引之表儀，予之法，制告之訓典，教之防利，委之常秩，道之以禮，則使母失其土宜，衆隸賴之，而後即命。聖王同之，今縱無法以遺後嗣，而又收其良以死，難以在上矣。君子是以知秦之不復東征也。

秋，季文子將聘於晉，使求遭喪之禮以行。其人曰：「將焉用之？」文子曰：「備豫不虞，古之善教也，求而無之，實難，過求何害？」

八月乙亥，晉襄公卒。靈公少，晉人以難故，欲立長君。趙孟曰：「立公子雍，好善而長，先君愛之，且近於秦，秦舊好也，置善則固，事長則順，立愛則孝，結舊則安，爲難故，故欲立長君，有此四德者，難必抒矣。」賈季曰：「不如立公子樂。」辰嬴嬖於二君，立其子，民必安之。趙孟曰：「辰嬴賤，班在九人，其子何震之有，且爲二嬖淫也，爲先君子，不能求大。」

而出在小國，辟也。母淫子辟，無威，陳小而遠，無援，將何安焉？杜祁以君故，讓偃姑而上之，以狄故，讓季隗而已。次之，故班在四。先君是以愛其子而仕諸秦，爲亞卿焉。秦大而近，足以爲援，母義子愛，足以威民，立之不亦可乎？使先蔑士會如秦，逆公子雍。賈季亦使召公子樂于陳，趙孟使殺諸郕。

冬十月，襄仲如晉葬襄公。

賈季怨陽子之易其班也，而知其無援於晉也。九月，賈季使續鞠居殺陽處父。書曰：「晉殺其大夫，侵官也。」十一月丙寅，晉殺續簡伯。賈季奔狄，宣子使夷駢送其帑。夷之蒐，賈季戮夷駢，夷駢之人欲盡殺賈氏以報焉。夷駢曰：「不可，吾聞前志有之，曰：敵惠敵怨，不在後嗣，忠之道也。夫子禮於賈季，我以其寵報私怨，無乃不可乎？介人之寵，非勇也，損怨益仇，非知也，以私害公，非忠也，釋此三者，何以事夫子？盡具其帑與其器用財賄，親帥扞之，送致諸竟。」

閏月不告朔，非禮也。閏以正時，時以作事，事以厚生，生民之道，於是乎在矣。不告閏朔，棄時政也，何以爲民。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke He of Heu.  
2 In summer, Ke-sun Hǎng-foo went to Ch'in.  
3 In autumn, Ke-sun Hǎng-foo went to Tsin.  
4 In the eighth month, on Yih-hae, Hwan, marquis of Tsin, died.  
5 In winter, in the tenth month, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Tsin, to [be present at] the burial of duke Sēang of Tsin.  
6 Tsin put to death its great officer, Yang Ch'oo-foo.  
7 Hoo Yih-koo of Tsin fled to the Teih.  
8 In the intercalary month, [the duke] did not inaugurate the month with the usual ceremonies, but still he appeared in the ancestral temple.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here:—In the 6th year, in spring, Tsin had a military review in E, and disbanded two of its [five] armies [See the Chuen after V. xxxi. 6. The death of so many of its great officers, mentioned in the previous notice, rendered this disbandment necessary]. The marquis appointed Hoo Yih-koo to the command of the 2d or army of the centre [In room of Sēn Tseu-keu], with Chaou Tun as assistant commander. When Yang Ch'oo-foo came from Wán [See the first Chuen at the end of last year], there was a second review at Tung, when these appointments were changed. Yang

had been attached as assistant to Ch'ing-ke [Chaou Ts'uy, the father of Tun. Ch'ing is the hon. title, and Ke is the designation], and was therefore a partizan of the Chaou family. Considering, moreover, the ability of Chaou Tun, he said that to employ so able a man would be advantageous to the State. On this account Tun was advanced above [Yih-koo], and now he, the officer Seuen (宣) was afterwards Tun's honorary title, began to administer the government of the State. He appointed regular rules for the various departments of business; adjusted

the laws for the various degrees of crime; regulated all criminal and civil actions at law; searched out runaways; ordered the employment of securities and bonds; dealt with old ordinances that had fallen into foul disorder; restored to their original order the distinctions of rank; renewed according to their normal pattern offices that had fallen into disuse; brought out men whose path had been stopped, and who were in obscurity. When he had completed his regulations, he delivered them to the grand-assistant, Yang, and the grand-master, K'ea T'o, that they might have them carried into practice in the State of Ts'in, as its regular laws.]

Par. 2. Too says that this H'ang-foo was the grand-son of Y'ew, who is first mentioned in III. xxv. 6, and who subsequently played a most important part in the affairs of Loo. He was either his grandson, or great grandson;—which of the two is uncertain. The Chuen says:—“Tsang W'an-chung, looking at the good relations of Ch'in and Wei, wished to seek the friendship of Ch'in [for Loo]. In summer, therefore, Ke W'an [W'an was H'ang-foo's posthumous title; see Ana. V. xix.] went on a friendly mission to Ch'in, marrying there himself at the same time.”

[There is a narrative about Ts'in appended here:—“Jin-haou, the earl of Ts'in, died, and the three sons of Tsze-keu, Yen-seih, Chung-hang, and K'een-hoo, were buried alive along with him. They were known as the three good men of Ts'in; and the people bewailed their fate in the strains of the ode called “The Yellow Birds (She, I. xi. VI.)” The superior man says, “It was right that Muh of Ts'in should not be master of covenants [i.e., leader of the States]! In his death he threw away the lives of his people. When the ancient kings left the world, they yet left behind them a good example;—would they ever have snatched away from it its good men? The words of the ode (She, III. iii. ode X. 5),

“Men there are not,  
And the empire must go to ruin  
and misery,”

have reference to the want of good men. What shall be said of this case when such men were taken away? The ancient kings, knowing that their life would not be long, largely established the sagely and wise [as princes and officers]; planted their instructions in the soil of the manners [of the people]; instituted the several modes of distinguishing rank and character; published excellent lessons; made the standard tubes and measures; showed [the people] the exact amount of their contributions; led them on by the rules of deportment; gave them the rules of their own example; declared to them the instructions and statutes [of their predecessors]; taught them to guard [against what was evil] and obtain what was advantageous; employed for them the regular duties [of the several officers]; and led them on by the rules of propriety:—thus securing that the earth should yield its proper increase, and that all below them might sufficiently depend on them. It was after they had done all this that those ancient kings went to their end. Succeeding sage kings have acted in the same way. But now, granting that duke Muh had no such example to leave to his posterity, yet when he proceeded to take away the

good with him in his death, it would have been hard for him to be in the highest place. The superior man might know from this that Ts'in would not again march in triumph to the east.”

Alas for this prognostication of Tso-she, so falsified by the future history of Ts'in!]

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—“In autumn, when Ke W'an was about to go on a mission of friendly inquiries to Ts'in, he caused inquiry to be made for him into all the observances to be practised on occasion of a death [Having heard that the marquis of Ts'in was ill.] One of his people said to him, “Of what use will it be?” when he replied, “To be prepared beforehand, so as to have no occasion for anxiety, is a good old lesson. To have to seek for the rules, and not be able to find them, would be a hard case. If I go beyond what is necessary in searching for them now, what harm can it do?” Too and other critics find in this an illustration of Ke W'an's “thinking thrice,” which is mentioned in the Analects.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—“When duke S'ang died, his son, duke Ling was still young, and the people of Ts'in, fearing the difficulties that might arise, wished to have a grown up ruler appointed. Chaou M'ang [M'ang was the designation of Chaou Tun] said, “Let us appoint duke W'an's son, Yung. He is fond of what is good, and is grown up; our former marquis loved him; he is near at hand in Ts'in; and Ts'in is our old friend. By the appointment of a good man, the State will be strengthened. In serving the elder, we shall follow the natural order. In calling the loved son to the State, we act a filial part. And by binding anew the old ties of friendship, we shall secure our repose. Because of the difficulties with which the State is threatened, we wish to call a grown up ruler to its head, and with Yung, possessed of these four advantages, those difficulties will be removed.” K'ea Ke [Hoo Yih-koo] said, “Our better plan will be to appoint duke W'an's son, Loh. Shin Ying enjoyed the favours of two marquises [See the Chuen to V. xxiii. 4]; if we raise her son to be our ruler, the people will repose under him.” Chaou M'ang replied, “Shin Ying was mean, her rank being only ninth in the harem;—what feeling of majesty can her son inspire? And she was the favourite of two marquises;—therein was lewdness. He, moreover, though the son of our former marquis, was unable to find the patronage of a great State, but went out to a small State, a long way off. His mother lewd, and himself far away, without majesty, Ch'in small and distant, incapable of helping him, what grounds are there for reposing under him? The lady K'e of Too [The mother of Yung], out of regard to our marquis just deceased, yielded her place to K'eih of Pih [duke S'ang's mother]; and out of regard to the [kindness shown to duke W'an by the] Teih, she yielded again in favour of Ke Wei, making herself only the 4th in the harem. On these accounts our former ruler loved her son, and sent him to serve in Ts'in, where he has been a minister of the second rank. Considering that Ts'in is a great State and near at hand, able to afford him support; considering also how the righteousness of his mother and the love of his father are sufficient to awe the people, will it not be right to call him to the head

of the State?” After this, Tun sent S'een M'eh and Sze Hwuy to Ts'in to bring the prince Yung to Ts'in, while K'ea Ke sent also to call prince Loh from Ch'in. Ch'au M'ang, however, caused Loh to be put to death [on the way] at Pe. For 馬龍 Kung-yang has 謂.

Par. 5. The K'ang-he editors make this into two paragraphs, the second beginning with 葬. Tso-she, however, considered the whole as one, as is evident from his brief note, that “S'ang-chung went to Ts'in, to bury duke S'ang.”

Par. 6, 7. The K'ang-he editors give these paragraphs as one, but I think it is better to follow the arrangement of Kuh-l'ang. He also has 夜 instead of 射. The Chuen says:—

“K'ea Ke resented Yang's causing him to be superseded in the command of the army of the centre [See the Chuen after p. 1]; and knowing that he had not friends to succour him in Ts'in, in the 9th month, he employed Suh Kuh-keu [Belonged to a branch of the Hoo family] to kill him. The language of the text, that “Ts'in put to death its great officer,” is because Yang had interfered with the offices of others. In the 11th month, on Ping-yin, Ts'in put Suh K'een-pih [Kuh-keu] to death, on which K'ea Ke fled to the Teih. Chaou M'ang [Called the officer Seuen; see the Chuen after p. 1.] by and by employed Yu P'ien, to escort his family to join him there. Now at the grand review in E, K'ea Ke had disgraced Yu P'ien, whose people wished on this occasion to put all Ke's family to death in repayment of that injury. But he said, “No. I have heard that it is contained in an old book, that neither kindness nor wrong can be repaid in the persons of a man's children; and that is a principle with leal-hearted people. My master [Chaou M'ang] is behaving courteously to K'ea Ke, and would it not be bad if I took advantage of his favour to myself to avenge my private wrong? To depend on another's favour [to do this] would not show bravery. In satisfying my own resentment, to increase the number of my enemies [By making Chaou M'ang his foe] would not show knowledge. To injure the public service for my private ends would not show loyalty. If I let go these three qualities, wherewith should I do service to my master?” So he collected all the members of K'ea Ke's family, his household stuff, and his treas-

ures, led the protecting force in person, and conveyed them to the borders [of the Teih].

It appears from the Chuen that the death of Yang Ch'oo-foo was procured by Hoo Yih-koo; and it is difficult to account for the language of the text which ascribes it to “Ts'in,”—to the act of the State. Tso-she's explanation is altogether unsatisfactory. In advising duke S'ang to supersede the less able by the abler man, Yang had only done his duty; and whether it were so or not, his action affords no explanation of the ascription of this death to Ts'in. Kaou K'ang says the record of the flight of Hoo Yih-koo, immediately after that of the death of Yang, sufficiently shows that he was the murderer; but this does not account for the 晉殺.

Kung-yang relates that duke S'ang told K'ea Ke that he superseded him on the representation of Yang; and some, accepting this account, hold that by the “Ts'in” we are to understand duke S'ang, who was now deceased! I can suggest nothing myself as a solution of the difficulty.

Par. 8. Tso-she says:—“Not to inaugurate solemnly the first day of the intercalary month was an infringement of the proper rule. The intercalary month is intended to adjust the seasons. The observance of the seasons is necessary for the performance of the labours of the year. It is those labours by which provision is made for the necessities of life. Herein then lies the caring for the lives of the people. Not to inaugurate properly the intercalary month was to set aside the regulation of the seasons;—what government of the people could there be in such a case?”

The inauguration of the month intended seems to be the offering of a sheep, alluded to in Ana. III. xvii. After this ceremony, the duke, it would appear, presented himself before the shrines of his ancestors, with what ceremonies we are not told; and this over, he proceeded to give audience to his officers. Maou K'e-ling thinks that that audience and the attention to the government which it implied is what is here intended by 朝于廟; but

I cannot think so. The 猶 indicates that the ceremony which follows was less important than that which precedes it, which could not be said of attention to the business of the government.

Seventh year.

七年春，公伐  
邾。三月，甲戌，取  
須句，遂城郛。  
夏四月，宋公  
王臣卒。  
宋人殺其大  
將。戊子，晉人及  
秦人戰于令  
狐。



其器用財賄於秦，曰：爲同寮故也。士會在秦，三年不見士伯，其人曰：能亡人於國，不能見於此，焉用之？士季曰：吾與之同罪，非義之也，將何見焉？及歸，遂不見。

狄侵我西鄙。公使告于晉，趙宣子使因賈季問鄆舒，且讓之。鄆舒問於賈季，曰：趙衰、趙盾孰賢？對曰：趙衰，冬日之日也；趙盾，夏日之日也。

秋，八月，齊侯、宋公、衛侯、陳侯、鄭伯、許男、曹伯會晉趙盾，盟于扈。晉侯立故也。公後至，故不書所會。凡會諸侯，不書所會，後至不書其國，辟不敏也。

穆伯娶于莒，曰戴己，生文伯。其娣聲己，生惠叔。戴己卒，又聘于莒。莒人以聲己辭，則爲襄仲聘焉。冬，徐伐莒。莒人來請盟，穆伯如莒，泄盟。且爲仲逆，及鄆陵，登城見之，美自爲娶之。仲請攻之，公將許之。叔仲惠伯諫曰：臣聞之，兵作於內爲亂，於外爲寇。寇猶及人，亂自及也。今臣作亂，而君不禁，以啟寇讐，若之何？公止之。惠伯成之，使仲舍之。公孫敖反之，復爲兄弟如初，從之。

晉卻缺言於趙宣子曰：日衛不睦，故取其地。今已睦矣，可以歸之。叛而不討，何以示威？服而不柔，何以示懷？非威非懷，何以示德？無德，何以主盟？子爲正卿，以主諸侯，而不務德，將若之何？夏，書曰：戒之用休，董之用威，勸之以九歌，勿使壞。九功之德，皆可歌也，謂之九歌。六府三事，謂之九功。水、火、金、木、土、穀，謂之六府。正德、利用、厚生，謂之三事。義而行之，謂之德禮。無禮不樂，所由叛也。若吾子之德，莫可歌也，其誰來之？盍使睦者歌吾子乎？宣子說之。

- VII.
- 1 In his seventh year, in spring, the duke invaded Choo.
  - 2 In the third month, on K'eah-suh, he took Seu-k'eu, and went on in consequence to wall Woo.
  - 3 In summer, in the fourth month, Wang-shin, duke of Sung, died.
  - 4 The people of Sung put to death [some of] their great officers.
  - 5 On Mow-tsze, an army of Tsin and one of Ts'in fought a battle at Ling-hoo.
  - 6 S'een M'eh of Tsin fled to Ts'in.
  - 7 The Teih made an incursion into our western borders.
  - 8 In autumn, in the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with other princes and a great officer of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Hoo.

晉先蔑奔秦。

秦。

狄侵我西鄙。

鄙。

秋八月，公會諸侯，晉。

會諸侯，晉。

大夫盟于扈。

扈。

冬，徐伐莒。

公孫敖如莒，泄盟。

莒泄盟。

左傳曰：七年，春，公伐邾，聞晉難也。

三月，甲戌，取須句。寅文公子焉，非禮也。

夏四月，宋成公卒。於是公子成爲右師，公孫友爲左師，樂豫爲司馬，鱗臯爲司徒，公子蕩爲司城，華御事爲司寇。昭公將去羣公子，樂豫曰：不可。公族，公室之枝葉也。若去之，則本根無所庇蔭矣。葛藟猶能庇其本根，故君子以爲比。況國君乎？此諺所謂庇焉而縱焉者也。必不可。君其圖之。親之以德，皆股肱也。誰敢攜貳？若之何？去之不聽。穆襄之族，率國人以攻公，殺公孫固、公孫鄭于公宮。六卿和公室，樂豫舍司馬，以讓公子卬。昭公卽位而葬。書曰：宋人殺其大夫，不稱名，衆也。且言非其罪也。

秦康公送公子雍于晉，曰：文公之入也，無衛，故有呂卻之難。乃多與之徒衛。穆嬴日抱大子以啼于朝，曰：先君何罪，其嗣亦何罪，舍適嗣不立，而外求君，將焉寘此？出朝，則抱以適趙氏。頓首於宣子曰：先君奉此子也，而屬諸子，曰：此子也才。吾受子之賜，不才，吾唯子之怨。今君雖終，言猶在耳，而棄之若何？宣子與諸大夫皆患穆嬴，且畏偪，乃脅先蔑而立靈公，以禦秦師。箕鄭居守，趙盾將中軍，先克佐之。荀林父佐上軍，先蔑將下軍，先都佐之。步招御戎，戎津爲右。及萇，陰宣子曰：我若受秦，秦則賓也，不受，寇也。既不受矣，而復緩師，秦將生心。先人有奪人之心，軍之善謀也。逐寇如追逃，軍之善政也。訓卒利兵，秣馬蓐食，潛師夜起，戊子，敗秦師于令狐。至于刳首，己丑，先蔑奔秦。士會從之。先蔑之使也，荀林父止之，曰：夫人犬子猶在，而外求君，此必不行。子以疾辭。若何？不然，將及，攝卿以往，可也。何必子同官爲寮，吾嘗同寮，敢不盡心乎？弗聽。爲賦板之三章，又弗聽。及亡，荀伯盡送其帑，及

9 In winter, Seu invaded Keu.  
10 Kung-sun Gaou went to Keu to superintend a covenant.

Par. 1. Tso says the duke made this movement, 'taking the opportunity of the difficulties of Ts'in.'

Par. 2. Seu-k'eu (Kung-yang has 須胸), —see V. xxii. 1. It was originally a *Foo-yung* of Loo. Choo had taken and appropriated it; and duke He took it from Choo, as related in that par., and restored its proper ruler. Choo, it would seem, had taken it a second time, and duke Wan again reclaimed it, but not to restore it to its original holders. 'He placed over it,' says the Chuen, 'a son of duke Wan [of Choo];—which was contrary to rule.' This scion of Choo had fled from his own State, where he had attempted to overturn the government, and taken refuge in Loo. He was now made governor of Seu-k'eu, absorbed by Loo, which thus extinguished the sacrifice that had been there maintained to Fuh-he. Woo was a town of Loo,—in the south-east of the dis. of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow. Loo now proceeded to wall it, as a precaution against reprisals from Choo.

Par. 3. For 王臣 Kuh-läng has 王臣. We have no subsequent entry of this duke's burial, probably because of the confusion into which Sung fell after his death, in which the ceremony was irregularly performed. Wang-shin became duke Ch'ing.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'In the 4th month, duke Ch'ing of Sung died. At this time, duke Chuang's son, Ch'ing, commanded the army of the right, and Kung-sun Yëw [A Son of Muh-e; —see the narrative at the end of V. viii.] that of the left; Loh Yu was minister of War; Lin Kwan, minister of Instruction; duke Hwan's son, Tang, minister of Works; and Hwa Yu-sze, minister of Crime. Duke Ch'au [Who had succeeded to his father] wished to make away with some of the sons of former dukes, but Loh Yu said to him, "No. The various clans of the ducal House are its branches and leaves. If you remove them, the root and trunk will have no shelter or shade. Even the dolichos and other creepers can give sheltering protection to their root and stem, so that the superior man could use them by way of comparison [See the She, I. vi. ode VII.]; how much more should rulers of States do so! Your project is like what the common saying describes, 'He should protect it, and he allows the measuring line and axe to cut it down.' It is entirely to be condemned. Cherish them by your kindness, and they will be arms and legs to you;—which of them will dare to cherish disaffection? Why should you think of removing them out of the way?" The duke would not listen to this counsel. The clans therefore of Muh and S'ang [i. e., the descendants of those two dukes] led the people of the State to attack the duke, and killed Kung-sun Koo and Kung-sun Ch'ing in his palace. The six ministers succeeded in bringing the ducal house to harmony, and Loh Yu resigned his office as minister of War, in favour of the duke's brother, Gang. Duke Ch'au then took the seat of his father, and buried him. The text says that the people of Sung put their great officers to death, without mentioning the

names of those who did so, or of the sufferers, because they were many; it intimates also that the sufferers were not criminals.' Tso-she's explanation of the terms of the text is not satisfactory. Maou K'e-ling says better, 'The text does not give the names of the slayers and the slain, the historiographers having ascertained neither who the former were, nor for what cause the latter suffered. Hence the summariness of the language.' I have made the translation in accordance with this criticism.

Par. 5.6. For 茂 Kung-yang has 昧, and before 奔 he has the characters 以師. Ling-hoo was in Ts'in,—in the pres. dis. of E-she ( 侯氏), dep. P'oo-chow, Shan-se. The Chuen says:—'Duke K'ang of Ts'in sent an escort with duke Wan's son Yung to Ts'in, saying, "When duke Wan entered Ts'in [in the 24th year of duke He], he had no sufficient guard with him, and hence came his difficulties from Leu and K'eh." He therefore gave Yung a numerous guard of troops.'

'In the meantime, Muh Ying carried her son,—the eldest son of the late marquis,—every day in her arms to the court, and wept there, saying, "What crime had the late marquis? and what crime has this child, his heir? In passing by the proper heir, not raising him to his father's place, and in seeking a ruler from abroad, what will you do with this child?" When she left the court, she carried her son to the mansion of the Chaos, and with her head bowed to the ground before Chaou Seu, she said to him, "The late marquis took this child, and committed him to you, saying, 'Should this child turn out a man of ability, I shall receive it as your gift. Should he not do so, I shall have have occasion to resent [your neglect of his training].' Now, though the marquis be deceased, his words must still be in your ears;—how is it that you have abandoned his son?" Chaou Seu and the other great officers were troubled by this conduct of Muh Ying, and were afraid of pressure from the people [Taking sides with her]. They accordingly turned their backs on S'een M'eh [and his mission to Ts'in], declared the child—duke Ling,—successor to the State, and took measures to oppose the army of Ts'in.

'Ke Ch'ing remained at the capital in charge of the government. Chaou Tun himself went in command of the army of the centre, with S'een K'ih as assistant commander. Seun Lin-foo went with the 1st army, its assistant commander [Ke Ch'ing, who had the chief command of it remaining at court]. S'een M'eh [Having returned to Ts'in] was in command of the 3d army, and S'een Too was the assistant commander. Poo Chaou was charioteer, and Jung Ts'in was spearman on the right.

'When they came to Kin-yin, Chaou Seu said, "If we were to receive [Yung whom] Ts'in [is escorting], Ts'in would be our guest. If we do not receive him, Ts'in is our invader. As we do not receive him, if we be further dilatory in our measures, Ts'in will be led to suspect us. To be beforehand with others takes the

heart out of them;—this is a good plan in war. To drive out an invader as if we were pursuing fugitives;—this is a good rule of action." He instructed the soldiers therefore to sharpen their weapons and feed their horses, to take a good meal on their beds, and, with all arrangements for silence and secrecy, to start while it was yet dark. In this way, on Maou-tsze he defeated the army of Ts'in at Hoo-ling, and pursued it to K'oo-show. On Ke-ch'ow, S'een M'eh fled to Ts'in, and Sze Hwuy followed him.

'When S'een M'eh was sent on his mission to Ts'in, Seun Lin-foo had tried to stop him, saying, 'The [late marquis's] wife and son are still here, and we are seeking a ruler abroad; this scheme will not succeed. What do you say to declining the mission on the plea of illness? If you do not do so, you will meet with calamity. Get another special minister to go in your place;—why must you go? Officers of the same department are comrades; I have been your comrade, and feel compelled to advise you thus with all my heart.' M'eh would not listen to this, and the other sang to him the 3d stanza of the Pan ode [She, III. ii. Ode X.] Still he would not hear him. When he became a fugitive, Seun Pih [Lin-foo] escorted to him in Ts'in all his family, with his household stuff, and treasures, saying, "It is because of our comradeship." Sze Hwuy was in Ts'in for 3 years without seeing Sze Pih [S'een M'eh]. One of his people said to him, "You could become a fugitive with him from Ts'in, and you cannot see him here! What is the reason of this?" Sze Ke [Ke was Hwuy's designation] replied, "I was in the same condemnation with him; it was not because I deemed him righteous [that I followed him];—why should I see him?" And up to the time of his return to Ts'in, he did not see him.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'On this occasion, the duke sent word of the incursion to Ts'in. Chaou Seu sent a messenger, who, by means of K'ea Ke, asked Fung Shoo [The chief minister of the Teih] about it, and reproved him. Fung Shoo asked K'ea Ke which was the superior of the two, Chaou Ts'uy or Chaou Tun. K'ea Ke replied, "Chaou Ts'uy was the sun of a winter's day [To be cherished]; Chaou Tun is the sun of a summer's [To be shrunk from]."

Par. 8. Hoo was in Ch'ing,—in the north-west of the pres. dis. of Yuen-woo, dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'In the 8th month, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'au, had a meeting with Ch'au Tun of Ts'in, when they made a covenant in Hoo;—having reference to the accession of the new marquis of Ts'in. The duke arrived afterwards, and therefore the text does not say with whom he met. In all cases of any of our dukes meeting with other princes, when it is not said who these were, it must be understood that the duke came late. The reason why in such case the States are not given is to conceal the duke's want of diligence.' The canon which Tso here lays down for the explanation of the text has been called in question by L'ew Ch'ang and Sun K'eh. Most of the critics, however, accede to it. To me it seems very questionable.

Par. 9. Too Yu accounts for the brevity of this par., where only the name Seu is given without any mention of the leader, on the sup-

position that the historiographers recorded the notice as it was received from Seu, which was too barbarous a State to draw up an announcement of the kind in the proper form. L'ew Ch'ang, however, argues, from the statement in the Chuen on the next par., that Keu sent, on the invasion of Seu, to ask a covenant with Loo, and that the announcement came from it;—which is much more likely, and sufficiently accounts for the brevity of the notice.

Par. 10. Kung and Kuh have 蒞 for 蒞. The Chuen says:—'Muh-pih [Kung-sun Gaou] had married a wife from Keu, called Tae Sze [己 in the text should probably be 巳] who bore to him Wan-pih. Her sister Shing Sze bore him Hwuy-shuh. On the death of Tae Sze he made proposals for another wife from Keu, but the party concerned in Keu declined them on the ground that Shing Ke was still alive, on which he made the proposal, on behalf of [his cousin] S'ang-chung [Kung-tsze Suy]. This winter, when Seu invaded Keu, they sent from Keu to Loo, begging for a covenant, and Muh-pih went to Keu to superintend the making of it, and at the same time to meet the lady for S'ang-chung. When he got to Yen-ling, having gone up on the wall of the city, [he saw her that] she was beautiful, and married her himself. Chung asked leave to attack him from the duke, who was about to give his consent, when Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih [A grandson of Kung-tsze Ya, who was murdered in Chwang's 32d year; a brother of Shuh-sun Tih-shin of I. 7. From him came the Shuh-chung family] remonstrated, saying, "Your servant has heard that hostilities within the State produce rebellion, while hostilities from without are from enemies. In dealing with enemies, you have still to do with strangers; in dealing with rebels, you are arrayed against yourself. Now a subject is going to produce confusion, and your lordship does not hinder him; and when the thing goes on to lead to hostile attacks [from without], what can be said?" The duke on this stopped Chung's movement, and Hwuy-pih reconciled the two officers, advising Chung to give up his claim to the lady, and Kung-sun Gaou to send her back to Keu, and that they should again be brothers as before. They followed his counsel.'

[The Chuen appends here:—'K'eh Keueh of Ts'in said to Chaou Seu, "Years ago, Wei being on bad terms with us, we took part of its territory [See the 1st year, par. 7]. Now it is on good terms with us, and we may restore the territory. When a State revolts from us, if we do not punish it, how can we display our majesty? When it submits, if we do not deal kindly with it, how can we display our indulgence? Without that majesty and indulgence, how can we display our virtue? And without virtue, how can we preside over the covenants [of the States]? You are our chief minister, the director of all the princes; and if you do not make it your object to manifest such virtue, what will be the consequence? It is said in one of the Books of H'ea [or Yu; see the Shoo, II. ii. 7], "Caution them with gentle words; correct them with the majesty of law; stimulate them with the nine songs;—in order, that your success may never suffer diminution." There are the virtues seen in the nine services, all of

which may be sung; and they are called the nine songs. There are the six magazines and three businesses, which are called the nine services. Water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and grain, are called the six magazines. The rectification of the people's virtue, the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation, are called the three businesses. The

accomplishment of them with righteousness shows the possession of propriety. The want of this propriety, leading to dissatisfaction, is what produces revolt. If the virtue of you, Sir, cannot be sung, who will be attracted by you? Why not make those who are now on good terms with you sing you?" Chaou Seu-en was pleased with this counsel.]

*Eighth year.*

八年<sup>一章</sup>春王正月<sup>二章</sup>夏四月<sup>三章</sup>。  
 秋<sup>四章</sup>八月<sup>五章</sup>戊申<sup>六章</sup>天王崩<sup>七章</sup>。  
 冬<sup>八章</sup>十月<sup>九章</sup>壬午<sup>十章</sup>公子遂會晉趙盾<sup>十一章</sup>。  
 盟于衡雍<sup>十二章</sup>。  
 乙酉<sup>十三章</sup>公子遂會雒戎<sup>十四章</sup>盟于暴<sup>十五章</sup>。  
 公孫敖如京師<sup>十六章</sup>不至而復<sup>十七章</sup>丙戌<sup>十八章</sup>。  
 奔莒<sup>十九章</sup>。  
 宋人殺其大夫司馬<sup>二十章</sup>宋司城來<sup>二十一章</sup>。

左傳曰八年春晉侯使解揚歸匡戚之田於衛且復致公壻池之封自申至于虎牢之竟。夏秦人伐晉取武城以報令狐之役。秋襄王崩。晉人以扈之盟來討冬襄仲會晉趙孟盟于衡雍報扈之盟也。遂會伊雒之戎書曰公子遂珍之也。穆伯如周弔喪不至以幣奔莒從已氏焉。宋襄夫人襄王之姊也昭公不禮焉夫人因戴氏之族以殺襄公之孫孔叔公孫鍾離及大司馬公子卬皆昭公之黨也司馬握節以死故書以官司城蕩意

諸來奔效節於  
 府人而出公以  
 其官逆之皆復  
 之亦書以官皆  
 貴之也。  
 夷之蒐晉侯  
 將登箕鄭爰先  
 都而使士穀梁  
 益耳將中軍先  
 克曰狐趙之勳  
 不可廢也從之  
 先克奪蒯得田  
 于董陰故箕鄭  
 父先都士穀梁  
 益耳蒯得作亂

- VIII. 1 It was the [duke's] eighth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Mow-shin, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.  
 4 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, had a meeting with Chaou Tun of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Häng-yung.  
 5 On Yih-yëw, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, had a meeting with the Loh Jung, and made a covenant with them at Paou.  
 6 Kung-sun Gaou left to go to the capital, but he retraced his steps before he got to it. On Ping-seuh he fled to Keu.  
 7 There were locusts.  
 8 The people of Sung put to death their great officer, the minister of War. The minister of Works of Sung came to Loo a fugitive.

Par. 1. [The Chuen gives here the sequel of the narrative at the end of last year:—'In spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Hëae Yang to restore to Wei the lands of K'wang and Ts'ëih [See the Chuen on I. 6]. He also surrendered the territory, with which duke Wan had invested his son-in-law, Ch'e, from Shin to the border of Hoo-laou.']

Par. 2. [The Chuen appends here:—'In summer, a body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin, and took Woo-shing;—in return for the affair at Hoo-ling.']

Par. 3. Tso observes that this was king Sëang. He was succeeded by his son Jin-shin (壬臣), known as king K'ing (頃王).

Par. 4. Häng-yung was in Ch'ing,—near to Hoo, mentioned in p. 8 of last year. The Chuen says:—'A body of men from Tsin came to punish us on account of the covenant at Hoo [For which the duke arrived too late]. In winter, Sëang-chung had a meeting with Chaou Tun, when they made a covenant in Häng-yung;—in satisfaction for [the duke's negligence in the matter of] the covenant at Hoo.'

Par. 5. For 雒 Kung-yung, and also Tso's Chuen, have 伊雒. This tribe of the Jung had its seat in the pres. dep. of Ho-nan. Paou was in Ch'ing. It could not be far from Häng-yung, for Yih-yëw was only the 3d day after Jin-woo, when Suy covenanted with Chaou Tun. Tso-she says that from that cove-

nant Suy took occasion to go on, and made a covenant with the Jung of E-loh. They, it is supposed, had assembled with the intention of attacking Loo. Suy became aware of this, and took it upon himself, without waiting for instructions from the duke, to go on, and treat with them, inducing them to give up their purpose. Probably, the case was so. But Tso goes on to say that Suy is mentioned here as 'duke's son,' to indicate the excellence of his proceeding, while in other places the same 'duke's son' must be held to indicate condemnation!

Par. 6. Kung-yang leaves out the 而 before 復. Tso-she says:—'Muh-pih proceeded to Chow to express the duke's condolences on the king's death; but before he got there, he fled to Keu, to follow the lady Sze, taking the offerings which he carried with him.' The lady is the Sze mentioned in p. 9 of last year, whom Gaou had been induced to send back to Keu.

不至而復 means that he stopt short in his way to the capital, retraced his steps so far, and then went to Keu. Many of the critics understand the phrase as indicating that Gaou refused altogether to comply with the duke's order for him to go to Chow;—a view which the K'ang-he editors rightly condemn.

Par. 7. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has 螻 for 蝻. See on II. v. 8, et al.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'The wife [=widow] of [duke] Sêng of Sung was a sister of king Sêng, and duke Ch'aou did not behave to her [His own grand-mother] with propriety. She, therefore, by means of the members of the Tae clan [Embracing the Loh Yu, Hwa Yu-sze, mentioned in the Chuen on p. 4 of last year, and others] got K'ung Shuh, grandson of duke Sêng, put to death, with Kung-sun Chung-le, and the grand-minister of war, duke Ch'aou's brother Gang, who were all partisans of duke Ch'aou. The minister of War died grasping his seal of office in his hands; and therefore his official dignity is mentioned in the text. The minister of Works, Tang E-choo, came a fugitive to Loo, having given up his seal to the keeper of the treasury, when he left Sung. The duke met him in the manner due to his office, and procured the restoration of him and his followers.

The text also mentions him by his official dignity, honouring him in the same way.'

[The Chuen returns here to the affairs of Tsin:—'At the grand military review at E [See the Chuen at the beginning of the 6th year], the marquis had wished to raise Ke Ch'ing-foo and Sên Too [to the command of the 1st army], and to give Sze Hwoh and Lêng Yih-urh the command of the 2d. Sên K'ih said to him, "The services of Hoo and Chaou should not be forgotten;" and the marquis followed the suggestion [in making the appointments]. Sên K'ih also subsequently took away from K'wae Tih the lands granted to him at Kin-yin. In consequence of these things, Ke Ch'ing-foo, Sên Too, Sze Hwoh, Lêng Yih-urh, and K'wae Tih, arranged to raise an insurrection [in the State.]

### Ninth year.

九年<sup>一章</sup>春<sup>二章</sup>毛伯來求金<sup>三章</sup>。  
 二月<sup>四章</sup>叔孫得臣如京師<sup>五章</sup>。  
 三月<sup>六章</sup>夫人姜氏至自齊<sup>七章</sup>。  
 晉人殺其大夫先都<sup>八章</sup>。  
 晉人殺其大夫士穀及箕鄭父<sup>九章</sup>。  
 楚人伐鄭<sup>十章</sup>。公子遂會晉人宋人衛人許  
 人救鄭<sup>十一章</sup>。  
 夏<sup>十二章</sup>狄侵齊<sup>十三章</sup>。  
 秋<sup>十四章</sup>八月曹伯襄卒<sup>十五章</sup>。  
 九月<sup>十六章</sup>癸酉地震<sup>十七章</sup>。  
 冬<sup>十八章</sup>楚子使椒來聘<sup>十九章</sup>。  
 秦人來歸僖公成風之櫬<sup>二十章</sup>。  
 葬曹共公<sup>二十一章</sup>。

左傳曰：九年春，王正月，己酉，使賊殺先克、乙丑，晉人殺先都、梁益耳。  
 毛伯衛來求金，非禮也。不書王命，未葬也。  
 二月，莊叔如周，葬襄王。  
 三月，甲戌，晉人殺箕鄭父、士穀，崩得。  
 范山言於楚子曰：晉君少，不在諸侯，北方可圖也。楚子師于狼淵以伐鄭，囚公子堅，公子龍及樂耳、鄭及楚平。公子遂會晉趙盾、宋華耦、衛孔達、許大夫，救鄭，不及楚師。卿不書，緩也，以懲不恪。  
 夏，楚侵陳，克壺丘，以其服於晉也。  
 秋，楚公子朱自東夷伐陳，陳人敗之，獲公子茂、陳懼，乃及楚平。  
 冬，楚子越椒來聘，執幣傲。叔仲惠伯曰：是必滅若敖氏之宗，傲其先君，神弗福也。  
 秦人來歸僖公成風之櫬，禮也。諸侯相弔，賀也，雖不當事，苟有禮焉，書也，以無忘舊好。

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the earl of Maou came to Loo, to ask for [a contribution of] money.  
 2 The duke's wife, the lady Kêng, went to Ts'e.  
 3 In the second month, Shuh-sun Tih-shin went to the capital.  
 4 On Sin-ch'ow there was the burial of king Sêng.  
 5 The people of Tsin put to death their great officer Sên Too.  
 6 In the third month, the duke's wife, the lady Kêng, arrived from Ts'e.  
 7 The people of Tsin put to death their great officers, Sze Hwoh and Ke Ch'ing-foo.  
 8 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing. Suy, duke [Chwang's] son, joined an officer of Tsin, an officer of Sung, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Heu, to relieve Ch'ing.  
 9 In summer, the Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.  
 10 In autumn, in the eighth month, Sêng, earl of Ts'aou, died.  
 11 In the ninth month, on Kwei-yëw, there was an earthquake.  
 12 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo sent Tsëaou to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.  
 13 An officer from Ts'in came to present grave-clothes for duke He and Ch'ing Fung.  
 14 There was the burial of duke Kung of Ts'aou.

[Continuing the narrative at the end of last year, the Chuen proceeds:—'In spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-yëw, [the conspirators] employed ruffians to kill Sên K'ih. On Yih-yëw the people of Tsin put to death Sên Too and Lêng Yih-urh.']

Par. 1. The earl of Maou,—see on I. 5. Comp. the whole par. with I. iii. 4. The 金 here and 賻 there seem to be two names for the same thing. Too says [Expanding the Chuen] that the money was sought to help in the expendi-



ture for the king's burial. Though this was the beginning of a new year since the death of the king, yet, he being not buried, the text does not say that the messenger was sent by the new king. The mission, Tso further says, was 'contrary to rule' and the earl's name was 'Wei.'

Par. 2. The lady K'ang went to Ts'e to visit her parents. This all the critics admit; but as such visits were regularly made, and matters of custom and routine are held not to be entered in the Ch'un Ts'ew, they hazard various conjectures to account for this record; with which the student need not be troubled.

Parr. 3,4. These are treated in the Chuen as one paragraph.—'Chwang-shuh (莊 was Tih-shin's posthumous title) went to Chow, to the burial of king Séang. Too says that it was according to rule for a minister to go to Chow on such an occasion; but it was not so.—The duke ought to have gone himself.

Par. 5. The fact here recorded is given in the Chuen at the beginning of the year, and is said to have occurred on the day Yih-yéw. Now Yih-yéw was the 19th of the 1st month of this year. Here is a discrepancy between the text and the Chuen for which it is not easy to account.

Par. 6. This record is remarkable as being the only instance in which the return of a marchioness of Loo from a visit to her paternal State is entered. Fourteen times the leaving of Loo is recorded; but only on this occasion is the solemn celebration of the return in the ancestral temple mentioned.

Par. 7. See the Chuen at the end of last year, and the beginning of this. Here the Chuen merely repeats the text, with the addition of the name of K'wae Tih. The omission of that in the text, as of the name of Léang Yih-urh in p. 5, is probably to be accounted for from the inferior rank of the two criminals. A canon is made to account for the use of 人 here and in p. 5, and some similar passages, that it is used when the punishment of criminals is spoken of;—as if the execution were with the consent of all the people. It does not, however, always hold. Kuh-léang has many followers in thinking that the 及 implies that Ch'ing-foo was involved (累及) in crime and its consequences by Sze Hwoh; but so much stress need not be laid on the term. Maou K'i-ling says, 及者, 次及之, '及 = and next.'

Par. 8. Ts'oo had now pretty well recovered from the defeat at Shing-puh 15 years before this, and here resumes its attempts against the northern States. The Chuen says:—'Fan Shan [A great officer of Ts'oo] said to the viscount of Ts'oo, "The ruler of Tsin is quite young, and has no thought about the States;—you may take measures now for the land of the north." Accordingly the viscount took post with an army at Lang-yuen, to [direct] the invasion of Ch'ing. He made prisoners of Kung-tse K'een, Kung-tse Mang, and Loh Urh, after which Ch'ing made peace with Ts'oo. Duke Chwang's son, Suy, joined Chaou Tun of Ts'in, Hwa Ngow of Sung, K'ung Tah of Wei, and a great officer of Heu, in order to relieve Ch'ing, but they did

not come up with the army of Ts'oo. The text does not give the names of the ministers [of the several States] because of their dilatoriness,—to punish their want of sincerity.'

Par. 9. With Ts'oo pressing on them from the south, and the Teih, ever active and restless on the north, the States of the Middle kingdom were in an evil case.

[The Chuen gives here two additional notes about Ts'oo.—In summer, Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'in, and reduced Hoo-k'ew;—because of its submission to Tsin.]

'In autumn, Kung-tse Choo of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in by the way of the eastern E. The troops of Ch'in defeated him, and captured Kung-tse Fei. This success made Ch'in afraid, and it made peace with Ts'oo.]

Par. 11. Too says:—'It is the way of the earth to be still; its moving was accounted strange, and therefore recorded.' Jin Kung-foo (任公輔) says:—'For more than a hundred years before this we have no record of an earthquake; but from this time to king Gae, there are four earthquakes recorded;—nature's response to the prevailing confusion in the kingdom, the princes disobedient to the son of Heaven, and their officers disobedient to the princes.'

Par. 12. For 椒 Kuh-léang has 款. The Chuen says:—'Taze-yueh Ts'eaou came to us on a mission of friendly inquiries, and carried his offerings in a careless, arrogant manner. Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih said, "This man is sure to cause the extinction of all the clan of Joh-gaou. Treating thus insolently his ancient lords [In whose temple he had received the offerings for his mission], their Spirits will not bless him." The rule in the case of friendly missions was that the rank of the sender should be mentioned. In a former mission from Ts'oo [see III. xxiii. 5], the rule is not observed; but here and afterwards, in the only other mission of this kind from Ts'oo, we have the viscount of Ts'oo. Ts'oo has now come into the category of the other States. Its progress in civilization and influence was acknowledged. The K'ang-he editors very unnecessarily recount the various methods of the critics to account for the 'commendation' which they think is indicated by the title.

Par. 13. 槨 = grave-clothes, or the presentation of them for the use of the dead (槨者以衣送死人之稱). Such gifts were common between neighbouring States which were in friendly relations. In this case they came late, but we have a similar gift sent in the same way to Loo by the king in I. i. 4. Tso-she says:—'This offering was according to rule. The States presented to one another their condolences and congratulations. Although their gifts might not correspond to the circumstances, yet if they were according to rule, they were recorded, that the old friendship [thus signified] might not [subsequently] be forgotten.' Ts'in and Loo had taken part in the same covenant at Teih-ts'üen. The former State now took advantage of that to cultivate its friendly relations with the States of the 'Middle kingdom.'

Tenth year.

十年春王三月辛卯臧孫辰卒。夏秦伐晉。楚殺其大夫宜申。自正月不雨至于秋七月。及蘇子盟于汝栗。冬狄侵宋。楚子蔡侯次于厥貉。

左傳曰：十年春，晉人伐秦，取少梁。夏，秦伯伐晉，取北徵。初，楚范巫彘似，謂成王與子玉、子西曰：「三君皆將，強死。」城濮之役，王患之，故使止子玉曰：「毋死。」及止子西，子西縊而縣絕。王使適至，遂止之，使爲商公。汭漢、沂、江，將入郢，王在渚宮，下見之，懼而辭曰：「臣免於死，又有讒言，謂臣將逃，臣歸死於司敗也。」王使爲工尹，又與子家謀弑穆王。穆王聞之，五月，殺鬬宜申及仲歸。秋七月，及蘇子盟于汝栗。頃王立，故也。陳侯、鄭伯會楚子于息，冬，遂及蔡侯次于厥貉，將以伐宋。宋華御事曰：「楚欲弱我也，先爲之弱乎？何必使誘我？我實不能，民何罪？乃逆楚子，勞且聽命，遂道以田孟諸。宋公爲右，孟、鄭伯爲左，孟、期思公復遂爲右，司馬、子朱及文之無畏爲左，司馬、命夙駕載燧。宋公違命，無畏扶其僕，以徇。或謂子舟曰：「國君不可戮也。」子舟曰：「當官而行，何彊之有？」詩曰：「剛亦不吐，柔亦不茹。」毋縱詭隨，以謹罔極。是亦非辟彊也，敢愛死以亂官乎？厥貉之會，麋子逃歸。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Sin-maou, Tsang-sun Shin died.
- 2 In summer, Ts'in invaded Tsin.
- 3 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, E-shin.
- 4 From the first month, it did not rain till autumn in the seventh month.

- 5 The [duke] made a covenant with the viscount of Soo at Joo-leih.  
 6 In winter, the Teih made an incursion into Sung.  
 7 The viscount of Ts'oo and the marquis of Ts'ae halted in Keueh-mih.

Par. 1. Tsang-sun Shin,—see on III. xxviii.  
 7. See also Ana. V. xvii. He must have been an important minister of Loo for nearly half a century. Too says that his death is recorded here, because the duke went to be present at the dressing and preparing of his body for the coffin (公與小殮).

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In spring, a body of men from Tsin attacked Ts'in, and took Shaou-lêng. In summer, the earl of Ts'in invaded Tsin, and took Pih-ching.' In common with a host of the critics, the K'ang-he editors contend that the simple Ts'in here is condemnatory of that State for keeping up the long series of hostilities with Tsin, and thereby allowing Ts'oo to develop its power and aggressions on the 'Middle kingdom.' But according to the Chuen, Tsin had been the offender, and was responsible for the continuance of the animosity of Ts'in. The simple 秦 in the text merely indicates that it was not known in Loo who in particular had commanded in the invasion.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In earlier years, Yih-sze, a soothsayer of Fan, had said that king Ch'ing [Of Ts'oo], Tsze-yuh, and Tsze-se [The E-shin of the text], would all die violent deaths. After the battle of Shing-puh, the king thought of this, and sent to stop Tsze-yuh, telling him he should not put himself to death, but the message came too late (See on V. xxviii. 6). [The king also sent] to stop Tsze-se. He had attempted to hang himself, when the rope by which he was suspended broke. Just then the message arrived, and his suicide was stayed. After this Ch'ing appointed him duke of Shang. Sailing down the Han and ascending the K'ang, he was about to enter Ying. The king was in his island palace, and seeing Tsze-se below, he was afraid, and refused an interview, but the other said, "Your servant [formerly] escaped dying, but there have been slanderers again saying that I am going to run away;—I am coming back to die at the hands of the minister of Crime." King Ch'ing then made him director of the workmen; but after this he proceeded to plan with Tsze-k'ea the death of king Muh, who heard of their design, and in the 5th month put them to death;—both Tow E-shin and Chung-kwei (The above Tsze-k'ea).'

Par. 4. See on II. 5.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, we made a covenant with the viscount of Soo, at Joo-leih, on account of the accession of king K'ing.' A viscount of Soo appears in the Chuen, after III. xix. 4, and on V. x. 2. See the note on the latter paragraph. There the State of Wän or Soo is described as annihilated; but king S'ang had probably restored it. The viscount of Soo in the text would be a son of the one in duke He's time. The site of Joo-leih is not ascertained.

Parr. 6, 7. These two paragraphs are sometimes edited as one, the reason, no doubt, being

that the viscount of Ts'oo's halting at Keueh-mih was with a design against Sung, wasted by the incursion of the Teih. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ch'in and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with the viscount of Ts'oo in Seih; and in the winter, [the viscount] and the marquis of Ts'ae halted at Keueh-mih, with the intention of thence attacking Sung. Hwa Yu-sze of Sung said [to the duke], "Ts'oo wishes to display our weakness;—had we not better show first that we know it ourselves? Why must we let the viscount challenge us? We have no ability [to cope with him];—of what crime have the people been guilty [that you should involve them in hostilities?]" On this the duke went to meet the viscount, gave largess to his troops, and professed submission to his commands. He then led the way to hunt in Mäng-choo.

'The duke of Sung led the party on the right, and the earl of Ch'ing that on the left. Fuh-suy, duke of Ke-sze, was director of the hunt for the right, and Tsze-choo and Wan-che Woo-wei were directors for the left. Orders were given [to the princes present] to have their carriages yoked early in the morning, and [for each] to carry an instrument for raising fire with him. The duke of Sung disobeyed [the latter of] these commands, on which Woo-wei caused his charioteer to be flogged, to show to all the hunt [the offence the duke had been guilty of]. Some one said to Tsze-chow (Woo-wei) that the ruler of a State ought not to be so disgraced; but he replied, "Acting as my office requires of me, what have I to do with the position [of the offender]?" As the ode says (She, III. iii. ode VI. 5),

'He does not eject the hard  
Nor does he devour the soft;'

and again (She, III. ii. ode IX. 3),

'Give no indulgence to deceit and obsequiousness,  
To make careful those who pay no regard to the rule.'

These passages show that one is not to shrink from dealing with the powerful. Dare I prefer the duties of my office to be thrown into disorder rather than to die?"

Tso adds that the viscount of Keun withdrew secretly from this meeting at Keueh-mih. The site of that place does not seem to be ascertained.

Kung-yang has 屈 for 厥.

Eleventh year.

十有一年春楚  
子伐麇。夏  
叔仲彭生會  
晉卻缺于承筐。  
秋曹伯來朝。  
公子遂如宋。  
冬十月甲午叔  
孫得臣敗狄于  
鹹。

左傳曰：十一年春，楚子伐麇，成大心敗麇師于防渚，潘崇復伐麇，至于錫穴。夏，叔仲惠伯會晉卻缺于承筐，謀諸侯之從於楚者。秋，曹文公來朝，即位而來見也。襄仲聘于宋，且言司城蕩意諸而復之，因賀楚師之不害也。鄭瞞侵齊，遂伐我，公卜使叔孫得臣追之，吉。侯叔夏御莊叔，綿房甥為右，富父終甥駟乘，冬十月甲午，敗狄于鹹，獲長狄僑如，富父終甥樁其喉以戈，殺之，埋其首於子駒之門，以命宣伯。初，宋武公之世，鄭瞞伐宋，司徒皇父帥師禦之，彫班御皇父充石，公子穀甥為右，司寇牛父駟乘，以敗狄于長丘，獲長狄緣斯，皇父之二子死焉。宋公於是，以門賞彫班，使食其征，謂之彫門。晉之滅潞也，獲僑如之弟焚如，齊襄公之二年，鄭瞞伐齊，齊王子成父獲其弟榮如，埋其首於周首之北門，衛人獲其季弟簡如，鄭瞞由是遂亡。邲犬子朱儒自安於夫鍾，國人弗徇。

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded K'ün.  
 2 In summer, Shuh-chung P'ang-säng had a meeting with K'öeh Keueh of Tsin in Shing-k'wang.  
 3 In autumn, the earl of Ts'aou paid a court-visit to Loo.  
 4 Duke Chwang's son, Suy, went to Sung.  
 5 The Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.  
 6 In winter, in the tenth month, on K'eah-woo, Shuh-sun Tih-shin defeated the Teih in H'een.

Par. 1. K'ün (Kung-yang has 園), was a small State, whose lords were viscounts,—in the pres. dis. of Yun (郾) dept. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. Its chief town was Seih-heueh (錫穴). The last Chuen relates how the viscount of K'ün withdrew from the meeting at Keueh-mih; we have here his punishment. The Chuen says:—'In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Keun, and Ch'ing Ta-sin [Son of Ch'ing Tih-shin, who was defeated at Shing-puh] defeated the army of Keun at Fang-choo. P'wan Ts'ung (See the Chuen on I. 10), again invaded Keun, and advanced as far as to Seih-heueh.'

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh have no 仲 after 叔 and they have 匡 instead of 筐. Shing k'wang was in Sung,—30 le to the west of the city of Suy Chow (睢州), in the dep. of Kwei-tih. Shuh-chung P'ang-sang is the Shuh-chung Hwuy-peh, whom we have met with in the Chuen more than once. He was the brother of Shuh-sun Tih-shin, and son of Kung-sun Tsze, or Tae-pih, mentioned in the 4th year of duke He;—see the note on I. 7. The object of the meeting, Tso-she says, was to consult about the adhesion given in by several of the States to Ts'oo. The Kang-he editors observe that this is the first instance of a meeting by great officers of diff. States between themselves, to deliberate about public affairs;—showing how the power was gradually sliding out of the hands of the princes of the States.

Par. 3. This was a son of duke Kung, whose death and burial are chronicled in the 9th year. Tso observes that he was himself duke Wan, and this visit was on the occasion of his succeeding to the earldom, to have an interview with his neighbour.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'S'ang-chung went on this friendly visit to Sung, when he mentioned the case of Tang E-choo, [Sung's] minister of Works (See VIII. 8), and procured his restoration, taking occasion also to congratulate Sung on its not having suffered from the army of Ts'oo.'

Par. 6. This H'een was in Loo,—diff. from the place of the same name in V. xiii. 3. The Chuen says:—'[The Teih of] Sow-mwan made an incursion into Ts'e, and then came on to attack us. The duke consulted the tortoise-shell about sending Shuh-sun Tih-shin to pursue them, and received a favourable reply. How

Shuh-h'ea was charioteer to Chwang-shuh [Tih-shin]; M'een Fang-sang was spearman on the right; and Foo-foo Chung-sang went also in the same chariot. In winter, in the tenth month, on Keah-woo, the general defeated the Teih in H'een, and captured a giant called K'eaou-joo. Foo-foo Chung-sang smote him in the throat with his spear, and killed him. They buried his head by the Tsze-ken gate, and the general named one of his sons, known afterwards as Seuen-pih, after him.

'Before this, in the time of duke Woo of Sung [Earlier than the period of the Ch'ün Ts'ew], the Sow-mwan invaded Sung, and the minister of Instruction, Hwang-foo Ch'ung-shih led a force against them, with Urh Pan as his charioteer, Kung-tsze Kuh-sang the spearman on his right, and N'ew-foo, the minister of Crime, in the same chariot. He defeated the Teih at Ch'ang-k'ew, and captured a giant, called Yuen-sze. The two [other officers], and Hwang-foo, were killed [皇父之二子死焉; but I cannot suppose that the Kung-tsze Kuh-sang and N'ew-foo were sons of Hwang-foo], and the duke of Sung rewarded Urh Pan with the revenues collected at one of the barrier gates, from which he was called Urh-mun.

'After this, when Tsin extinguished Loo, [潞; in the 15th year of duke Seuen], Fun-joo, a younger brother of K'eaou-joo, was taken.

'In the 2d year of duke S'ang of Ts'e [The 16th of our duke Hwan], the Sow-mwan had invaded Ts'e, when Ch'ing-foo, a king's son who was serving in Ts'e, captured Yung-joo, a younger brother still, and buried his head by the north gate of Chow-show; and afterwards the people of Wei captured the third younger brother, K'een-joo. After all these captures, the Sow-mwan became extinct.'

[Ying-tah says that all these stories about giants are to be doubted. Too gives the height of K'eaou-joo as thirty cubits! In the 國語,

魯語, 下, art. 15, there is a story about the people of Woo consulting Confucius about a large bone which they had found, which the sage pronounced to be that of a giant killed by the great Yu! He speaks there also of the 'long Teih' of his days.]

[The Chuen appends here:—'Choo-joo, the eldest son of [the earl of] Shing took his ease in Foo-chung; and the people of the State did not yield him obedience.'

師城諸及鄆。季孫行父帥人戰于河曲。戊午，晉人秦冬十有二月，聘。秦伯使術來。秋，滕子來朝。圍巢。

左傳曰：十二年春，郕伯卒，郕人立君，犬子以夫鍾與郕邾來奔。公以諸侯逆之，非禮也。故書曰：郕伯來奔，不書地，尊諸侯也。杞桓公來朝，始朝公也，且請絕叔姬，而無絕昏，公許之。二月，叔姬卒，不言杞，絕也。書叔姬，言非女也。楚令尹大孫伯卒，成嘉爲令尹，羣舒叛楚，夏，子孔執舒子平，及宗子，遂圍巢。秦伯使西乞術來聘，且言將伐晉，襄仲辭玉，曰：君不忘先君之好，照臨魯國，鎮撫其社稷，重之以大器，寡君敢辭玉。對曰：不腆敝器，不足辭也。主人三辭，賓答曰：寡君願徼福于周公魯公，以事君，不腆先君之敝器，使下臣致諸執事，以爲瑞節，要結好命，所以藉寡君之命，結二國之好，是以敢致之。襄仲曰：不有君子，其能國乎？國無陋矣。厚賄之。秦爲令狐之役，故冬，秦伯伐晉，取羈馬，晉人禦之。趙盾將中軍，荀林父佐之，卻缺將上軍，史駢佐之，欒盾將下軍，胥甲佐之，范無恤御戎，以從秦師于河曲。史駢曰：秦不能入，請深壘固軍以待之。從之。秦人欲戰，秦伯謂士會曰：若何而戰？對曰：趙氏新出其屬曰史駢，必實爲此謀，將以老我師也。趙有側室曰穿，晉君之壻也，有寵而弱，不在軍事，好勇而狂，且惡史駢之佐上軍也。若使輕者肆焉，其可。秦伯以璧祈戰于河，十二月，戊午，秦軍掩晉上軍，趙穿追之，不及，反，怒曰：褻糧坐甲，固敵是求，敵至不擊，將何俟焉？軍吏曰：將有待也。穿曰：我不知謀，將獨出，乃以其屬出。宣子曰：秦獲穿也。

Twelfth year.

夏，楚人子子卒。二月，朝。杞伯來奔。正月，郕伯來。年春，王十有二月。

城復也。而之曰甲薄肆日。日請之士夜出歸獲。諸侵乃不薄人死趙懼使者皆戰我何。及晉止。秦於未傷穿我者。目見相皆晉交。綏以。秦報。時入秦險。不待而棄。呼胥矣。秦以。書瑕。遁。勇。期。棄。呼。胥。矣。秦。以。勝。時也。遁。勇。期。棄。呼。胥。矣。秦。以。勝。

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the earl of Shing came a fugitive to Loo.  
 2 The earl of Ke came to Loo on a court-visit.  
 3 In the second month, on Käng-tsze, duke [He's] daughter—the second one—died.  
 4 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo laid siege to Ch'au.  
 5 In autumn, the viscount of T'äng came to Loo on a court-visit.  
 6 The earl of Ts'in sent Shuh to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.  
 7 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Mow-woo, the troops of Tsin and those of Ts'in fought at Ho-k'ëuh.  
 8 Ke-sun Häng-foo led a force, and walled Choo and Yun.

Par. 1. For 郕 Kung-yang has 成. Shing, —see I. v. 3. We have in this par. the sequel to the Chuen with which the last year concludes. Tso-she says here, 'In the 12th year, in spring, the earl of Shing died, and the people raised another in his place. His eldest son then came a fugitive to Loo, surrendering to the duke the cities of Foo-chung and Shing-kwei. The duke met him with the honours due to the prince of a State;—which was contrary to rule. Hence the text calls him "earl of Shing," nor does it mention the places he surrendered, in deference to him as a prince.'

In III. viii. 3, we read that Shing surrendered to Ts'e, but that surrendering cannot have been equivalent to the extinction of the State, as Kung-yang supposes, else we should not read of it here. The account which Tso gives of the statement in the text, however, is much contested by the critics. Acc. to a rule, of which we have met with several instances, the son of the prince of a State, though succeeding quietly to his father, could not be named in the text by his title till a year had expired; and yet here is the son flying from the State, immediately after his father's death, acting, moreover, a traitor's part, and he is denominated 'earl.' Then, say the critics, a prince who has lost his State, is mentioned by his name, and there is no name here. The text is silent further about the fugitive's treachery, in deference to him. What comes of all the canons about the 'praise' and 'condemnation' which the structure of the paragraphs is supposed to convey?

Par. 2. In V. xxvii. 1, the prince of Ke appears as viscount only. Here he has regained one degree of the former rank of the House. The Chuen says:—'This visit of duke Hwan of

Ke was the first time he had been to the court of Loo since the duke's accession. Moreover he [now] begged that the engagement between him and [duke He's] second daughter might be at an end, while yet his intermarrying [with the House of Loo] should not be so;—to which the duke agreed.'—See on next par.

Par. 3. The Chuen continues:—'In the 2d month, duke [He's] second daughter died. It is not said—"of Ke," because her engagement of marriage with the earl of Ke had been broken off. The terms "second daughter (叔姬)" tell that she was not a girl, [but had been betrothed]. According then to Tso-she, this was the lady who had been engaged to the earl of Ke when his mother came to the court of Loo in the 31st year of duke He, seeking a wife for him. She had remained in Loo, as being too young to be married until this time; and the earl of Ke finding, when he came in the previous month to Loo, that she was ill, begged that his engagement with her might be considered at an end, and that he might have a younger sister instead. The K'ang-he editors do not venture to reject this account of Tso, though they intimate their opinion that his identification of the lady is wrong, and that his view was constructed by himself in consequence of his connecting this paragraph and the former too closely together. Tso's remark as to the force of the characters

叔姬 I do not understand. Too's explanation of it, that 'the deaths of young princesses, who had not been engaged to be married were not recorded,' would apply to the whole entry, and not to those terms.

As to the meaning of the 子 before 叔姬 there is no consent of the critics. Kung-yang says the lady is so termed by way of distinction. (貴也), as being duke Wän's full sister, but how the 子 marks such distinction it is difficult to perceive. I can make nothing of it.

Par. 4. Ch'au was a small State, lying between Woo (吳) and Ts'oo. It has left its name in the pres. dis. of Ch'au, dep. Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. The Chuen says:—'On the death of Ta Sun-pih [Often mentioned before this in the Chuen as Ch'ing Ta-sin; the son of Ch'ing Tih-shin, who was defeated at Shing-puh. The Ta (大) here, appearing as a surname I don't understand], chief minister of Ts'oo, Ch'ing Këa took his place. [At this time] the diff. Shoo States, revolted from Ts'oo; and in summer Tsze-k'ung (the above Ch'ing Këa) seized P'ing, viscount of Shoo, and the viscount of Tsung, and went on to lay siege to Ch'au.'

Par. 5. Tso observes that this was another case of a first court-visit to duke Wän. Ke Pun (季本; Ming dyn., 1st half of 16th century) says that since the seizure of duke Sëuen of T'äng by Sung in the 19th year of duke He, the State had adhered to Sung; but that now, taking advantage of the troubles of Sung, it returned to its former preference for Loo.

Par. 6. Kung-yang has 遂 for 術. The Chuen says:—'The earl of Ts'in sent Se-k'ëih Shuh on this friendly mission, and to speak of his intention to invade Tsin. Sëang-chung (Kung-tsze Suy) declined to receive the jade symbol [which he had brought], saying, "Your ruler, not forgetting the friendship between his father and us, has favoured Loo with this mission, giving its altars the assurance of his protecting and soothing care, and signalizing the importance of this mission with this grand instrument; but my ruler ventures to decline receiving it." The other replied, "This poor instrument is not worth your declining it." Thrice, however, [Suy], as the host, refused it, and then the guest replied, "My ruler wishing to obtain the favour of the duke of Chow and [his son], the [first] duke of Loo, by his service of your prince, sent me, with this poor instrument of his fathers, to deliver it to you, the manager of this negotiation, to be an auspicious symbol for the confirmation of our good agreement. It is to me the proof of my ruler's commission to tie the bond of friendship between our two States. This is why I presume to deliver it to you." Sëang-chung said, "Without superior men, can a ruler order his State? Yours is no uncultivated State." He then sent Shuh away with rich presents.'

[Se-k'ëih Shuh was one of the leaders of the army of Ts'in in the expedition which terminated so fatally at Hëaou;—see the Chuen at V. xxxiii.

3. His present mission was part of a scheme, on the part of Ts'in, to detach the States generally from Tsin.]

Par. 7. Ho-k'ëuh was in Tsin,—near the pres. dep. city of P'oo-chow (蒲州). The Chuen says:—'Because of the affair at Ling-hoo (VII. 5), this winter, the earl of Ts'in invaded Tsin, and took Ke-ma. The troops of Tsin went out to meet him. Chaou Tun commanded the army of the middle, with Seun Lin-foo as assistant. Këoh Keueh led the 1st army, with Yu Pëen as assistant. Lwan Tun led the 3d army, with Seu Këah as assistant. Fan Woo-seuh was charioteer [to Chaou Tun]; and in this order they followed the army of Ts'in to Ho-k'ëuh. Yu Pëen said, "Ts'in cannot remain here long. Let us merely show a strong front, with deep entrenchments, and await his movements." Chaou Tun followed this counsel. The troops of Ts'in wished to fight, and the earl asked Sze Hwuy how a battle could be brought about. "Chaou Tun," said Hwuy, "has recently brought out his adherent Yu Pëen, and it must be he who has counselled this measure, in order to weary our army. [But] Tun has a cousin, named Ch'uen, a son-in-law of the [late] marquis. Being a favourite, and young, he has not been employed in military affairs, but he is fond of showing his bravery and is excitable. He is angry, moreover, at Yu Pëen's being employed as assistant-commander of the 1st army. If you send a small body of troops to flout [the army of Tsin], a battle may be brought about." On this the earl prayed to the Ho with a *peih*, about the battle [that would ensue].

In the 12th month, on Mow-woo, [a portion of] the army of Ts'in made a sudden attack on Tsin's 1st army, [and retired], pursued by Chaou Ch'uen, without his being able to overtake it. When he returned, he said, in anger, "We took our provisions in our bags, and donned our armour, surely to look for our enemies. What are we waiting for that we do not strike the enemy when he comes?" His officers said, "We are waiting for an opportunity." "I do not know," he replied, "their plans, but I will go forth alone;" and forth he went with his followers. Chaou Seuen (Tun) said, "If Ts'in capture Ch'uen, it will capture a high minister. If its army return with such a victory, what shall I have to show in return?" With this the whole army went forth to battle, when there ensued a gentle encounter, and then both sides drew off.

A messenger from the army of Ts'in came to that of Tsin at night with a warning challenge, saying, "The soldiers of our two armies are not yet satisfied;—please let us see one another tomorrow." Yu Pëen said to Tun, "The messenger's eyes kept moving about, and his words were incoherent; they are afraid of us, and will be going off. If we attack them at the Ho, we are sure to defeat them. Seu Shin and Chaou Ch'uen [went and] cried out, at the gate of the entrenchments, "While the dead and the wounded are not gathered in, to abandon them is not kind. Not to wait for the stipulated time, but to attack men while they are in a perilous position, is not brave." The design was consequently abandoned, and in the night the army of Ts'in withdrew, made an incursion into Tsin in another direction, and entered Hëa.



I have translated 晉人, 秦人, by 'the troops of Tsin and those of Ts'in.' The Kang-he editors hold that the simple 人 is condemnatory of both the hostile States, especially as there is no 及 between the phrases.

Par. 8. 諸, see III. xxix. 5. Yun (Kung has

運) was also a town in Loo,—in the north of the pres. dis. of E-shwuy (沂水), dep. E-chow. Loo now walled them as a precaution against attempts on the part of Keu. Tso-she says the thing is recorded to show 'the timeliness of the proceeding.'

Thirteenth year.

十<sup>一章</sup>有三年春王正月。夏<sup>二章</sup>五月壬午陳侯朔卒。邾<sup>三章</sup>子貜荃卒。自<sup>四章</sup>正月不雨至于秋七月。世<sup>五章</sup>室屋壞。冬<sup>六章</sup>公如晉衛侯會公于沓。狄<sup>七章</sup>侵衛。十<sup>八章</sup>有二月己丑公及晉侯盟公還自晉鄭伯會公于

○左傳曰十三年春晉侯使詹嘉處瑕以守桃林之塞晉人患秦之用士會也夏六卿相見於諸浮趙宣子曰隨會在秦賈季在狄難日至矣若之何中行桓子曰請復賈季能外事且由舊勳郤成子曰賈季亂且罪大不如隨會能賤而有耻柔而不犯其知足使也且無罪乃使魏壽餘僞以魏叛者以誘士會執其帑於晉使夜逸請自歸于秦秦伯許之履士會之足於朝秦伯師于河西魏人在東壽餘曰請東人之能與夫二三有司言者吾與之先使士會士會辭曰晉人虎狼也若脅其言臣死妻子為戮無益於君不可悔也秦伯曰若脅其言所不歸爾帑者有如河乃行繞朝贈之以策曰子無謂秦無人吾謀適不用也既濟魏人譟而還秦人歸其帑其處者為劉氏

邾文公卜遷于繹史曰利于民而不利於君邾子曰苟利于民孤之利也天生民而樹之君以利之也民既利矣孤必與焉左曰命可長也君何弗為邾子曰命在養民死之短長時也民苟利矣遷也吉莫如之遂遷于繹五月邾文公卒君子曰知命秋七月大室之屋壞書不共也冬公如晉朝且尋盟衛侯會公于沓請平于晉公還鄭伯會公于棐亦請平于晉公皆成之鄭子與公宴于棐子家賦鴻雁季文子曰寡君未免於此文子賦四月子家賦載馳之四章文子賦賦采薇之四章鄭伯拜公答拜

- XIII. 1 It was the [duke's] thirteenth year, the spring, the k'ing's first month.  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-woo, Soh, marquis of Ch'in, died.  
3 K'eu-seu, viscount of Choo, died.  
4 From the first month it did not rain till autumn, in the seventh month.  
5 The roof of the permanent shrine-house went to ruin.  
6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin; and the marquis of Wei had a meeting with him in Tah.  
7 The Teih made an incursion into Wei.  
8 In the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, the duke and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant. The duke was returning from Tsin, when the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with him in Fei.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here that this spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Chen K'ea to reside in H'ea, to guard all the border of T'au-lin.]

Par. 2. [The Chuen enters here the following narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—'The people of Tsin were distressed by the use which Ts'in made of Sze Hwuy; and this summer, the six high ministers had a meeting together about the subject in Choo-fow. Chao S'eu said, "Hwuy of Suy [Suy was the name of the town whence Sze Hwuy had derived his revenue] is in Ts'in, and K'ea Ke is among the Teih; difficulties come upon us every day in consequence;—what is to be done?" The officer Hwan [who had had the command] of the Middle column [This was Seun Lin-foo, who had received command of the 中行, one of the five armies of

Tsin; see on V. xxxi. 6. 中行 is nearly equivalent to a surname. Hwan was Lin-foo's posthumous title.] begged that K'ea Ke might be recalled, saying he would manage their external affairs [with the Teih]. and out of regard to the old services [of his family]. K'eh Ch'ing [K'eh K'eh; 成 was his posthumous title]

said, "K'ea Ke is too insubordinate, and he was guilty of a great crime. He is not like Hwuy of Suy, who maintains his self respect even in a mean position, is mild and not insubordinate, and whose wisdom fits him for employment. Moreover, Hwuy had committed no crime." On this, [it was resolved] to send Show-yu of Wei [to Ts'in], on the pretence that he had revolted with the city and lands of Wei, to beguile Sze Hwuy [back to Tsin]. They accordingly seized his family in Tsin, and made him abscond at night.

[Having got to Ts'in], he begged to transfer his allegiance to it, and the earl accepted his offer. At the court of Ts'in, he trod on Sze Hwuy's foot [To give him a hint of his object]. The earl took post with a force on the west of the Ho, and the men of Wei were on the east. Show-yu then said, "Let me beg the company of some man from the east who will be able to speak with my officers, so that I may go before with him." Sze Hwuy was appointed to go, but he refused, saying, "The people of Tsin are tigers and wolves. If they prove false to their word, your servant will die [there], and my wife and children will be put to death [here]. There will nothing, moreover, be gained by your lordship;

and regrets [for the whole thing] will be of no avail." The earl said, "If they prove false to their word, I swear by the waters of the Ho, that I will send your family back to Tsin." On this, Sze Hwuy went with Show-yu. [As he was going], Jaou Chaou (an officer of Tsin) presented to him a whip, saying, "Do not say that there are no men in Tsin. [You get away], because my counsel has not at this time been followed." When they had crossed the Ho, the men of Wei [received them] with a shout, and returned; but Tsin sent Hwuy's family back to Tsin. Some [of his surname] who remained there took the surname of Léw.]

Par. 3. Kuh-léang has 簋 instead of 遷. The Chuen says:—"Duke Wán (Wán was K'eu-seu's posthumous title) consulted the tortoise-shell about changing his capital to Yih. The officer [of divination] said, "The removal will be advantageous to the people, but not to their ruler." The viscount said, "If it be advantageous to the people, that will be advantageous to me. When Heaven produced the people, it appointed for them rulers for their profit. Since the people are to get advantage [from the removal], I shall share in it." His attendants said, "If your life may so be prolonged, why should you not decide not to remove?" He said, "My appointment is for the nourishing of the people; my death sooner or later has a [fixed] time. If the people are to be benefited, let us remove, and nothing could be more fortunate." The capital was accordingly removed to Yih; and in the 5th month [of this year, 5 years after his accession], duke Wán died. The superior man may say that he knew [the secret of] life."

Par. 4. See X. 4, and II. 5.

Par. 5. The text here adopted is that of Kung-yang. Kuh-léang has 太室, and the same is found in the Chuen. Kung says:—"By 世室 is meant the shrine-house of the [first] duke of Loo. That of the duke of Chow was called 太廟; that of the duke of Loo [Pih-k'in, son of the duke of Chow], 世室; those of other dukes were simply called 宮. The name 世室 indicates that from generation

to generation the spirit-tablet of Pih-k'in was not removed." While Kuh-léang has 太 and not 世, he yet distinguishes between 太廟, the temple of the duke of Chow, and 太室, that of Pih-k'in, agreeing so far with Kung-yang. And 太 and 世 are often interchanged, especially in the phrases 太子 and 世子. Perhaps Tso-she was of the same opinion, for he simply says that "the roof of the 太室 went to pieces, and the fact was recorded, because of the want of reverent attention [to the structure] which was implied in it. Too Yu, however, explains the 太室 by 太廟. Whosoever the shrine-house was, the fact of its roof going to ruin showed great carelessness on the part of the duke and his officers, —great carelessness where they might have been expected to be most careful.

Parr. 6, 8. In p. 6, Kung-yang wants the 公 after 會. In p. 8 both Kung and Kuh omit the 公 before 還. For 斐 Kung has 斐. Where Tah was is not ascertained. Fei was in Ch'ing, —25 *le* east of the pres. dis. city of Sin-Ch'ing, dep. K'ae-fung.

The Chuen says:—"In winter, the duke went to Tsin, paying a court visit, and renewing his covenant with the marquis. The marquis of Wei had a meeting with the duke at Tah, and begged his mediation to make peace with Tsin; as he was returning, the earl of Ch'ing met him at Fei, and begged from him a similar service. The duke accomplished the thing for them both. The earl of Ch'ing and he feasted at Fei, when Tsze-kea (an officer of Ch'ing) sang the *Hung yen* (She, II. iii. ode VII.). Ke Wán (an officer of Loo) said, "My ruler has his share in that," and he sang the *Sze yueh* (She, II. v. ode X.). Tsze-kea then sang the 4th stanza of the *Ts'ao ch'e* (She, I. iv. ode X.), and Ke Wán responded with the 4th of the *Ts'ao we* (She, II. i. ode VII.). The earl of Ch'ing then bowed his thanks to the duke, and the duke returned the bow."

Fourteenth year.

十有四年春，王正月，公至自晉。邾人伐我南鄙，叔彭生帥師伐邾。夏五月乙亥，齊侯潘卒。六月，公會宋公、陳侯、衛侯。

鄭伯、許男、曹伯、晉趙盾、癸酉，同盟于新城。秋七月，有星孛入于北斗。公至自會。晉人納捷菑于邾，弗克納。九月甲申，公孫敖卒于齊。齊公子商人弑其君舍。宋子哀來奔。冬，單伯如齊，齊人執單伯。齊人執子叔姬。

左傳曰：十四年春，頃王崩，周公閱與王孫蘇爭政，故不赴。凡崩薨，不赴，則不書。禍福不告，亦不書。懲不敬也。邾文公之卒也，公使弔焉，不敬。邾人來討，伐我南鄙，故惠伯伐邾。子叔姬妃齊昭公，生舍，叔姬無寵，舍無威。公子商人驍施於國，而多聚士，盡其家，貸於公，有司以繼之。夏五月，昭公卒，舍即位。六月，同盟于新城，從於楚者服，且謀邾也。秋七月乙卯夜，齊商人弑舍而讓元，元曰：爾求之久矣，我能事爾，爾不可使多蓄憾，將免我乎？爾為之。有星孛入于北斗，周內史叔服曰：不出七年，宋、齊、晉之君皆將死亂。邾文公元妃齊姜，生定公，二妃晉姬，生捷菑。文公卒，邾人立定公，捷菑奔晉。晉趙盾以諸侯之師八百乘，納捷菑于邾。邾人辭曰：齊出饗且長。宣子曰：辭順而弗從，不祥。乃還。周公將與王孫蘇訟于晉，王叛王孫蘇，而使尹氏與聃啟訟周公子晉。趙宣子平王室而復之。楚莊王立，子孔潘崇，將襲羣舒，使公子變與子儀守，而

伐舒蓼。二子作亂，城郢，而使賊殺子孔，不克而還。八月，二子以楚子出，將如商密，廬戢黎及叔麋誘之，遂殺鬬克及公子變。初，鬬克囚于秦，秦有殺之敗，而使歸求成，成而不得志，公子變求令尹而不得，故二子作亂。

穆伯之從已氏也，魯人立文伯，穆伯生二子於莒，而求復，文伯以爲請，襄仲使無朝，聽命，復而不出。三年，而盡室以復適莒。文伯疾而請曰：「穀之子弱，請立難也。」許之。文伯卒，立惠叔。穆伯請重賂以求復，惠叔以爲請，許之。將來九月，卒于齊，告喪，請葬，弗許。

齊人定懿公，使來告難，故書以九月。齊公子元，不順懿公之爲政也，終不曰公，曰夫己氏。

宋高哀爲蕭封人，以爲卿，不義，宋公而出，遂來奔。書曰：「宋子哀來奔，貴之也。」

襄仲使告于王，請以王寵求昭姬于齊，曰：「殺其子，焉用其母，請受而罪之。」冬，單伯如齊，請子叔姬，齊人執之，又執子叔姬。

- XIV. 1 In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from Tsin.
- 2 A body of men from Choo invaded our southern border; [and] Shuh P'ang-sang led a force, and invaded Choo.
- 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-hae, P'wan, marquis of Ts'e, died.
- 4 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Ts'aou, and Chaou Tun of Tsin; [and] on Kwei-y'ew they made a covenant together in Sin-shing.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, there was a comet, which entered the Northern Bushel.
- 6 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 7 The people of Tsin undertook to establish Ts'eh-tsze as viscount of Choo, but did not do so.
- 8 In the ninth month, on K'eah-shin, Kung-sun Gaou died in Ts'e.
- 9 Shang-jin, a son of duke [Hwan] of Ts'e, murdered his ruler, Shay.
- 10 Tsze-gae of Sung came to Loo, a fugitive.
- 11 In winter, the earl of Shen went to Ts'e; and the people of Ts'e seized him and held him prisoner.
- 12 The people of Ts'e [also] seized the second daughter of our house, who was there, and held her prisoner.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here:—'This spring, king K'ing died. Yueh, duke of Chow, and Wang-sun Soo were contending which should get the government into his hands; and therefore no intelligence of the event came officially to Loo. The deaths of kings and princes of States which were not announced were not recorded, and the same rule obtained in regard to events prosperous or calamitous;—as a method of reproving the want of reverence implied [in not making those communications].']

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'On the death of duke Wan of Choo [See XIII. 3], the duke sent his condolences by an officer, who did not behave respectfully; and a body of troops from Choo came to punish [the slight], and invaded our southern border. In consequence of this, Hwuy-pih invaded Choo.' Shuh P'ang-sang is the same as the Shuh-chung P'ang-sang of XI. 2.

Par. 3. This P'wan—duke Ch'aou—had made himself marquis of Ts'e, in the 28th year of duke He, by the murder of the son of his brother, duke H'eaou. The Chuen says:—'A second daughter of one of our dukes was the wife of duke Ch'aou of Ts'e, and bore him Shay. She was not a favourite with him, however, and Shay was devoid of any dignity. Shang-jin, a son of duke [Hwan], gave frequent largesses to the people, and collected about him many followers. When he had exhausted his own resources, he borrowed from the duke and [various] officers [for the same purpose]. In summer, in the 5th month, duke Ch'aou died, and Shay succeeded him.'

Par. 4. Sin-shing was in Sung,—in the southwest of the pres. dis. of Shang-k'ew, dep. Kwei-tih. For the phrase 同盟, see on III. xvi. 4. The use of it here is favourable to the view of its meaning given there by Tso-she. He says here that this meeting and covenant were to celebrate the submission [to Tsin] of the States which had [for a time] followed Ts'oo, and to consult about Choo.

[The Chuen appends here about Ts'e:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, on the night of Yih-maou, Shang-jin of Ts'e murdered Shay, and offered to yield the State to [his own elder brother], Yuen. Yuen said, "You have been seeking it for a long time. I can serve you; but you are not the man in whom to awaken further dissatisfaction and resentment. Would you in that case spare me? Take you the marquise."']

Par. 5. 星孛—彗星, 'a comet.' The meaning of 孛 is variously explained. K'ung Ying-tah says the comet is so called from the resemblance of its motion to that of a broom (其形孛孛似掃). Then as a broom sweeps away what is old to give place to something new, a comet is supposed to presage changes. With regard to this comet, the Chuen relates that Shuh-fuh, the historiographer of the Interior, of Chow, said, 'In not more than 7 years, the rulers of Sung, Ts'e, and Tsin will all die amidst the disorder of their States.' The 'Northern Bushel' is Ursa Major.

Par. 7. For 捷 Kung has 接. The Chuen says:—'The first wife of duke Wan of Choo was

a K'ang of Ts'e, who bore to him [K'woh-tseu, who became] duke Ting. His second wife was a Ke of Tsin, who bore to him Ts'eh-tsze. On his death, the people of Choo raised K'woh-tseu to his father's place, and Ts'eh-tsze fled to Tsin. Chaou Tun of Tsin then undertook, with the armies of several of the States,—a force [in all] of 800 chariots,—to place him in the marquise. But the people of Choo refused to receive him, saying, "K'woh-tseu is the son of [K'ang of] Ts'e, and the elder of the two." Chaou S'eu said, "They have reason for their refusal; and if we do not accept it, our conduct will be of evil omen." He accordingly returned to Tsin.'

The K'ang-he editors say that the concluding words of the par.—弗克納—are expressive of approbation, and the 人 in 晉人 of condemnation. We can see that if the undertaking were bad, then its abandonment was good and right; but the approbation is not in the characters, but in the fact. There is difficulty with the 人, as according to the Chuen the forces of many States took part in the expedition. To be sure they were all engaged in it in the interest and at the summons of Tsin; and therefore I prefer to translate 晉人 here by 'the people of Tsin,' rather than by 'an officer of Tsin,' or 'a body of troops from Tsin.'

[The Chuen appends here two narratives. The 1st continues that after par. 1:—'The duke of Chow and Wang-sun Soo being about to argue their differences before Tsin, the [new] king turned against Wang-sun Soo, and sent the minister Yin and T'an K'e to explain the case of the duke of Chow. Chaou Seuen pacified the royal House, and brought the parties to their former relations.'

The 2d is about the affairs of Ts'oo:—'On the accession of king Chwang [Son of king Muh], Tsze-k'ung and P'wan Ts'ung, intending to surprise the various Shoo States, appointed Kung-tsze S'eh, and Tsze-e, to remain in charge [of the govt.], while they themselves invaded Shoo-l'eaou. These two officers, however, made an insurrection, proceeded to wall Ying, and employed a ruffian to kill Tsze-k'ung, who returned without succeeding in that attempt. In the 8th month, they carried off the viscount, intending to go to Shang-meh; but Ts'ih-le of Leu and Shuh-keun beguiled them [to Leu], and put them to death,—both Tow K'ih [Tsze-e], and Kung-tsze S'eh. At an earlier time, Tow K'ih had been a prisoner in Tsin, which sent him, after the defeat at H'eaou, back to Ts'oo, to ask for a settlement of its differences with that State. This was effected, but he did not get his wish (in the shape of reward). Kung-tsze S'eh had sought the office of chief minister, but did not obtain it. These were the reasons why the two raised an insurrection.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'When Muh-pih [went to Keu], following the lady Sze [See the Chuen on VIII. 6], they in Loo made his son Wan-pih [The Kuh in the Chuen on I. 3] head of the clan [in his room]. He begat two sons in Keu, and then he asked to be allowed to return to Loo, getting Wan-pih to make intercession for him. S'ang-chung [agreed to his return] on condition that he should not appear in the court, which condition he ac-

cepted, returning to Loo, and not leaving his own house. After three years, however, he again went to Keu, taking all his household with him. Wän-pih fell ill, and begged [the duke] that [his brother] No might succeed him, as his son was still young; which was granted. This No was Hwuy-shuh. Again Muh-pih begged to be allowed to return once more to Loo, backing his application with large bribes. Hwuy-shuh also interceded for him; and the thing was conceded; but, when he was about to come, in the 9th month he died in Ts'e. [Hwuy-shuh] announced his death, and asked leave to bury him [with the honours of a high minister]; but this was refused.

Par. 9. The murder of Shay took place in the 7th month [See the Chuen after par. 4], but it is supposed that no communication about it was received from Ts'e until now; and the fact is recorded under the date at which the information arrived. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'e having settled [the succession of] duke E [Shang-jin], they sent to Loo to announce the troubles which they had had. Hence we have the record under the 9th month. Duke E's brother Yuen, dissatisfied with his administration of the government, never spoke of him as "The duke," but as "So and so, No. 6."

The critics are perplexed by Shay's being here denominated ruler, seeing the year in which his father died had not expired. Too, Maou K'e-ling, and others, argue that five months had elapsed since duke Ch'au's death, and that he was buried, and that therefore Shay might now be styled 'ruler (君);' but they do not take into consideration that Shay was murdered in the 7th month. Another perplexity arises here from Shang-jin being mentioned with his rank of 'duke's son;'—see on I. iv. 2.

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'Kaou Gae of Sung was the border-warden of Sëaou, and was appointed a high minister. Disapproving of the duke of Sung, he left the State, and then came a fugitive to Loo. His appearing in the text as "Tsze-gae" is in honour of him.' To this criticism on the designation the K'ang-he editors make some demur.

Parr. 11, 12. These two paragraphs have occasioned much perplexity and controversy. Duke Ch'au of Ts'e had been a son-in-law of Loo. His wife, it is understood, was the '2d daughter of the House of Loo,' in p. 12,—the mother of the murdered Shay, and whom Loo now wished to rescue from Ts'e.

The Chuen says:—'Sëang-chung sent an announcement to the king, begging that of his favour he would require Ts'e to deliver up Ch'au Ke, saying, "Having killed the son, what use have they for the mother? Let us receive her, and deal with her guilt." In winter, the earl of Shen went to Ts'e, and begged that they would give up the lady; but they seized and held him as a prisoner, doing the same also with her.'

Here Tso-she understands 單伯 as in III. i. 3, which see. The K'ang-he editors, agreeing with the majority of the critics that 單伯 was an officer of Loo, reject here altogether Tso-she's narrative. The views of Kung and Kuh, that Shen Pih had a criminal intrigue with the lady, they reject on other grounds. I think, however, Tso-she's view is correct.

As to 子叔姬,—see on XII. 3. The lady here of course is diff. from the one whose death is there recorded. Their being designated in the same way is certainly perplexing; and we do not know enough about them to explain and reconcile satisfactorily the two texts.

Fifteenth year.

十有五年，春季，孫行父如晉。  
三月，宋司馬華孫來盟。  
夏，曹伯來朝。  
齊人歸公孫敖之喪。  
六月，辛丑朔，日有食之，鼓用牲于社。  
單伯至自齊。  
晉卻缺帥師伐蔡，戊申，入蔡。

秋，齊人侵我西鄙。  
季孫行父如晉。  
冬，十有一月，諸侯盟于扈。  
十有二月，齊人來歸子叔姬。  
齊侯侵我西鄙，遂伐曹，入其郭。  
左傳曰：十五年春，季文子如晉，為單伯與子叔姬故也。三月，宋華耦來盟，其官皆從之。書曰：宋司馬華孫，貴之也。公與之宴，辭曰：君之先臣督得罪于宋殤公，名在諸侯之策，臣承其祀，其敢辱君，請承命於亞旅。魯人以爲敏。  
夏，曹伯來朝。禮也。諸侯五年再相朝，以修王命，古之制也。齊人或爲孟氏謀，曰：魯爾親也，飾棺，寘諸堂阜，魯必取之。從之。卞人以告，惠叔猶毀以爲請，立于朝以待命。許之，取而殯之。齊人送之。書曰：齊人歸公孫敖之喪，爲孟氏。且國故也，葬視共仲，聲已不視，帷堂而哭，襄仲欲勿哭，惠伯曰：喪親之終也，雖不能始，善終可也。史佚有言曰：兄弟致美，救乏，賀善，弔災，祭敬，喪哀，情雖不同，毋絕其愛，親之道也。子無失道，何怨於人？襄仲說，師兄弟以哭之。他年，其二子來，孟獻子愛之，聞於國。或譖之曰：將殺子。獻子以告季文子。季文子曰：夫子以愛我聞，我以將殺子聞，不亦遠於禮乎？遠禮不如死。一人門于句窺，一人門于戾丘，皆死。六月，辛丑朔，日有食之，鼓用牲于社，非禮也。日有食之，天子不舉，伐鼓于社，諸侯用幣于社，伐鼓于朝，以昭事神，訓民事君，示有等威，古之道也。  
齊人許單伯，請而赦之，使來致命。書曰：單伯至自齊，貴之也。  
新城之盟，蔡人不與，晉卻缺以上軍下軍伐蔡，曰：君弱不可以怠。戊申，入蔡，以城下之盟而還。凡勝國曰滅之，獲大城焉，曰入之。  
秋，齊人侵我西鄙，故季文子告于晉。



禮弗能取威虐詩也者侯曹齊齊不侯還且鄭冬  
 亂取于幼日己其入侯人與盟于謀伯十  
 弗能國時賤胡則不其侵來書于伐許一  
 在奉保畏于相反何免我我歸子有齊男月  
 矣禮之不天也天而故乎西鄙齊也曹晉  
 以守不畏于天又以行禮則其叔齊伯侯  
 猶懼于天周頌曰君子之禮無禮而討有  
 不終何能保天之不矣道禮而討有禮  
 多行無以之

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, Ke-sun Hǎng-foo went to Tsin.
- 2 In the third month, Hwa-sun, minister of war, of Sung, came and made a covenant.
- 3 In summer, the earl of Ts'auou came to Loo on a court-visit.
- 4 The people of Ts'e sent back to Loo the coffin of Kung-sun Gaou.
- 5 In the sixth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed. Drums were beaten, and victims were offered at the altar of the land.
- 6 The earl of Shen arrived from Ts'e.
- 7 Kēoh Keueh of Tsin led a force and invaded Ts'ae; and on Mow-shin, he entered [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 8 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders.
- 9 Ke-sun Hǎng-foo went to Tsin.
- 10 In winter, in the eleventh month, [many of] the States made a covenant at Hoo.
- 11 In the twelfth month, an officer of Ts'e came to Loo with the second daughter of our House.
- 12 The marquis of Ts'e made an incursion into our western borders, and then proceeded to invade Ts'auou, entering within the outer suburbs of its capital.

Par. 1. Tso-she says that this mission was on account of [the injury done by Ts'e to] the earl of Shen, and the second daughter of the House of Loo. The duke thought that the fear of Tsin might influence Ts'e more than the king's authority.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—“Hwa Ngow of Sung came to Loo and made a covenant, accompanied by the officers of his department. The text speaks of him with his office—“Hwa-sun,

minister of War, of Sung”—to do him honour. The duke was going to feast along with him, but he declined the honour, saying, “Your lordship's former servant, my ancestor Tuh, was a criminal with duke Shang of Sung (See II. ii. 1). His name is in the records of all the States. Charged as I am with his sacrifices, dare I disgrace your lordship [so]? Let me receive your commands from one of your officers of the rank below that of a high minister.” The people of

Loo considered him [in this speech] to be respectful and exact.

Hwa Ngow was, no doubt, made minister of War in Sung, after the death of duke Ch'auou's brother, Gang, as related in the Chuen on VIII.

8. The 孫 is here added to his surname just as we have in Loo 季孫臧孫 &c. As he is not said in the text to have been sent (使) on the mission by the duke of Sung, the critics discuss the point, very fruitlessly, whether he came to Loo as an envoy, or on his own motion.

Par. 3. Tso-she says, on this par., that ‘it was an ancient regulation that the princes of States should interchange these court-visits once in 5 years, in order to their better observance of the king's commands.’ But the subject of such visits is involved in obscurity. See on I. xi. 1.

Par. 4. On p. 8 of last year it was stated that the duke refused permission to have the body of Gaou brought to Loo to be buried. Here we find that the thing was finally brought about. The Chuen says:—“Some one in Ts'e gave counsel in regard to the circumstances of the Mǎng family [The descendants of K'ing-foo, the Chung-sun clan, were sometimes called the Mǎng and the Mǎng-sun (孟氏, 孟孫氏), saying, “[The House of] Loo and you are of kin. Get the coffin all ready with its decorations, and place it in T'ang-fow. Loo will be sure [to wish] to take it away.” This counsel was taken, and the commandant of Pēn sent word to the court [of where the coffin was]. Hwuy-shuh, still with all the symbols of deepest sorrow, took the opportunity to prosecute his [former] request, and stood in the court to await the duke's commands. The duke granted his request, when he took the coffin, and went through the ceremony of enshrouding the body [in the grand chamber of the Mǎng family]. An officer of Ts'e escorted the coffin. What the text says, that an officer of Ts'e brought the coffin of Kung-sun Gaou, was recorded out of regard to the Mǎng family, and its consanguinity with the ducal House. The burial was after the example of that of Kung-chung (K'ing-foo; with inferior honours to those due to a high minister). Shing Sze, (Gaou's first wife) did not go to see the coffin, but wept inside the screen in the hall. Sēang-chung wished not to weep, but Hwuy-pih said to him, “With the mourning there is an end of one's [living] relationship. Although you [and he] could not [be on good terms] before, you may be so now that he is gone. The historiographer Yih said, ‘Brethren should display all the beauty [of kindly regard], relieving one another's wants, congratulating in prosperity, condoling in calamity, in sacrificing reverent, in mourning really sad. Although they may be unable to agree, they do not abandon the relative affection which should subsist between them.’ Do not you, Sir, fail in this point;—why should you cherish such resentment?” Sēang-chung was pleased, and conducted all his brethren to weep for Gaou.

Years after, Gaou's two sons came [from Keu] to Loo, when the affection of Mǎng Hēn [The grandson of Gaou, and son of Wān-pih, Chung-shuh Mēih, then Head of the family] for

them became spoken of through the State. Some one slandered them to him, saying that they would kill him. He told this to Ke Wān; and the two young men [having heard of it], said, “His love for us is well known, and it is talked of that we mean to kill him. Would this not be far from what is right? It is better that we should die than be considered so far removed from propriety.” One of them, accordingly, died, defending the gate of Kow-mǎng, and the other died, defending the gate of Le-k'ew.

Par. 5. This eclipse took place at sunrise, on April 20th, B. C. 611. On the ceremonies which were now observed—鼓, 用牲于

社—Tso-she remarks that they were ‘contrary to rule,’ adding, ‘On occasion of an eclipse of the sun, the son of Heaven should not have his table spread so full as ordinarily, and should have drums beaten at the altar of the land, while princes of States should present offerings of silk at the altar of the land, and have drums beaten in their courts;—thus showing how they serve the Spirits, teaching the people to serve their ruler, and exhibiting the different degrees of observance. Such was the way of antiquity.’

The text here, with the exception of the name of the day, is the same as that in the account of the eclipse in III. xxv. 3. Tso-she there says that the ceremonies were ‘unusual;’ here, that they were ‘contrary to rule.’ The K'ang-he editors explain the difference of these criticisms by saying that the ‘6th month’ in III. xxv. 3 is a mistake for the 7th month, while the 6th month of the text is correct. Now the 6th month of Chow was the 4th month of Hēa, or the 1st month of the natural summer, when according to Tso-she, the ceremonies mentioned in the Chuen were appropriate. In the eclipse of duke Chwang, they were ‘unusual;’ the month was not the time for them. In this eclipse of duke Wān, they would have been right, if they had only been performed ‘according to rule.’ Perhaps this is a correct explanation of the difference of Tso-she's decisions in the two cases;—ingenious it certainly is. But see what I have said on III. xxv. 3 about the distinction which Tso would make out between eclipses in the 1st month of summer, and at other times.

Par. 6. Here we have 單伯 again, and the par. is appealed to as decisive of the question about the individual so described, whether he belonged to Chow or to Loo. Evidently, it is said, he belonged to Loo. Ordinarily the return of officers from their missions was not chronicled. The only exception was in the case of such as had been seized and imprisoned in the exercise of their functions. We have two cases in point, in X. xiv. 1, and xxiv. 2; and here in the text is a third. The argument cannot be lightly set aside; but why should not the king's commissioner, who had endured on behalf of Loo as 單伯 had done, go to that State on his liberation, and be received by the duke in the ancestral temple. Such a visit perhaps was necessary in order to the liberation of Loo's daughter, which is related in the 11th paragraph. Tso-she says here:—“The people of Ts'e granted what the earl of Shen requested, and liberated him, that he might come to Loo, and report

the fulfilment of his mission. The language of the text—'The earl of Shen came from Ts'e'—is modelled to honour him.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Ts'ae took no part in the covenant at Sin-shing [See p. 4 of last year], and now K'eh Keueh, with the 1st and 3d armies, invaded Ts'ae, saying, "Our ruler is young;—we must not dally over our work." On Mow-shin, he entered [the capital of] Ts'ae, obliged [the marquis] to make a covenant with him close by the wall, and returned.' Tso-she adds that when a State was [entirely] conquered, [the conquerors] were said to 'extinguish it,' and when a great city was taken, they were said to 'enter it.'

The form of this par. indicates two operations on the part of the general of Tsin; first the invasion, and next, when that failed to produce the submission of Ts'ae, the capture of its capital.

Par. 8, 9. Tso-she connects these two paragraphs together, saying that H'ang-foo's visit to Tsin was to inform that leading State of the injury received from Ts'e.

Par. 10. Hoo,—see VII. 8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the marquis of Ts'ae, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, and the earl of Ts'au, made a covenant at Hoo, renewing that at Sin-shing, and to consult about invading Ts'e. The people of Ts'e bribed the marquis of Tsin, and he returned without doing anything against that State. At this time the duke was not present at the meeting because of his difficulties with Ts'e. The text says that "the princes covenanted at Hoo, [without specifying them]," because they were able to do nothing.' This is Tso's judgment, and may be questioned. He adds, 'In general, on occasions of meetings of the States, when the duke of Loo was not present, the names are not specified, to conceal the duke's remissness! When he was present, and yet the

names are not specified, it is because he came late!'

Par. 11. Tso says that Ts'e thus sent the lady to Loo at last, 'because of the king,' i. e., in deference to his request or requirement.

Par. 12. The Chuen says that the former part of this paragraph tells the inability of the other States [to control Ts'e]; and the movement of Ts'e against Ts'au was to punish it because of the earl's visit to Loo (in p. 3). 郭 is defined

as 大郭, 'the extension of the suburbs. L'w Ch'ang observes that to penetrate thus far was nearly to enter the city itself (幾乎入).

The Chuen continues:—'Ke Wan said, "The marquis of Ts'e will not escape his doom. Himself regardless of propriety, he punishes those who observe it, saying, "Why do you practise that rule?" [Now], propriety is to express accordance with Heaven; it is the way of Heaven. He sets himself against Heaven, and goes to punish others [for obeying it];—it will be hard for him to escape his doom. The ode says (She, II. iv. ode X. 3),

'Why do ye not stand in awe of one another?  
Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven.'

The superior man does not oppress the young or the mean, because he stands in awe of Heaven. It is said in the Praise-songs of Chow (She, IV. i. [i.] VII.),

'I revere the majesty of Heaven,  
And for ever preserve its favour.'

By villainy he got his State. Though he were to try to keep it by all the rules of propriety, without the fear of Heaven, how can he preserve himself? I fear he would not be able to do so. Doing many things contrary to those rules, he cannot live [long]."

### Sixteenth year.

十有六年春，季孫行父會齊侯于陽穀，齊侯弗及盟。  
夏五月，公四不視朔。  
六月戊辰，公子遂及齊侯盟于鄆丘。  
秋八月辛未，夫人姜氏薨，毀泉臺。  
冬十有一月，宋人弑其君杵臼。  
楚人秦人巴人滅庸。

左傳曰：十六年春，王正月，及齊平。公有疾，使季文子會齊侯于陽穀，請盟。齊侯不肯，曰：「請俟君閒。」夏五月，公四不視朔，疾也。  
公使襄仲納賂于齊侯，故盟于鄆丘。  
有蛇自泉宮出，入于國，如先君之數。秋八月辛未，聲姜薨，毀泉臺。  
楚大饑，伐其西南，至于阜山，師于大林。又伐其東南，至于陽丘，以侵訾枝。庸人帥羣蠻以叛楚。麇人率百濮聚於選，將伐楚。於是申息之北門不啟。楚人謀徙於阪高。蔣賈曰：「不可，我能往，寇亦能往。」不如伐庸。夫麇與百濮，謂我饑不能師，故伐我也。若我出師，必懼而歸。百濮離居，將各走其邑，誰暇謀人？乃出師，旬有五日，百濮乃罷。自廬以往，振廩同食。次于句瀝，使廬戢黎侵庸，及庸方城。庸人逐之，囚于揚窓。三宿而逸，曰：「庸師衆，羣蠻聚焉，不如復大師。」且起王卒，合而後進。師叔曰：「不可，姑又與之遇，以驕之。」彼驕我怒，而後可克。先君蚡冒，所以服陘隰也。又與之遇，七遇皆北。唯裨，僚人實逐之。庸人曰：「楚不足與戰矣。」遂不設備。楚子乘駟會師于臨品，分為二隊。子越自石溪，子貝自勿以伐庸。秦人、巴人從楚師。羣蠻從楚子盟，遂滅庸。  
宋公子鮑，禮於國人，宋饑，竭其粟而貸之。年自七十以上，無不饋詒也。時加羞珍異，無日不數於六卿之門。國之材人，無不事也。親自桓以下，無不恤也。公子鮑美而豐，襄夫人欲通之，而不可，乃助之施。昭公無道，國人奉公子鮑以因夫人。於是華元為右師，公孫友為左師，華耦為司馬，鱗矐為司徒，蕩意諸為司城。公子朝為司寇。初，司城蕩卒，公孫壽辭司城，請使意諸為之。既而告人曰：「君無道，吾官近懼及焉。」棄官，則族無所庇。子身之貳也，姑紆死焉。雖亡子，猶不亡族。既，夫人將使公田孟諸而殺之。公知之，盡以寶行，蕩意諸曰：「盍適諸侯。」公曰：「不能其大夫，至于君祖母，以及國人，諸侯誰納我？且既為人君，而又為人臣，不如死。」盡以其寶賜左右，而使行人使人謂司城去公，對曰：「臣之而逃其難，若後君何？」冬十一月甲寅，宋昭公將田孟諸，未至，夫人王姬使帥甸攻

爲使耦司弟位文無杵弑日死蕩而  
司蕩卒城須使公道白其宋之意殺  
馬虺而華爲母卽也君君人書諸之

- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, Ke-sun Hǎng-foo had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh; but the marquis would not make a covenant with him.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke for the fourth time did not give audience to his ministers on the first day of the moon.
- 3 In the sixth month, on Mow-shin, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, and the marquis of Ts'e, made a covenant in Se-k'ew.
- 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Sin-we, [duke He's] wife, the lady Kēang, died.
- 5 [The duke] pulled down the tower of Ts'euen.
- 6 A force from Ts'oo, one from Ts'in, and one from Pa, extinguished Yung.
- 7 In winter, in the eleventh month, the people of Sung murdered their ruler, Ch'oo-k'ew.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'In the 1st month of this year, [Loo] and Ts'e agreed to be at peace, and the duke being ill, he sent Ke Wān to have a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in Yang-kuh. Ke Wān requested a covenant, but the marquis was unwilling to make one, and said, "Allow me to wait till your ruler is better." It is to be understood that the marquis of Ts'e did not believe that the duke was really ill; and many of the critics suppose that the illness was in some measure at least feigned. Yang-kuh—see V. iii. 5.

Par. 2. Tso says that this neglect of the duties of the 1st day of the moon was owing to the duke's illness. The phrase 視朔 is a pregnant one. Acc. to Maou, the first day of the moon was inaugurated by the sacrifice of a sheep in the ancestral temple, after which the prince announced to his ancestors the arrival of the day, according to the calendar which he had received from the king, and asked their permission to go on to the duties of the month. All this was called 告朔. When these ceremonies were over, he proceeded to give audience to his ministers, and arrange, so far as could be done, for the business of the month, and this was called 視朔 and 聽朔. From the 2d month to the 5th this business had now been left undischarged. I do not see why we should not simply receive the reason assigned for it by Tso-shē; but the critics are as unbelieving in the duke's illness as the marquis of Ts'e was. Kaou K'ang says that if the non-observance was from illness, it was nothing extraordinary, and would not have been recorded;—the real reason was the duke's indolence, and inattention to the duties of his position. Hwang

Chung-yen (黃仲炎; Sung dyn., 1st half of 13th century) even finds in the text an intimation that for 4 months on end the duke had neglected all the affairs of the govt.

Par. 3. For 鄆 Kung-yang has 犀, and Kuh-lēang has 師. Se-k'ew was in Ts'e,—somewhere in the pres. dis. of Tung-o (東阿), dep. T'ac-gan.

The Chuen says that the covenant was brought about by the duke's sending Sēang-chung (Kung-tsze Suy) with bribes to the marquis of Ts'e.

Parr. 4, 5. This lady Kēang was Shing Kēang (聲姜), the widow of duke He, and mother of Wān. Kung-yang says that 'the tower of Ts'euen' was the name given to that built at Lang by duke Chwang in his 31st year. The Chuen says:—'There came out from the palace of Ts'euen, and entered the capital, serpents, as many as there had been marquises of Loo [No fewer than seventeen]; and when Shing-kēang died on Sin-we in the 8th month, [the duke] caused the tower to be pulled down.' If this story were true, we must suppose that the people believed there was some connection between the appearance of the serpents and the death of the duchess, who perhaps lived in the palace of Ts'euen.

Par. 6. Pa was a considerable State, whose lords were viscounts, with the Chow surname of Ke. It has left its name in Pa, the principal dis. of the dep. Ch'ung-k'ing (重慶), Sze-ch'uen. Of Yung little is known. Its chief town was 40 里 east from the pres. dis. city of

Chuh-shan (竹山), dep. Yun-yang (鄆陽), Hoo-pih. The Chuen says:—'There was a great famine in Ts'oo, and the Jung invaded it on the south west, advancing as far as the hill of Fow, and taking post with their army at Ta-lin. Another body of them invaded it on the south-east, advancing as far as Yang-k'ew, and thence making an incursion to Tsze-che. The people of Yung, [at the same time], headed all the tribes of the Man in a revolt against Ts'oo, while those of Kēun led on the many tribes of the Puh, and collected at Seuēn, intending to invade it. On this the gates of Shin and Seih on the north were kept shut, and some in Ts'oo counselled removing from the capital to Fan-kaou. Wei Kēa, however, advised against such a step, saying, "If we can go there, the robbers also can go there. The best plan is to invade Yung. Kēun and all the Puh think that we are unable from the famine to take the field, and therefore they invade us. If we send forth an army, they are sure to be afraid, and will return to their own country. The Puh dwell apart from one another, and when they are hurriedly going off, each tribe for its own towns, who among them will have leisure to think of any body but themselves?" An army accordingly was sent forth, and in 15 days there was an end of the attempt of the Puh. The army went on from Leu, throwing open the granaries, from which officers and men shared alike, until it halted at Kow-she. From there Ts'ih-le of Lēu was sent to make an incursion into Yung, as far as to Fang-shing, when the people drove him and his troops away, taking prisoner Tsze-yang Ch'wang. He managed to escape on the third night after, and said, "The troops of Yung are numerous, and all the Man are collected. We had better return to the army [at Kow-she]. Having raised the king's troops, and effected a junction with them, we may then advance." Sze-shuh said, "No. Let us for a time keep meeting the enemy, to make them presumptuous. When they are presumptuous, and we have become angry, we shall conquer them. This was the way in which our ruler aforetime, Fun-maou [The father of king Woo of Ts'oo], subdued Hing-seih." Accordingly seven times they met the Jung, and seven times they fled. Only the men of P'e, Yēw, and Yu were employed to drive them off, so that the men of Yung said that Ts'oo was not worth fighting with, and gave up making any preparations against an attack. The viscount of Ts'oo then hurried, with relays of horses, to join the army at Lin-pin. He divided it into two bodies, with one of which Tsze-yueh proceeded to invade Yung by Shih-k'e, while Tsze-pei led the other by Jin. A body of men from Ts'in and another from Pa came to join Ts'oo. The result was that the tribes of the Man made a covenant with the viscount, and he proceeded to extinguish Yung.'

The above narrative is important, showing how Ts'oo, itself but half-civilized, was encompassed by tribes still more barbarous than itself, and in danger from them.

Par. 7. For 杵 Kung-yang has 處. The Chuen says:—'Paou of Sung, son of duke [Ch'ing, and half-brother of duke Ch'au], courteously entreated the people of the State. In a time of famine he exhausted all his stores of grain,

lending freely. To all who were 70 years old and upwards he sent [supplies of food], presenting them with more and rarer dishes at the [commencement of the] several seasons. There was no day when he was not a frequent visitor at the gates of the six high ministers; to all the men of ability he professed service and respect, and to his kinsfolk, from the descendants of duke Hwan downwards, he expressed sympathy and regard. Paou was beautiful and handsome, and the widow of duke Sēang [Duke Ch'au's grandmother and also Paou's; as having been the principal wife of their grandfather] sought a criminal intrigue with him; and though this proved impracticable, she helped him to bestow his favours [more widely]. In consequence of the unprincipled course of duke Ch'au, the people wished to raise Paou to the dukedom, on the ground of the wishes of the grand-duchess.

'At this time, Hwa Yuen was master of the right, and Kung-sun Yēw of the left; Hwa Ngow, minister of War; Lin Kwan, minister of Instruction; Tang E-choo, minister of Works; and the duke's brother, Chaou, minister of Crime. Before this, when Tang [the last] minister of Works died, [his son], Kung-sun Show, declined the office, and begged that it might be given to E-choo, [his son]. Afterwards, he told people, saying, "Our ruler is so unprincipled, that, as the office would bring me near him, I was afraid of calamity coming on me. By putting the office from me, I may seem to leave my kindred without protection. My son is a second self, but by means of him I could postpone my death for a while. Although I abandon him, I shall still not abandon my kindred."

'By and by, the grand-duchess wished to send the duke to hunt at Māng-choo, and have him put to death there. The duke came to be aware [of the plot], and set out carrying all his treasures with him. Tang E-choo said to him, "Why not go to some other State?" He replied, "Since I have not been able to satisfy the great officers, nor my grandmother, nor the people, who of the princes of the States will receive me? And moreover, since I have been a ruler, than that I should go on to be a subject it is better for me to die." With this he distributed all his treasures among his attendants, and made them go away. The grand-duchess sent word to the minister of Works that he should leave the duke, but he said, "If, having been his minister, I should now skulk away from him in his calamity, how should I appear before his successor?"

'In winter, in the 11th month, on Kēah-yin, duke Ch'au was going to hunt at Māng-choo; but before he arrived at the place, the grand-duchess, a lady of the royal House, had him killed by the directors of the hunt. Tang E-choo died with him. The words of the text—"The people of Sung murdered their ruler, Ch'oo-k'ew"—show that the ruler was devoid of all principle. Duke Wān [The above Paou] succeeded him, and made his own brother Seu minister of Works. Hwa Ngow died, and [the son of Tang E-choo], Tang Hwuy, was made minister of War.'

The K'ang-he editors enter here into a long discussion on the explanation which Tso-shē gives of the text's assigning the murder of duke Ch'au to the people of Sung, of which it is worth while to give the substance.—They say:

—In all the twelve books of the Ch'un Ts'ew, there are 3 cases, in which the murder of the ruler is attributed to the people:—1st, that in the text; 2d, the murder of Shang-jin by the people of Ts'e (p. 3 of the 18th year); and 3d, the murder of Mei-h-chow by the people of Keu (IX. xxxi. 7). There are 4 cases in which the murder of the ruler is attributed to the State: 1st, the murder of Shoo-k'e by Keu (9th p. of the 18th year); 2d, that of Chow-p'oo by Tsin (VIII. xviii. 2); 3d, that of Léaou by Woo (X. xxvii. 2); and 4th, that of Pe by S'eh (XI. xiii. 8). Now of all these 7 cases, Tso's canon can only be applied, with an appearance of justice, to the first two, the murders of duke Ch'ao of Sung, and Shang-jin of Ts'e. Then we have the murders of the three dukes Ling,—of Tsin, of Ts'oo, and of Chin, who were all bad rulers. The names of their murderers are fully given, viz. Ch'ao Tun (VII. ii. 4), Kung-tsze Pe (X. xiii. 2), H'ea Ch'ing-shoo (VII. x. 7). How is it that we have similar facts recorded with such differences of manner? The answer is that the sage made the Ch'un Ts'ew from what he found in the tablets of the old historiographers, in which the entries were made according to the announcements received in Loo from the diff. States,

which might be abbreviated, but could not be added to. Now when ministers murdered their rulers or sons their fathers, there would be few that would announce the exact truth to friendly States;—they would throw the crime on other, and generally on meaner parties. When the sage had carefully examined the historiographers of his State, and all that he heard in the 72 other States through which he travelled, if he wished to exhibit the real offender and execute him with his pencil, there was the diff. statement of the original communication; if he wished to allow the crime to rest on the parties on whom it was thrown, the real criminal escaped from the net. His plan was to leave it an open question as to the true criminals, and to write "the State murdered," or "the people of the State murdered"; and thus, though he gave no names, the crime of rebellious ministers and ruffian sons did not escape.

This note sufficiently disposes of the canon of Tso-she, and all other attempts to explain particular characters of the text on the 'praise and blame' principle. The editors' own account of the matter has been sufficiently discussed in the prolegomena.

### Seventeenth year.

十有七年春，晉人，衛人，陳人，鄭人，伐宋。夏四月，癸亥，葬我小君聲姜。齊侯伐我西鄙。六月，癸未，公及齊侯盟于穀。諸侯會于扈。秋，公至自穀。冬，公子遂如齊。

左傳曰：十七年春，晉荀林父、衛孔達、陳公孫寧、鄭石楚伐宋，討曰：「何故弑君？猶立文公而還，卿不書，失其所也。」夏四月，癸亥，葬聲姜。齊侯伐我西鄙，襄仲請盟。六月，盟于穀。晉侯蒐于黃父，遂復合諸侯于扈。平宋也。公不與會，齊難故也。書曰：「諸侯無功也。」於為貳於楚也。鄭子家使執訊而與之書，以告趙宣子曰：「寡君即

位三年，召蔡侯而與之事君。九月，蔡侯入于敝邑以行，敝邑以侯宣多之難，寡君是以不得與蔡侯偕。十一月，克滅侯宣多，而隨蔡侯以朝于執事。十二年六月，歸生佐寡君之嫡夷，以請陳侯于楚，而朝諸君。十四年七月，寡君又朝，以歲陳事。十五年五月，陳侯自敝邑往朝于君。往年正月，燭之武往朝夷也。八月，寡君又往朝。以陳蔡之密邇於楚，而不敢貳焉，則敝邑之故也。雖敝邑之事君，何以不免？在位之中，一朝于襄，而再見于君，夷與孤之二三臣相及於絳，雖我小國，則蔑以過之矣。今大國曰：「爾未逞吾志，敝邑有亡，無以加焉。」古人有言曰：「畏首畏尾，身其餘幾？」又曰：「鹿死不擇音。」小國之事大國也，德則其人，不德則其鹿也。鉅而走險，急何能擇？命之罔極，亦知亡矣。將悉敝賦以待於儵，唯執事命之。文公二年六月壬申，朝于齊。四年二月壬戌，為齊侵蔡，亦獲成於楚。居大國之間，而從於彊令，豈其罪也？大國若弗圖，無所逃命。晉鞏朔行成於鄭，趙穿、公婿池為質焉。

○秋，周甘飲敗戎于邲，垂乘其飲酒也。  
○冬，十月，鄭大子夷、石楚為質于晉。  
襄仲如齊，拜穀之盟。復曰：「臣聞齊人將食魯之麥，以臣觀之，將不能齊君之語偷。臧文仲有言曰：『民主偷，必死。』」

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, an officer of Tsin, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'in, and an officer of Ch'ing, invaded Sung.  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Kwei-hae, we buried our duchess, Shing K'ang.  
3 The marquis of Ts'e invaded our western borders. In the sixth month, on Kwei-we, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e made a covenant in Kuh.  
4 [Several] of the States had a meeting in Hoo.  
5 In autumn, the duke arrived from Kuh.  
6 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e.

Par. 1. Tso-she says:—This spring, Seun Lin-foo of Tsin, K'ung Tah of Wei, Kung-sun Ning of Ch'in, and Shih Ts'oo of Ch'ing, invaded Sung. [Coming] to punish it, they said, "For what cause did ye murder your ruler?" but yet they recognized duke Wän, and returned. The names of the ministers are not given in the text, indicating that they failed in what [they had undertaken]. Tso observes that from the time of duke Min, precedence is always given in the accounts of meetings, &c., to Ch'in over

Wei, while in this instance we have 衛人 before 陳人. He supposes the reason to be that Kung-sun Ning was a minister of lower rank than K'ung Tah.

Par. 2. See on III. xxxii. 2. Kung-yang gives 聖 for 聲. Tso says the burial took place late, in consequence of the troubles of Loo with Ts'e.



Par. 3. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4. Tso says:—‘The marquis of Ts’e invaded our northern border. Ssang-chung [on behalf of duke Wan] begged a covenant, and in the 6th month, a covenant was made in Kuh.’ The ‘western’ border of the text is the ‘northern’ in the Chuen. Ying-tah thinks the text is wrong, because Kuh lies north of Loo.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—‘The marquis of Tsin had a grand review in Hwang-foo, and proceeded to assemble the States again in Hoo;—for the pacification of Sung. The duke was not present at the meeting, because of the difficulties with Ts’e. The text says [simply] “the various princes,” [without further specifying them], because they accomplished nothing. At this meeting, the marquis of Tsin did not see the earl of Ch’ing, and concluded that he was [again] inclining to Ts’oo. Tsze-k’ea of Ch’ing, [being aware of this], sent for the carrier of despatches, and gave him a letter, in which he laid the following statements before Ch’ao Seu-en:—“In the 3d year of my ruler, he called the marquis of Ts’ae, and agreed with him that they should serve your State. In the 9th month, the marquis came to our poor city on the way to Tsin. But at that time we were occupied with the troubles caused by How Seu-en-to, and my ruler was not able to go along with him; but in the 11th month, having succeeded in diminishing [the power] of Seu-en-to, he followed the marquis that he might appear at your court before you the manager of its affairs. In his 12th year, [I], Kwei-sang, assisted my ruler’s eldest son, E, in persuading the marquis of Ch’in to separate from Ts’oo, and go to the court of your ruler. In his 14th year, in the 7th month, my ruler further appeared at your court to complete the business of [the submission of] Ch’in. In his 15th year, in the 5th month, the marquis of Ch’in went from our poor city to the court of your ruler. Last year, in the 1st month, Chuh Che-woo went to present E at your court; and in the 8th month, my ruler appeared there himself. That Ch’in and Ts’ae, near as they are to Ts’oo, have not wavered [in their adherence to Tsin], is all through our influence with them. But considering only our own service of your ruler, how is it that we do not escape [such an imputation as is brought against us]? Since his accession, our marquis paid one court-visit to duke Ssang, and has twice appeared before your present ruler. [His son] E, and more than one of us,

his ministers, have been one after another to K’ang. No other State has been more assiduous than ours in its service of Tsin. And now your great State says [to Ch’ing], “You do not satisfy my wishes!” There is ruin for our poor city; we are at the last extremity.

‘There is a saying of the ancients, “Fearing for its head and fearing for its tail, there is little of the body left [not to fear for].” And there is another, “The deer driven to its death does not choose the [best] place to take shelter in.” When a small State serves a large one, if dealt with kindly, it shows the gratitude of a man; if not dealt with kindly, it acts like the stag. That runs into danger in its violent hurry, for how in its urgency should it be able to choose where to run? [The State], driven by the commands to it without limit, in the same way only knows that there is ruin before it. We will raise all our poor levies, and await you at Y’ew,—just as you, the director of affairs, may command us. Our [former] duke Wan in his second year, in the 6th month, on Jin-shin, acknowledged the court of Ts’e, but in his 4th year, in the 2d month, on Jin-seuh, because Ts’e made an incursion into Ts’ae, he [felt obliged to] obtain terms of peace from Ts’oo. Situated between great States, is it our fault that we must follow their violent orders? If your great State do not consider these things, we will not seek to evade the command you shall lay upon us (i.e., Ch’ing would meet Tsin in arms, if the necessity were laid upon it).’

‘[After the receipt of this letter], Kung Soh of Tsin went and settled the difficulties with Ch’ing, Ch’ao Ch’uen, and Ch’e, son-in-law of duke Wan, going there as hostages.’

Par. 5. [The Chuen appends here two brief notices:—‘In autumn, Kan Ch’uh of Chow surprised the Jung in Shin-sh’uy, while they were drinking spirits, and defeated them.’

‘In winter, in the 10th month, E, the eldest son of the earl of Ch’ing, and Shih Ts’oo, became hostages in Tsin.’]

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—‘Ssang-chung went to Ts’e to express our acknowledgments for the covenant at Kuh. When he returned, he said, “I heard the people of Ts’e [say] they will eat the wheat of Loo, but according to my view they will not be able to do so. The words of the marquis of Ts’e are rude; and Tsang Wan-chung remarked that when a people’s lord is rude, he is sure to die.”’

其。莒弑其君庶。齊。季孫行父如。于齊。夫人姜氏歸。冬十月子卒。孫得臣如齊。秋公子遂叔。五章

左傳曰十八年春齊侯戒師期而有疾醫曰不及秋將死公聞之卜曰尚無及期惠伯令龜卜楚丘占之曰齊侯不及期非疾也君亦不聞令龜有咎二月丁丑公薨齊懿公之爲公子也與邾鄆之父爭田弗勝及即位乃掘而剛之而使鄆僕納閭職之妻而使職驂乘夏五月公游于申池二人浴于池鄆以扑扶職職怒鄆曰人奪汝妻而不怒一挾汝庸何傷職曰與剛其父而弗能病者何如乃謀弑懿公納諸竹中歸魯魯許之齊人立公子元

秋襄仲莊叔如齊惠公立故且拜葬也文公二妃敬嬴生宣公敬嬴嬖而私事襄仲宣公長而屬諸襄仲襄仲欲立之叔仲不可仲見于齊侯而請之齊侯新立而欲親魯許之

冬十月仲殺惡及視而立宣公書曰子卒諱之也仲以君命召惠伯其宰公冉務人止之曰入必死叔仲曰死君命可也公冉務人曰若君命可死非君命何聽弗聽乃入殺而埋之馬矢之中公冉務人奉其帑以奔蔡既而復叔仲氏

夫人姜氏歸于齊大歸也將行哭而過市曰天乎仲爲不道殺適立庶市人皆哭魯人謂之哀姜

莒紀公生太子僕又生季佗愛季佗而黜僕且多行無禮于國僕因國人以弑紀公以其寶玉來奔納諸宣公公命與之邑曰今日必授季文子使司寇出諸竟曰今日必達公問其故季文子使史克對曰先大夫臧文仲教行父事君之禮行父奉以

Eighteenth year.

十有八年春王二月丁丑公薨于臺下秦伯營卒夏五月戊戌齊人弑其君商人六月癸酉葬我君文公

周旋弗敢失隊。曰：見有禮於其君者，事之。如孝子之養父母也，見無禮於其君者，誅之。如鷹鷂之逐鳥雀也。先君周公制周禮曰：則以觀德。德以處事，事以度功，功以食民。作誓命曰：毀則爲賊，掩賊爲藏，竊賄爲盜，盜器爲姦，主藏之名，賴姦之用，爲大凶德，有常無赦，在九刑不忘。行父還觀莒僕，莫可則也。孝敬忠信爲吉德，盜賊藏姦爲凶德，夫莒僕則其孝敬則弑君父矣，則其忠信則竊寶玉矣，其人則盜賊也，其器則姦兆也，保而利之，則主藏也。以訓則昏，民無則焉，不度於善，而皆在於凶德，是以去之。昔高陽氏有才子八人，伯翳、仲虺、龍降、庭堅、仲容、叔達、齊聖、廣淵，明允篤誠，天下之民謂之八愷。高辛氏有才子八人，伯翳、仲虺、叔獻、季仲、伯虎、仲熊、叔豹、季狸，忠肅共懿，宣慈惠和，天下之民謂之八元。此十六族也，世濟其美，不隕其名，以至於堯。堯不能舉，舜臣堯，舉八愷，使主后土，以揆百事，莫不時序，地平天成。舉八元，使布五教于四方，父義，母慈，兄友，弟共，子孝，內平，外成。昔帝鴻氏有不才子，掩義隱賊，好行凶德，醜類惡物，頑嚚不友，是與比周。天下之民謂之渾敦。少皞氏有不才子，毀信廢忠，崇飾惡言，靖譖庸回，服讒蒐慝，以誣盛德，天下之民謂之檮杌。此三族也，世濟其凶，增其惡名，以至於堯，堯不能去。緡雲氏有不才子，貪于飲食，冒于貨賄，侵欲崇侈，不可盈厭，聚斂積實，不知紀極，不分孤寡，不恤窮匱，天下之民，以比三凶，謂之饕餮。舜臣堯，賓于四門，流四凶族，渾敦、窮奇、檮杌、饕餮，投諸四裔，以禦魑魅，是以堯崩而天下如一，同心戴舜，以爲天子，以其舉十六相，去四凶也。故虞書數舜之功，曰：慎徽五典，五典克從，無違教也。曰：納于百揆，百揆時序，無廢事也。曰：賓于四門，四門穆穆，無凶人也。舜有大功二十而爲天子，今行父雖未獲一吉人，去一凶矣，於舜之功，二十之一也，庶幾免於戾乎。

○宋武氏之族，道昭公子，將奉司城須以作亂。十二月，宋公殺母弟須，及昭公子，使戴莊、桓之族，攻武氏於司馬子伯之館，遂出武穆之族，使公孫師爲司城。公子朝卒，使樂呂爲司寇，以靖國人。

- XVIII. 1 In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ting-ch'ow, the duke died, [in a chamber] beneath [one] of his towers.  
 2 Ying, earl of Ts'in, died.  
 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-seuh, the people of Ts'e murdered their ruler, Shang-jin.  
 4 In the sixth month, on Kwei-yëw, we buried our ruler, duke Wän.  
 5 In autumn, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, and Shuh-sun Tih-shin, went to Ts'e.  
 6 In winter, in the tenth month, the [duke's] son died.  
 7 The [duke's] wife, the lady Këang, went back to Ts'e.  
 8 Ke-sun Häng-foo went to Ts'e.  
 9 Keu murdered its ruler, Shoo-k'e.

Par. 1. See on III. xxxii. 4, and V. xxxiii. 11. Kuh-lëang says here that duke Wän did not die in the place where he should have died; but all the Chuen, and the critics also, are provokingly silent as to what or where the place was. Only in Koo Tung-kaou's 'Tables of the great matters in the Ch'un Ts'ew (顧棟高春秋大事表卷七之一)' have I found anything bearing on the subject. He says that the tower was that of Ts'eu'en, mentioned in XVI. 5, —a tower in the palace of Ts'eu'en. It is there said that the duke pulled the tower down, and Koo adds that he pulled down the palace as well. Yet it happened that he died somehow where the tower had been, showing that the death foreshadowed by the serpents that issued from under it was not that of Shing Këang, but the duke's own death! The matter must be left in its obscurity.

The Chuen says:—'In the spring, the marquis of Ts'e, was preparing for the time when he should take the field [to attack Loo], when he fell ill, and his physician said that he would die before autumn. The duke heard of it, and consulted the tortoise-shell, saying, "May his death take place before the time [of his taking the field]!"' Hwuy-pih communicated the subject inquired about to the shell. Ts'oo-k'ëw, the diviner, performed the operation, and said, "The marquis of Ts'e will die before that time, though not of illness; and the duke also [will die] without hearing of the marquis's death. There is evil also in store for him who communicated the subject to the shell." [Accordingly], the duke died on Ting-ch'ow, in the 2d month.'

Par. 2. This was duke K'ang (康公); and this is the first record of the death of an earl of Ts'in in the Classic. The growth of the State had been rapid, for it was not till after the battle of Shing-puh that its chiefs interchanged messages and other courtesies with the princes of the Middle States.

Par. 3. 齊人, —see on XVI. 7. The Chuen says:—'When duke E of Ts'e was [only] duke's son, he had a strife with the father of Ping Ch'uh about some fields, in which he did not

get the better; and therefore, when he became marquis, he caused the grave of his opponent to be dug open, and the feet of the corpse to be cut off, while yet he employed Ch'uh as his charioteer. And though he took to himself the wife of Yen Chih, he carried Chih with him as the third attendant in his chariot.

'In summer, in the 5th month, the duke having gone to the pool of Shin, these two men were bathing in the pool, when Ch'uh struck the other with a twig, and then said to him, when he got angry, "Since you allowed your wife to be taken from you without being angry, how does a tap like that hurt you?" "How is it," replied Chih, "between me and him who was able to see his father's feet cut off without feeling aggrieved?"' The two men then consulted together, murdered duke E, and laid his body among the bamboos. They then returned [to the city], calmly put down their cups [after drinking], and went away. The people of Ts'e raised duke Hwan's son Yuen to his brother's place.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, Sëang-chung and Chwang-shuh went to Ts'e, [to congratulate] duke Hwuy on account of his accession, and to express Loo's acknowledgment for the presence of an officer of Ts'e at duke Wän's burial.' Sëang-chung was charged with one of these duties, and Chwang-shuh with the other. Though they went together, each had his own mission. But they transacted other business in Ts'e. The Chuen goes on:—'King Ying, the second wife [in rank] of duke Wän bore him a son, [Ts'eh, who became] duke Sëuën. She was the duke's favourite, and privately paid court to Sëang-chung, to whom she entrusted the care of her son's interests as he grew up. [In consequence of this], Sëang-chung wished to declare Ts'eh his father's successor; but Shuh-chung (Shuh P'ang-sang, or Hwuy-pih) objected. When Chung had an interview with the marquis of Ts'e, he begged his sanction to what he proposed, and the marquis, being new in his own position, and wishing to be on friendly terms with Loo, granted it.'

Par. 6. The son who is here said to have died was called Goh, duke Wän's eldest son by the lady Këang (See IX. 2). By her, his proper wife, the duke had two sons, Goh and

She; and on his death, Goh, the elder of the two, though only a child, had been recognized as 'marquis'; and as the late marquis was now buried, he ought to appear here with his name and his title as 'marquis' or 'ruler.' Instead of dying a natural death, as we should conclude from the text, he was murdered, as the Chuen immediately goes on to relate. The critics have a great deal to say in trying to account for the state of the record in the text; but it is of the same character as many others throughout the classic, from which we should do anything but know the truth about the things recorded, if we were entirely dependent on the sage for our information. The instances of 子般 in III.

xxxii. 5, and 子野, in IX. xxi. 3, are somewhat diff. from that before us, because in them the fathers of the young marquises had not yet been buried, and it was proper they should appear as 'sons' only.

The Chuen says:—"In winter, in the 10th month, [S'ang-] chung killed Goh and She, and set up [Ts'eh, who became] duke Seuen. The entry that 'the [duke's] son died' is to conceal the nature of the fact. Chung then, [as if] by the [young] ruler's order, called Hwuy-pih [to come to him]. Hwuy-pih's steward, Kung-jen Woo-jin endeavoured to stop him, saying that, if he entered [the palace], he was sure to die. Shuh-chung said, "If I die in obeying my ruler's command, it is right I should do so." The steward answered, "Yes, if it be the ruler's command; but if it be not, why should you listen to it?" Hwuy-pih would not take this advice, but entered [the palace], where they killed him, and hid his body among the horses' dung. His steward then carried his wife and children with him, and fled to Ts'ae; but the Shuh-chung family was afterwards restored."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"This return of duke Wän's wife K'ang to Ts'ae was a return for good. When she was about to go, she wept aloud. Passing through the market place, she cried out, "O Heaven, Chung has done wickedly, killing the son of the wife, and setting up the son of a concubine!" All in the market wept, and the people of Loo called her Gae K'ang ("The sorrowful K'ang")."

Par. 8. Kung-tze Suy, Shuh-sun Tih-shin, and Ke-sun Häng-foo were confederates in the atrocious deeds which had been perpetrated. The former two had got a sort of sanction for them from the marquis of Ts'ae, as related in p. 5, and Häng-foo now went to tell him of their accomplishment.

Par. 9. The Chuen has a long narrative on this paragraph:—"Duke Ke of Keu had two sons,—Puh the eldest, [and who should have succeeded him], and Ke-to; but through his love for Ke-to he degraded Puh. He also did many things against all propriety in the State, and Puh, by the help of the people, proceeded to murder him. He then gathered all his valuable treasures together, and came flying with them to Loo, and presented them to duke Seuen. The duke gave orders to assign him a city, saying, "It must be given to him to-day;" but Ke Wän made the minister of Crime send him beyond the borders, saying, "He must get there to-day." The duke asked the reason of this conduct, and Ke Wän sent K'ih, the grand historiographer, with

the following reply:—"A deceased great officer of our State, Tsang Wän-chung taught Häng-foo rules to guide him in serving his ruler, and Häng-foo gives them the widest application, not daring to let them slip from his mind. Wän-chung's words were, 'When you see a man who observes the rules of propriety in his conduct to his ruler, behave to him as a dutiful son should do in nourishing his parents. When you see a man who transgresses those rules towards his ruler, take him off as an eagle or a hawk pursues a small bird.' The founder of our House the duke of Chow, in the Rules which he framed for Chow, said, 'By means of the model of conduct you can see a man's virtue. His virtue is evidenced in his management of affairs. From that management his merit can be measured. His services result in the support of the people.' In the Admonitory Instructions which he made, [the duke of Chow] said, 'He who overthrows [the laws of conduct] is a villain; and he who conceals him is his harbourer. He who filches money is a thief; he who steals the treasures of a State is a traitor. He who harbours the villain, and he who uses the treasures of the traitor, is guilty of the greatest crime. He must suffer the regular penalty, without forgiveness;—such a case is not omitted in [the Book of] the nine Punishments.' When Häng-foo viewed the whole action of Puh of Keu, he saw nothing in him fit to be a model of conduct. Filial reverence and loyal faith are virtues of good conduct; theft and villainy, and harbouring [the thief] and [accepting the gifts of] the traitor, are vices of evil conduct. Now what was the pattern of filial reverence given by Puh of Keu?—The murder of his father and ruler. And his pattern of loyal faith was his stealing the treasures and jewels of the State. The man is a robber and a villain; the things he brought with him are the signs of his treachery. To protect him and accept his gifts would be to be a principal in harbouring him. If we, with [the duke of Chow's] lessons, should take such a blind course, the people would have no pattern; and unable to take the measurement of good themselves, they would be in the midst of vices of bad conduct. It was for these reasons that [Häng-foo] sent Puh of Keu away."

"The ancient [emperor] Kaou-yang [*i. q.* Chuen-h'eh] had eight descendants of ability [and virtue]:—Ts'ang-shoo; T'uy-gae; T'ao yin; Ta-lin; Mang-hang; T'ing-k'een; Chung-yung; and Shuh-tah. They were correct and sagely, of wide comprehension and deep, intelligent and consistent, generously good and sincere:—all under heaven called them the eight Harmonies."

"[The emperor] Kaou-sin [*i. q.* Kuh] had [also] eight descendants of ability [and virtue]:—Pih-fun; Chung-k'an, Shuh-h'een; Ke-chung; Pih-hoo; Chung-h'eng; Shuh-p'ao; and Kelle. They were leal and reverential, respectful and admirable, all-considering and benevolent, kind and harmonious:—all under heaven called them the eight Worthies."

Of these 16 men [after] ages have acknowledged the excellence, and not let their names fall to the ground. But in the time of Yaou, he was not able to raise them to office. When Shun, however, became Yaou's minister, he raised the eight Harmonies to office, and employed them to superintend the department of the minister of

the Land. All matters connected with it were thus regulated, and everything was arranged in its proper season;—the earth was reduced to order, and the influences of heaven operated with effect. He also raised the eight Worthies to office, and employed them to disseminate through the four quarters a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society. Fathers became just and mothers gentle; elder brothers kindly, and younger ones respectful; and sons became filial:—in the empire there was order, and beyond it submission.

"The ancient emperor Hung [Hwang-te] had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He hid righteousness from himself, and was a villain at heart; he delighted in the practice of the worst vices; he was shameless and vile, obstinate, stupid, and unfriendly, cultivating only the intimacy of such as himself. All the people under heaven called him Chaos."

"The emperor Shaou-haou [Preceded Chuen-h'eh] had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He sought to overthrow faith, and disowned loyalty. He delighted in evil speeches and tried to make them attractive; he was at home with slanderers, and employed the perverse; he readily received calumnies, and sought out men's iniquities, to stigmatize what was sincere. All the people under heaven called him Monster."

"[The emperor] Chuen-h'eh had a descendant devoid of ability [and virtue]. He would receive no instruction; he would acknowledge no good words. When told, he was obstinate; when left alone, he was stupid. He was an arrogant hater of intelligent virtue, seeking to confound the heavenly rules of society. All the people under heaven called him Block."

"Of these three men [after] ages acknowledged the wickedness, and added to their evil names. But in the time of Yaou, he was not able to put them away."

"[The officer] Tsin-yun [In the time of Hwang-te] had a descendant who was devoid of ability and virtue. He was greedy of eating and drinking, craving for money and property. Ever gratifying his lusts, and making a grand display, he was insatiable, rapacious in his exactions, and accumulating stores of wealth. He had no idea of calculating where he should stop, and made no exceptions in favour of the orphan and the widow, felt no compassion for the poor and exhausted. All the people under heaven likened him to the three other wicked ones, and called him Glutton."

"When Shun became Yaou's minister, he received the nobles from the four quarters of the empire, and banished these four wicked ones, Chaos, Monster, Block, and Glutton, casting them out into the four distant regions, to meet the spite of the sprites and evil things. The consequence of this was, that, when Yaou died, all under heaven, as if they had been one man, with common consent bore Shun to be emperor, because he had raised to office those sixteen helpers, and had put away the four wicked ones. Therefore the Book of Yu, in enumerating the services of Shun, says, 'He carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be universally observed (The Shoo, II. i. 2):—none were disobedient to his instructions;—being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of each department were arranged accord-

ing to their proper seasons (*ibid.*):—there was no neglect of any affair;—having to receive the princes from the four quarters of the empire, they all were docilely submissive (*ibid.*):—there were none wicked among them. Shun's services were shown in the case of those 20 men, and he became emperor; and now, although Häng-foo has not obtained one good man, he has put away one bad one. He has a twentieth part of the merit of Shun; and may he not, perhaps, escape the charge of having been disobedient?"

[The above long and elaborate vindication of his conduct by Ke-sun Häng-foo is worthy of careful study in many respects. The references to men and things in what we may call the prehistoric period were, no doubt, in accordance with traditions current at the time, though we cannot accept them as possessed of historical authority, more especially as there is an anti-confucian spirit in what is said of Yaou.]

Leaving this, it is remarkable that Ke-sun, in condemning Puh of Keu, and vindicating his own conduct in expelling him from Loo, seems altogether unconscious of crimes in Loo nearly affecting himself, hardly less atrocious than those of which Puh had been guilty. He had allowed the murder of Goh and She by Kung-tze Suy: he had made no remonstrance on the murder by that statesman of their old colleague Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih. He connived in fact at these deeds, and was confederate with Suy in securing the usurpation by Seuen of the marquise. His expulsion of the refugee from Keu marks a new era in the relations of the marquis of Loo and his ministers. From the time of Ke Y'ew

(季友), the three great clans of Chung-sun, Shuh-sun, and Ke-sun had ruled the State, but the semblance of supreme authority was still left with the marquis. From the beginning of Seuen's rule, the government was carried on by the ministers with little regard to the wishes of the marquis, and often in opposition to them.

An inconsistency has been pointed out in the Chuen about Puh of Keu. If he, as it is said, 'by the help of the people,' murdered his father, then he ought to have taken possession of the State, instead of fleeing to Loo. Chaou K'wang would obviate this difficulty by changing 僕

因國人以弑紀公 into 僕因國人之弑紀公. But Ke-sun in his memorial charges the murder directly upon Puh. If we had more details of the state of things in Keu, the apparent inconsistency in Tso-she would probably disappear.]

[There is appended a short narrative about the affairs of Sung:—"The Woo clan in Sung led on a son of duke Ch'ao, to support Seu the minister of Works, in making an insurrection. In the 12th month, the duke of Sung put to death his own brother Seu, and the son of duke Ch'ao. He also made the heads of clans, descended from dukes Tae, Chwang, and Hwan, attack the head of the Woo clan in the court-house of Tsze-pih, minister of War, and then expelled the chiefs of the clans of Woo and Muh. He appointed Kung-sun Sze minister of Works; and on the death of Kung-tze Ch'ao, he made Yoh Leu minister of Crime;—thus quieting [the minds of] the people."]

## BOOK VII. DUKE SEUEN.

*First year.*

## 宣公

一章元年春王正月公卽位。二章公子遂如齊逆女。  
三章三月遂以夫人婦姜至自齊。四章  
五章夏季孫行父如齊。六章晉放其大夫胥甲父於衛。  
七章公會齊侯於平州。八章公子遂如齊。  
九章六月齊人取濟西田。  
十章秋邾子來朝。十一章楚子鄭人侵陳遂侵宋。  
十二章晉趙盾帥師救陳。  
十三章宋公陳侯衛侯曹伯會晉師於棐林伐鄭。  
十四章冬晉趙穿帥師侵崇。晉人宋人伐鄭。

左傳曰元年春王正月公子遂如齊逆女尊君命也三月遂以夫人婦姜至自齊尊夫人也夏季文子如齊納賂以請會晉人討不用命者放胥甲父於衛而立胥克先辛奔齊會於平州以定公位東門襄仲如齊拜成六月齊人取濟西之田爲立公故以賂齊也宋人之弑昭公也晉荀林父以諸侯之師伐宋宋及晉平宋文公受盟於晉又會諸侯於扈將爲魯討齊皆取賂而還鄭穆公曰晉不足與也遂受盟於楚陳共公之卒楚人不禮焉陳靈公受盟於晉秋楚子侵陳遂侵宋晉趙盾帥師救陳宋會於棐林以伐鄭也楚爲賈救鄭遇於北林囚晉解揚晉人乃還晉欲求成於秦趙穿曰我侵崇秦急崇必救之吾以求成焉冬趙穿侵崇秦弗與成晉人伐鄭以報北林之役於是晉侯侈趙宣子爲政驟諫而不入故不競於楚

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.
- 3 In the third month, Suy arrived with the [duke's] wife, the lady Kēang, from Ts'e.
- 4 In summer, Ke-sun Hāng-foo went to Ts'e.
- 5 Tsin banished its great officer, Seu Kēah-foo, to Wei.
- 6 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e in P'ing-chow.
- 7 Duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e.
- 8 In the sixth month, a body of men from Ts'e took the lands of Tse-se.
- 9 In autumn, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.
- 10 The viscount of Ts'oo and an officer of Ch'ing made an incursion into Ch'in, and went on to make one into Sung.
- 11 Chaou Tun of Tsin led a force to relieve Ch'in.
- 12 The duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'aou, joined the army of Tsin at Fei-lin, and invaded Ch'ing.
- 13 In winter, Chaou Ch'uen of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'ung.
- 14 A body of men from Tsin and one from Sung invaded Ch'ing.



TITLE OF THE BOOK.—Duke Seuen's rule lasted for 18 years, from B. C. 607 to 590. His name was Ts'eh (接), or, according to Sze-ma-t's'een, Wei (倭). He was a son of duke Wán by his favourite concubine, King Ying (敬嬴). His honorary title Seuen (宣) denotes—Fond of asking, and universally informed (善問周達曰宣).

His first year synchronized with the fifth of king K'wang (匡王); the 13th of Ling (靈) of Ts'in; the 1st of Yuen, duke Hwuy of Ts'e (惠公元); the 27th of Ch'ing of Wei; the 4th of Wán (文) of Ts'ae; the 20th of Muh of Ch'ing; the 10th of Wán (文) of Ts'au; the 6th of Ling (靈) of Ch'in; the 29th of Hwan of Ke; the 3d of Wán (文) of Sung; the 1st year of Taou, duke Kung (共公稻) of Ts'in, and the 6th of Chwang (莊) of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. This record of Seuen's accession is the same as that in II. i. 1. His marquise and Hwan's were both the fruit of murder, and, according to the canon for such a case, we should not have the 即位. See on II. i. 1.

Parr. 2, 3. The transactions recorded here were hurried on 'contrary to all rule,' through the urgency of the duke's circumstances, and his anxiety to make his ill-got position good by an alliance with the powerful House of Ts'e. The Chuen on p. 5 of last year tells us how Suy had obtained the sanction of Ts'e to the coup which he contemplated in Loo; and though it says nothing on p. 8, it is understood that Häng-foo, when he went to Ts'e, after the coup, obtained a contract of marriage between the duke and a daughter of Ts'e; and now no time was lost in the accomplishment of it. On 逆女, see I. ii. 5; and on the term 婦, see V. xxv. 3. But I do not see how the canon about the appellation 婦, which is there given, can apply here. Maou says, 'In her father's house the lady was called 女; on the way to the State where she was to be married, she was called 婦; in that State she was called 夫人.'

Tso-she says:—'Suy is here (in p. 2) called "duke's son,"—to do honour to the ruler's command; and in p. 3 only Suy,—to do honour to the wife.' I confess that I do not clearly understand this.

Par. 4. The alliance with Ts'e had been accomplished, but it was necessary the marquis should be acknowledged as the ruler of Loo at a conference with one or more great States; and to effect this was the object of Häng-foo's mission. Tso-she says:—'In summer Ke Wán went to Ts'e, and with the offer of bribes begged [the marquis] to give [the duke] a meeting.'

Par. 5. 放 may be translated 'banished,' but it denotes 'banishment to a certain place,

where the criminal must remain (安置此地, 不得他適, 曰放).' After the affair at Ho-k'eh, Chaou Ch'uen and Seu Keah-foo, who was then assistant-commander of the 3d army, frustrated, as the Chuen relates [VI. xii. 7] the design of Chaou Tun to attack the army of Ts'in while crossing the Ho. The crime had been allowed to slumber for nearly 8 years, and is now visited on Seu Shin, but not on Chaou Ch'uen, the leader in the offence. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'in, to punish him for his disobedience to orders, banished Seu K'eah-foo to Wei, and appointed [his son], Seu K'ih, to his command. S'een Sin fled to Ts'e.'

Par. 6. P'ing-chow was in Ts'e, in the pres. dis. of Lae-woo (萊蕪), dep. T'ae-gan. Tso says the meeting was 'to establish the duke's seat in Loo.'

Par. 7. Tso-she here calls Suy—'Tung-mun S'ang-chung,' i. e., S'ang-chung who lived near the eastern gate, where 東門 becomes a sort of surname; and says he now went to Ts'e, 'to express [the duke's] acknowledgments for the settlement [of his position].' See on V. xxvi. 5.

Par. 8. Tse-se t'ien,—see V. xxxi. 1. It seems a strange action on the part of the marquis of Ts'e, after all the favours he had done to duke Seuen, now to proceed to appropriate part of his territory. We must suppose that the bribe mentioned in the Chuen on p. 4, had only been offered and not paid, and that Ts'e lost no time in securing it (if these lands were the bribe), or at least an equivalent for it. The Chuen says:—'These fields were taken, because of the service in the establishment of the duke, in order to bribe Ts'e.'

Par. 9. All through the times of dukes He and Wán, Choo and Loo had been in bad relations. Perhaps the viscount of Choo came now to Loo, thinking the time was opportune for the healing of their differences, in which, however, he was deceived;—see below in the 10th year. Many critics think he made his visit through fear of Ts'e.

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'When the people of Sung murdered duke Ch'au (VI. xvi. 7), S'ün Lin-foo of Ts'in, with the armies of [several other] States, invaded Sung; but Sung and Ts'in made peace (VI. xvii. 1; the Chuen); and duke Wán of Sung was subsequently admitted to a covenant with Ts'in. [Ts'in], moreover, assembled the States at Hoo (VI. xv. 10), intending, in behalf of Loo, to punish Ts'e; but on that occasion as well as the other, it took bribes and withdrew, [without doing anything]. Duke Muh of Ch'ing [on this] said, "Ts'in is not worth having to do with;" and he was thereafter admitted to a covenant by Ts'oo. On the death of duke Kung of Ch'in [in Wán's 12th year], the people of Ts'oo did not behave courteously, and duke Ling of Ch'in obtained a covenant from Ts'in. The viscount of Ts'oo, [therefore], now made an incursion into Ch'in, and proceeded to make one into Sung.'

Par. 11. Tso says:—'To relieve Ch'in and Sung.'

Par. 12. For 裴 Kung-yang has 斐. Fei-lin was in Ch'ing,—in the pres. dis. of Sin-

ch'ing, dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'They met at Fei-lin to invade Ch'ing, but Wei K'ea of Ts'oo came to its relief, met the allies at Pih-lin, and took Heae Yang of Ts'in prisoner; on which the troops of Ts'in returned to their own State.'

Par. 13. In the Chuen on VI. xvii. 4, we find Chaou Ch'uen going to Ch'ing as a hostage. He had not remained there long, as the peace between Ts'in and Ch'ing, patched up by the letter of Tsze-kea of Ch'ing, had soon come to an end.

Ts'ung was a small State, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Ts'in. Its territory aforetime had been the State of Fung (鄆), in the pres.

dis. of Hoo (鄆), dep. Se-gan, Shen-se. The Chuen says:—'Ts'in wanted to ask peace from Ts'in, when Chaou Ch'uen said, "I will make an incursion into Ts'ung, and Ts'in, urgent in its behalf, is sure to go to its relief, when I can take the opportunity to ask for peace." He acted accordingly, but Ts'in would not make peace with Ts'in.'

Par. 14. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'in invaded Ch'ing, to repay the affair at Pih-lin [See on p. 12]. At this time the marquis of Ts'in was giving way to all extravagance, and Chaou Seuen, in whose hands the government was, offered repeated remonstrances without effect. In consequence of this, [Ts'in] could not make itself strong against Ts'oo.'

### Second year.

二年春王二月壬子宋  
華元帥師及鄭公子歸  
生師戰於大棘宋師  
敗績獲宋華元  
秦師伐晉  
夏晉人宋人衛人陳人  
侵鄭  
秋九月乙丑晉趙盾弑  
其君夷臯  
冬十月乙亥天王崩

左傳曰二年春鄭公子歸生受命於楚伐宋宋華元樂呂禦之二月壬子戰於大棘宋師敗績囚華元獲樂呂及甲車四百六十乘俘二百五十人馘百人狂狡輅鄭人鄭人入於井倒戟而出之獲狂狡君子曰失禮違命宜其爲禽也戎昭果毅以聽之謂禮殺敵爲果致果爲毅易之戮也將戰華元殺羊食士其御羊斟不與及戰曰疇昔之羊子爲政今日之事我爲政與入鄭師故敗君子謂羊斟非人也以其私憾敗國殄民於是刑孰大焉詩所謂人之無良者其羊斟之謂乎殘民以逞宋人以兵車百乘文馬百駟以贖華元於鄭半入華元逃歸立於門外告

而入見叔牂曰子之馬然也對曰非馬也其人也既合而來奔宋城華元爲植巡功城者謳曰睥其腹棄甲而復于思于思棄甲復來使其驂乘謂之曰牛則有皮犀兕尚多棄甲則那役人曰從其有皮丹漆若何華元曰去之夫其口衆我寡秦師伐晉以報崇也遂圍焦夏晉趙盾救焦遂自陰地及諸侯之師侵鄭以報大棘之役楚闕椒救鄭曰能欲諸侯而惡其難乎遂次於鄭以待晉師趙盾曰彼宗競於楚殆將斃矣姑益其疾乃去之晉靈公不君厚斂以彫牆從臺上彈人而觀其辟丸也宰夫肺熊蹯不熟殺之寘諸舂使婦人載以過朝趙盾曰吾知所過矣將改之稽首而對曰人誰無過過而能改善莫大焉詩曰靡不有初鮮克有終夫如是則能補過者鮮矣君能有終則社稷之固也豈唯羣臣賴之又曰哀職有闕惟仲山甫補之能補過也君能補過哀不廢矣猶不改宣子驟諫公患之使鉏麇賊之晨往寢門闕矣盛服將朝尚早坐而假寐麇退歎而言曰不忘恭敬民之主也賊民之主不忠棄君之命不信有一於此不如死也觸槐而死秋九月晉侯飲趙盾酒伏甲將攻之其右提彌明知之趨登曰臣侍君宴過三爵非禮也遂扶以下公噉夫葵焉明搏而殺之盾曰棄人用犬雖猛何爲闕且出提彌明死之初宣子田於首山舍於翳桑見靈輒餓問其病曰不食三日矣食之舍其半問之曰宣三年矣未知母之存否今近焉請以遺之使盡之而爲之簞食與肉寘諸橐以與之既而與爲公介倒戟以禦公徒而免之問何故對曰翳桑之餓人也問其名居不告而退遂自亡也乙丑趙穿攻靈公於桃園宣子未出山而復犬史書曰趙盾弑其君以示於朝宣子曰不然對曰子爲正卿亡不越竟反不討賊非子而誰宣子曰嗚呼我之懷矣自貽伊戚其我之謂矣孔子曰董狐古之良史也書法不隱趙宣子古之良大夫也爲法

受惡惜也越竟乃免宣子使趙穿逆公子黑臀於周而立之壬申朝於武宮○初驪姬之亂詛無畜羣公子自是晉無公族及成公即位乃宦卿之適子而爲之田以爲公族又宦其餘子亦爲餘子其庶子爲公行晉於是公族餘子公行趙盾請以括爲公族曰君君姬氏之愛子也微君姬氏則臣狄人也公許之冬趙盾爲旄車族之族使屏季以其故族爲公族大夫

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Jin-tsze, Hwa Yuen of Sung, at the head of a force, and duke [Wan's] son, Kwei-sang of Ch'ing, [also] at the head of a force, fought at Ta-keih, when the army of Sung was shamefully defeated, and Hwa Yuen was made prisoner.
- 2 An army of Ts'in invaded Tsin.
- 3 In summer, a body of men from Tsin, one from Sung, one from Wei, and one from Ch'in, made an incursion into Ch'ing.
- 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Yih-ch'ow, Chaou Tun of Tsin murdered his ruler, E-kaou.
- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

Par. 1. Ta-keih was in Sung,—at a bend in the west of the pres. Suy Chow (睢州), dep. Kwei-tih. Some refer it to a place, not far from this, in the dis. of Ning-ling. The Chuen says:—In the 2d month of this year, Kung-tsze Kwei-sang of Ch'ing received orders from Ts'oo to invade Sung. Hwa Yuen and Yoh Leu of Sung met him; and on Jin-tsze of the 2d month they fought at Ta-keih, when the army of Sung received a disgraceful defeat, Hwa Yuen being made prisoner, and Yoh Leu captured [Yoh Leu was probably put to death as well, for so only can we make a distinction between 囚 and 獲]. [The army of Ch'ing also took] 460 chariots of war, 250 men, and the left ears of 100. K'wang K'eaou engaged a man of Ch'ing, who jumped into a well, from which the other brought him out with the end of his spear,—[only] to be captured by him. The superior man will say that K'wang K'eaou transgressed the rule of war, and was disobedient to orders, deserving to be taken. What is called the rule of war is to be having ever in the ears that in war there should be the display of boldness and intrepidity. To slay one's enemy is boldness, and to show the utmost boldness is intrepidity; and he who does otherwise deserves death. 'When the battle was impending, Hwa Yuen slaughtered sheep to feed the soldiers, and did not give any to Yang Chin, his charioteer. When the battle came on, Chin said, "In the matter of the sheep yesterday, you were the master; in the business of to-day, I am the master." With this he drove with him into the

army of Ch'ing, which caused the defeat. The superior man will say that Yang Chin did very wrong. For his private resentment he brought defeat on his State, and destruction on [many of] the people. No crime could deserve greater punishment. May we not regard the words of the ode, about "people without conscience (She, II. vii., ode IX. 4)," as applicable to Yang Chin? He occasioned the death of many to gratify his own feeling.

'The people of Sung ransomed Hwa Yuen from Ch'ing with 100 chariots of war and 400 piebald horses. When the half of them had been sent, he made his escape back to Sung; and when he arrived at the capital, he stood outside the gate, and announced himself before he entered. When he saw Shuh-tsang [The designation of Yang Chin], he said to him, "It was the horses that did so;" but the other replied, "It was not the horses; it was myself." Having given this answer, he fled to Loo.

'Sung was repairing the wall of its capital, and Yuen had the superintendence of the work. As he was going a round of inspection, the builders sang, [as he passed],

"With goggle eyes and belly vast,  
The buff-coats left, he's back at last.  
The whiskers long, the whiskers long,  
Are here, but not the buff-coats strong."

Yuen made [one of] them ride with him in his carriage, and said to him, "Bulls still have skins; rhinoceroses and wild bulls still are many. The throwing away the buff-coats was not such a great thing." The work-man said,

"There may be the skins, but what about the red varnish for them?" Hwa Yuen said, "Go away. Those men have many mouths, and I am alone."

Parr. 2.3. The Chuen says:—"The army of Ts'in invaded Ts'in, in return for the attack of Ts'ung [P.13 of last year], and besieged Ts'auou. In summer, Chaou Tun of Ts'in relieved Ts'auou; and then, going on from Yin-te, he proceeded, along with the armies of [several] States, to make an incursion into Ch'ing, in order to repay the action at Ta-keih. Tow Ts'auou of Ts'oo [came to] relieve Ch'ing, saying, "Can we wish to get the adherence of the States, and shrink from the difficulties in the way of doing so?" He halted therefore in Ch'ing to wait for the army of Ts'in. Chaou Tun said, "Ts'auou's clan is so strong in Ts'oo, that it is likely to come to ruin. Let us for a time [give way, and] increase its malady." He accordingly withdrew before it."

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"Duke Ling of Ts'in conducted himself in a way unbecoming a ruler. He levied heavy exactions, to supply him with means for the carving of his walls, and shot at people from the top of a tower to see how they tried to avoid his pellets. Because his cook had not done some bears' paws thoroughly, he put him to death, and made some of his women carry his body past the court in a basket. Chaou Tun and Sze Ke [Hwuy, of whose return from Ts'in we have an account in the Chuen after VI. xiii. 2] saw the man's hands, [appearing through the basket], and asked about the matter, which caused them grief. [Tun] was about to go and remonstrate with the duke, when Sze Ke said to him, "If you remonstrate and are not attended to, no one can come after you. Let me go first; and if my remonstrance do not prevail, you can come after." Accordingly, Hwuy entered the palace, and advanced, through the first three divisions of it, to the open court before the hall, before he was seen by the duke, who then said, "I know my errors, and will change them." Hwuy bowed his head to the ground, and replied, "Who is without errors? But there can be no greater excellence than for a man to reform and put them away. There are the words of the ode (She, III. iii. ode I. 1.),

'All have their [good] beginnings,  
But few are able to carry them out to the end.'

From them we see that few are able to mend their errors. If your lordship can carry out your purpose to the end, the stability of the altars will be made sure, and not your ministers only will have reliance on you. Another ode (She, III. i. ode VI. 6) says,

'The defects in the king's duties  
Only Chung San-foo can repair.'

[showing how that minister] could mend the errors of the king. If your lordship can repair your faults, your robe will never cease to be worn."

'Notwithstanding this interview, the marquis made no change in his conduct, and [Chaou] Seuen made repeated remonstrances, till the marquis was so vexed that he employed Ts'oo

Mei to kill him. This Mei went to Seuen's house very early in the morning, but the door of the bedchamber was open, and there was the minister in all his robes ready to go to court. It being too early to set out, he was sitting in a sort of half sleep. Mei retired, and said, with a sigh, "Thus mindful of the reverence due to his prince, he is indeed the people's lord. To murder the people's lord would be disloyalty, and to cast away from me the marquis's command will be unfaithfulness. With this alternative, before me, I had better die;" and with these words he dashed his head against a cassia tree, and died.

In autumn, in the 9th month, the marquis called Chaou Tun to drink with him, having first concealed soldiers who should attack him. Tun's retainer, who occupied the place on the right in his chariot, T'e-me Ming, got to know the design, and rushed up to the hall, saying, "It is contrary to rule for a minister in waiting on his ruler at a feast to go beyond three cups." He then supported his master down the steps. The marquis urged on an immense dog which he had after them, but Ming smote the brute and killed him. "He leaves men, and uses dogs!" said Tun. "Fierce as the creature was, what could it do?" [In the meantime, the soldiers who were concealed made their appearance, but] Tun fought his way out, T'e-me Ming dying for him.

'Before this, once when Seuen was hunting on mount Show, he rested under a shady mulberry tree, and noticed one, Ling Cheh, lying near in a famishing condition. Seuen asked what was the matter with him, and he said that he had not eaten for three days. When food was given him, however, he set the half of it apart; and when asked why he did so, he said, "I have been learning abroad for three years, and do not know whether my mother is alive or not. Here I am not far from home, and beg to be allowed to leave this for her." Chaou Tun made him eat the whole, and had a measure of rice and meat put up for him in a bag, which was given to him. This man was now present among the duke's soldiers, but, turning the head of his spear, he resisted the others, and effected the minister's escape. Tun asked him why he thus came to his help, and he replied, "I am the famishing man whom you saw at the shady mulberry tree;" but when further asked his name and village, he made no answer, but withdrew, disappearing afterwards entirely.

'On Yih-ch'ow, Chaou Ch'uen attacked [and killed] duke Ling in the peach garden, and Seuen, who was flying from the State, but had not yet left its hills behind him, returned to the capital. The grand historiographer wrote this entry,—"Chaou Tun murdered his ruler," and showed it in the court. Seuen said to him, "It was not so;" but he replied, "You are the highest minister. Flying from the State, you did not cross its borders; since you returned, you have not punished the villain. If it was not you who murdered the marquis, who was it?" Seuen said, "Ah! the words (? She, I. iii. ode VIII. 1),

'The object of my anxiety  
Has brought on me this sorrow,'

are applicable to me."

'Confucius (?) said "Tung Hoo was a good historiographer of old time:—his rule for writing

was not to conceal. Chaou Seuen was a good great officer of old time:—in accordance with that law he accepted the charge of such wickedness. Alas! if he had crossed the border, he would have escaped it."

'Seuen then sent Chaou Ch'uen to Chow to meet duke [Wan's] son Hih-t'un, whom he raised to the marquise. On Jin-shin, Hih-t'un presented himself in the temple of duke Woo [the first marquis of Ts'in].'

The words of Confucius quoted above by Tso-she are nowhere else to be found. Perhaps Tso had heard them from the sage, or they had been reported to him. Some even think that he put his own view here into the sage's lips to give it more weight. Tun's conduct in employing the real murderer to go to Chow for duke Ling's successor cannot be justified; but on the whole, the reader will probably conclude that he received hard measure, first from the historiographer of Ts'in, and then from the sage as the compiler of the Ch'un Ts'ew.

[The Chuen appends here a further narrative about the affairs of Ts'in:—"At the time of the troubles occasioned by Le-ke [See the Chuen on V. iv. 8, *et al.*], an oath was taken [in Ts'in] that they would not maintain in the State any of

the sons of their marquises; and from that time they had no families in it which were branches of the ruling house. When duke Ch'ing [The above Hih-t'un], however, succeeded to the State, he gave offices to the eldest sons by their wives of the high ministers, and assigned them lands, so that they should form the branch-families of his House. He gave offices also to the other sons of the ministers by the same mothers, and recognized them by that designation [as the Heads of their families]. Their sons by concubines were made leaders of the duke's columns [of chariots]. Thus Ts'in came to have ducal families, other sons, and leaders of the duke's columns. Chaou Tun begged that [his half-brother] Kwoh might be made [Head of] their branch of the ducal families, saying, "He was the loved son of our ruler's (duke Wan's) daughter, and but for her I should have been a Teih [See the Chuen at the commencement of V. xxiv.]. The duke granted his request. In winter, Tun declared himself head of the flags-men of the chariots, and caused Ke of Ping [The above Kwoh], to whom he surrendered all his old adherents, to be made the great officer of their one among the ducal families.]'

### Third year.

三年春王正月郊牛之口  
傷改卜牛牛死乃不郊  
猶三望  
葬匡王  
楚子伐陸渾之戎  
夏楚人侵鄭  
秋赤狄侵齊  
宋師圍曹  
冬十月丙戌鄭伯蘭卒  
葬鄭穆公

左傳曰：三年春，不郊而望，皆非禮也。望，郊之屬也，不郊，亦無望可也。

○晉侯伐鄭，及鄭，鄭及晉平，士會入盟。

楚子伐陸渾之戎，遂至於雒，觀兵於周疆。定王使王孫滿勞楚子。楚子問鼎之大小輕重焉。對曰：在德不在鼎。昔夏之方有德也，遠方圖物，貢金九牧，鑄鼎象物，百物而為之備，使民知神姦，故民入川澤山林，不逢不若。魍魎罔兩，莫能逢之。用能協於上下，以承天休。桀有昏德，鼎遷於商，載祀六百。商紂暴虐，鼎遷於周。德之休明，雖小重也；其姦回昏亂，雖大輕也。天祚明德，有所底止。成王定鼎於郊，卜世三十，卜年七百，天所命也。周德雖衰，天命未改，鼎之輕重，未可問也。

夏，楚人侵鄭，鄭即晉故也。

宋文公即位三年，殺母弟須及昭公子，武氏之謀也。使戴桓之族攻武氏於司馬子伯之館，盡逐武穆之族。武穆之族以曹師伐宋。秋，宋師圍曹。報武氏之亂也。

冬，鄭穆公卒。初，鄭文公有賤妾曰燕姑，夢天使與己蘭，曰：余為伯僚，余而祖也。以是為而子，以蘭有國香，人服媚之如是。既而文公見之，與之蘭而御之。辭曰：妾不才，幸而有子，將不信，敢徵蘭乎？公曰：諾。生穆公，名之曰蘭。文公報鄭子之妃，曰陳嬀，生子華。子臧得罪而出，誘子華而殺之。南里使盜殺子臧於陳宋之間，又娶於江，生公子士。朝於楚，楚人酖之，及葉而死。又娶於蘇，生子瑕。子俞彌，俞彌早卒，洩駕惡瑕，文公亦惡之，故不立也。公逐羣公子，公子蘭奔晉，從晉文公伐鄭。石癸曰：吾聞姬姑耦，其子孫必蕃，姑，吉人也。后稷之元妃也，今公子蘭，姑甥也。天或啟之，必將為君。其後必蕃，先納之，可以亢寵。與孔將鉏，侯宣多，納之，盟於大宮而立之，以與晉平。穆公有疾，曰：蘭死，吾其死乎？吾所以生也。刈蘭而卒。

III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the bull for the border sacrifice received some injury in its mouth. It was changed, and the tortoise-shell consulted about the [other] bull. That died, and so the border sacrifice was not offered.

- 2 Still [the duke] offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.
- 3 There was the burial of king K'wang.
- 4 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded the Jung of Luh-hwän.
- 5 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'ing.
- 6 In autumn, the Red Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.
- 7 An army of Sung laid siege to [the capital] of Ts'aou.
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ping-seuh, Lan, earl of Ch'ing, died.
- 9 There was the burial of duke Muh of Ch'ing.

Parr. 1,2. See on V. xxxi. 3—5. The border sacrifice, here, however, was probably that at the winter-solstice to Heaven. Kuh-léang and other critics think that the characters,—牛

之口傷, indicate that the bull had itself become ill, without receiving any external injury (緩辭也, 傷自牛作也). Too says that the creature is here called 牛, and not 牲 or 'victim,' because the day for the sacrifice had not yet been divined for. Tso-she says:—'The giving up the border sacrifice, and yet offering those to the objects of Survey, were both contrary to rule. The latter were adjuncts of the former, and, if it were not offered, they might be omitted.' He does not say how the giving up the border sacrifice in the circumstances mentioned in the text was 'contrary to rule.' Maou thinks the fault was in giving it up so suddenly, without divining for another victim; but then he contends that the sacrifice was that offered at the beginning of summer, like the one in V. xxxi.

Par. 3. This burial must have been hurried on for some reason which we do not know. King K'wang was succeeded by his brother, king Ting (定王).

[The Chuen appends here:—'The marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, and penetrated as far as Yen. Ch'ing then made peace with Tsin, and Sze Hwuy entered its capital, and made a covenant.']

Par. 4. The Jung of Luh-hwän were a tribe of the Little Jung (小戎), whose original seat lay in the extreme west of the present Kan-suh; but, as related under the 22d year of duke He, they were removed by Ts'in and Tsin to E-ch'uen,—in the north of the pres. dis. of Sung (嵩縣), dep. Ho-nan; which brought them within the reach of Ts'oo. They were also called the Yin Jung (陰戎). For 渾 Kung has 賁; and both he and Kuh omit the 之 before 戎. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Ts'oo invaded the Jung of Luh-hwän, and then went on as far as the Loh, where he reviewed his troops on the borders of Chow. King Ting sent Wang-sun Mwan [See the former mention of him in the Chuen on V. xxxiii. 1] to him with congratulations and presents, when the viscount ask-

ed about the size and weight of the tripods. Mwan replied, "[The strength of the kingdom] depends on the [sovereign's] virtue, and not on the tripods. Anciently, when Hsia was distinguished for its virtue, the distant regions sent pictures of the [remarkable] objects in them. The nine pastors sent in the metal of their provinces, and the tripods were cast, with representations on them of those objects. All the objects were represented, and [instructions were given] of the preparations to be made in reference to them, so that the people might know the sprites and evil things. Thus the people, when they went among the rivers, marshes, hills, and forests, did not meet with the injurious things, and the hill-sprites, monstrous things, and water-sprites, did not meet with them [to do them injury]. Hereby a harmony was secured between the high and the low, and all enjoyed the blessing of Heaven. When the virtue of K'eh was all-obscured, the tripods were transferred to Shang, for 600 years. Chow of Shang proved cruel and oppressive, and they were transferred to Chow. When the virtue is commendable and brilliant, the tripods, though they were small, would be heavy; when it gives place to its reverse, to darkness and disorder, though they were large, they would be light. Heaven blesses intelligent virtue;—on that its favour rests. King Ch'ing fixed the tripods in K'eh-juh, and divined that the dynasty should extend through 30 reigns, over 700 years. Though the virtue of Chow is decayed, the decree of Heaven is not yet changed. The weight of the tripods may not yet be inquired about."]

Par. 5. The reason of this incursion was, says Tso-she, 'because Ch'ing had joined the party of Tsin.' See the Chuen appended to par. 3. The utter mercenariness of Ling of Tsin had alienated Ch'ing from it; but the earl seems to have hastened, on his death, again to join the side of the north against Ts'oo.

Par. 6. This is the first appearance of the Red Teih in the classic. They are supposed to have been so called, because they wore clothes of a red colour, as the White Teih preferred white. There were many tribes of them,—the Loo-she (路氏), K'eh-she (甲氏), &c. Their seats were in the pres. dep. of Loo-gan (洛安), Shan-se.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Three years after the accession of duke Wan of Sung, he put to



death his full brother, Seu, and the son of duke Ch'au, because of the schemes of the Head of the Woo clan about them. He then made the clans of Tae and Hwan attack Woo-she in the court-house of Tsze-pih, the minister of War, and drove out of the State the clans of Woo and Muh. They fled to Ts'au, and with an army from it invaded Sung. In autumn, an army of Sung laid siege to the capital of Ts'au, in return for the disorders occasioned by the officer Woo.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—“In winter, duke Muh of Ch'ing died. [His father], duke Wán, had a concubine of mean position, who was called Yen K'ei [As belonging to the House of the southern Yen], who dreamt that Heaven sent and gave her a *lan* flower, saying, “I am Pih-yew [The founder of that House]; I am your ancestor. This shall be [the emblem of] your child. As the *lan* is the most fragrant flower of a State, so shall men acknowledge and love him.” After this, when duke Wán saw her, he gave her a *lan* flower, and lay with her. She wished to decline his approaches, saying, “I am but a poor concubine, and should I be fortunate enough to have a son, I shall not be believed. I will venture to prove it by this *lan*.” The duke agreed, and she bore a son, [who became] duke Muh, and named him Lan. Now duke Wán had had an intrigue with Ch'in Kwei, the wife of [his uncle] Tsze-[e], and she bore to him Tsze-hwa and Tsze-tsang, the latter of whom for some offence left the State. His father by a deception put Tsze-hwa to death in Nan-le [See the 3d Chuen after V. xvi. 4], and he made some ruffians kill Tsze-tsang between Ch'in and Sung [See the 1st narrative in the Chuen after V. xxiv. 2].

“Wán also took a wife from the House of K'ang, who bore him Sze; but he having gone to the court of Ts'oo, was poisoned there, and died on his way back at Yeh.

“He also took a wife from the House of Soo, who bore him H'ea, and Yu-me. Yu-me died early; and both his father and S'eh K'ea hated H'ea, so that he was not appointed to succeed to the State. The duke then drove out all his own and his predecessors' sons, when Lan fled to Tsin, from which he attended duke Wán in his invasion of Ch'ing [See the Chuen on V. xxx. 5]. Shih Kwei said, “I have heard that when Ke and K'ei make a match, their descendants are sure to be numerous. The K'eis are lucky;—the great wife of How-tseih was one. Now, the duke's son Lan is the child of a K'ei. Heaven has perhaps opened the way for him. He must become our ruler, and his descendants will be numerous. Let us take the lead in receiving him, and we shall enjoy the greatest favour.” Accordingly, with K'ung Ts'ang-ts'oo and How Seuen-to, he received Lan, and brought him to Ch'ing, when they made a covenant with him in the grand temple, and had him appointed successor to the State;—thereby obtaining peace from Tsin.

“When duke Muh was ill, he said, “When the *lan* die, I will die. It is by them I live.” When they cut the *lan*, he died.”

Par. 9. Something must have hurried on this burial, but the critics cannot tell what. For 穆 Kung-yang has 繆.

#### Fourth year.

四年春王正月公及齊侯平莒及郟莒人不肯公伐莒取向  
秦伯稻卒  
夏六月乙酉鄭公子歸生弑其君夷  
赤狄侵齊  
秋公如齊  
公至自齊  
冬楚子伐鄭

左傳曰四年春公及齊侯平莒及郟莒人不肯公伐莒取向非禮也平國以禮不以亂伐而不治亂也以亂平亂何治之有無治何以行禮

楚人獻龜於鄭靈公公子宋與子家將見子公之食指動以示子家曰他日我如此必嘗異味及入宰夫將解龜相視而笑公問之子家以告及食大夫龜召子公而弗與也子公怒染指於鼎嘗之而出公怒欲殺子公子公與子家謀先子家曰畜老猶憚殺之而況君乎反譖子家子家懼而從之夏弑靈公書曰鄭公子歸生弑其君夷權不足也君子曰仁而不武無能達也凡弑君稱君君無道也稱臣臣之罪也鄭人立子良辭曰以賢則去疾不足以順則公子堅長乃立襄公襄公將去穆氏而舍子良子良不可曰穆氏宜存則固願也若將亡之則亦皆亡去疾何為乃舍之皆為大夫

初楚司馬子良生子越椒子文曰必殺之是子也熊虎之狀而豺狼之聲弗殺必滅若敖氏矣諺曰狼子野心是乃狼也其可畜乎子良不可子文以為大憾及將死聚其族曰椒也知政乃速行矣無及於難且泣曰鬼猶求食若敖氏之鬼不其餒而及令尹子文卒鬬穀為令尹子越為司馬鬬賈為工正譖子揚而殺之子越為令尹己為司馬子越又惡之乃以若敖氏之族圍伯贏於轅陽而殺之遂處烝野將攻王王以三王之子為質焉弗受師於漳潞秋七月戊戌楚子與若敖氏戰於臯澨伯棼射王汰斬及鼓跗著於丁寧又射汰斬以貫笠轂師懼退王使巡師曰吾先君文王克息獲三矢焉伯棼竊其二盡於是矣鼓而進之遂滅若敖氏初若敖娶於邳生鬬伯比若敖卒從其母畜於邳淫於邳子之女生子文焉邳夫人使棄諸夢中虎乳之邳子田見之懼而歸夫人以告遂使收之楚人謂乳穀謂虎於菟故命之曰鬬穀於菟以其女妻伯比實為令尹子文其孫箴尹克黃使於齊還及宋聞亂其人曰不可以入矣箴尹曰棄君之命獨誰受之君天也天可逃乎遂歸復命而

未伐冬生。改復勸後。子國之思。司自  
服鄭。楚命其善。何文也。治子敗。拘  
也。鄭子日所。使以無日。楚文王於

- IV. 1 In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke and the marquis of Ts'e [tried to] reconcile Keu and T'an. The people of Keu were not willing [to be reconciled], and the duke invaded Keu and took Hëang.
- 2 Taou, earl of Ts'in, died.
- 3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Yih-yëw, duke [Wän's] son, Kwei-säng of Ch'ing, murdered his ruler, E.
- 4 The Red Teih made an incursion into Ts'e.
- 5 In autumn, the duke went to Ts'e.
- 6 The duke arrived from Ts'e.
- 7 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. T'an was a small State, of the same surname as Keu [Sze, 巳] which has left its name in the dis. of T'an-shing 郟城, dep. E-chow. Hëang is, no doubt, that mentioned in I. ii. 2. Tso-she says that the duke acted wrongly, in now attacking Keu. 'States must be reconciled by the rules of propriety, and not by disorder. To attack Keu, without regulating [the difference by those rules], was creating disorder. By disorder to attempt to reconcile disorder, left no room for the [proper] regulation; and without such regulation, how could any rule of propriety be carried out?'

Par. 3. E was the eldest son of duke Muh, who died in the 10th month of the last year. He enjoyed his earldom, therefore, but a very short time. The Chuen says:—"A large turtle had been presented from Ts'oo to duke Ling of Ch'ing. Kung-tse Sung and Tsze-këa were going [soon after] to have an audience of the duke, when Tsze-kung's [The Kung-tse Sung] forefinger began to move. He showed it to Tsze-këa, saying, "On other occasions, when my finger has done this, I have been sure to taste [soon] some extraordinary dish." When they entered the palace, the cook was about to cut up the turtle, and they looked at each other, and laughed. The duke [saw it, and] asked the reason, which Tsze-këa told him. When the duke, however, was feasting the [other] great officers on the turtle, he invited Tsze-kung, but did not give him any. Tsze-kung was angry, dipped his finger into a dish, tasted the turtle, and went out, which so enraged the duke that he wished to kill him. Tsze-kung then consulted with Tsze-këa about their first killing the duke; but Tsze-këa said, "Even an animal which you have long kept about you, you shrink from killing; how much more should you shrink from killing your ruler!" The other turned round, and threatened to bring a charge against Tsze-këa, who then agreed, through fear, to let him take his course; and Tsze-kung murdered duke Ling in the summer.

The text says that Kwei-säng murdered his ruler, because his power was not sufficient [to

prevent the deed, as it ought to have been]. The superior man may say that a man who is benevolent, but has not prowess, cannot carry out his benevolence. In cases of the murder of a prince, when he is mentioned [by name], it indicates that he was without principle (?), and the mention of the name of the minister indicates his guilt.

'The people of Ch'ing wanted to raise Tsze-lëang [A son of duke Muh by a concubine] to be earl, but he declined the dignity, saying, "If it is to be given to the worthiest, I, K'eu-ts'ih am not fit to receive it. If it is to be given according to natural order, my brother Këen is the oldest." On this [Këen, known as] duke Sëang was appointed. He wished to drive away all the sons of duke Muh excepting Tsze-lëang, who remonstrated against the proposed measure, saying, "The sons of Muh should all be allowed to remain, and this is what I wish. If you banish them, then I will go into banishment with the rest;—what should I do, [remaining here alone]?" On this the duke let them alone, and they all became great officers.'

The K'ang-he editors reject from their text all the remarks of his own, which Tso-she has interjected in the above Chuen, seeing in them only matter for question and condemnation. Kwei-säng certainly was more blameworthy for his share in the murder of his ruler than Chaou Tun for his part in the murder of Ling of Ts'in.

Par. 4. See on p. 6 of last year.

Parr. 5, 6. [The Chuen gives here a long narrative relating to Ts'oo. 'Before this, Tsze-lëang, the minister of War in Ts'oo, had a son born to him,—Tsze-yueh Tsëaou. [When] Tsze-wän [Tsze-lëang's elder brother] [saw the child], he said 'You must put him to death. He has the appearance of a bear or a tiger, and the voice of a wolf. If you do not kill him, he will cause the extinction of our Joh-gaou family. There is the common saying, 'A wolf-like child will have an evil heart.' This is a wolf, and should he be brought up in your family?' Tsze-lëang rejected this proposal,—to the great grief of Tsze-wän, who collected all his family, when he was about to die, and said to them,

"When Tsëaou is entrusted with the govt., do you quickly leave the State, so as to avoid the misfortunes he will occasion." He then wept, and said, "If ghosts must be seeking for food, will not those of our Joh-gaou clan be famished?" When Tsze-wän, who was the chief minister of Ts'oo, died, the office was given to Tow Pan [Tsze-wän's son, designated Tsze-yang]. Tsze-yueh was then minister of War, and Wei Këa minister of Works. The latter made a false charge against Tsze-yang and procured his death, when Tsze-yueh was made chief minister, and Këa himself became minister of War, but was hated by Tsze-yueh, who, with the help of all the branches of the Joh-gaou clan, imprisoned him—Pih-ying—in Léaou-yang, and put him to death. Tsëaou then took up his quarters in Ching-yay, and threatened to attack the king, who offered to place the sons of his three predecessors (Wän, Ch'ing, and Muh) with him as hostages. The other, however, would not receive them, and encamped with his army on the banks of the Chang.

'In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo and the Joh-gaou fought at Kaou-hoo. Pih-fun [Tsëaou] shot an arrow at the king, which skirted the curved pole of his chariot, reached the frame of the drum in it, and hit the metal jingle. A second arrow skirted in the same way the curvature of the pole, and then pierced the bamboo screen above the wheel. The troops became frightened and retired. The king made it be circulated through the army, that when the former ruler, king Wän, subdued Seih, he had got three [great] arrows, two of which had been stolen by Pih-fun, but had now been both discharged. He then made the drums be beaten again, and urged his men on, so that he [gained a complete victory, and] extinguished the clan of Joh-gaou.

'Before this, Joh-gaou [Joh-gaou was viscount of Ts'oo from B. C. 789 to 763] took to his harem a daughter of the House of Yun, who bore to him

Tow Pih-pe [See the Chuen at the beginning of II. xiii.] but, on his father's death, this son followed his mother, and was brought up in Yun. He had an intrigue with a daughter of the viscount of Yun, the fruit of which was a son, afterwards styled Tsze-wän. Her mother caused the child to be thrown away in the [marsh of] Mung. There a tigress suckled him. The thing was seen by the viscount of Yun, when hunting; and when he returned home in terror, his wife told him the whole affair, on which he sent for the child and had it cared for. The people of Ts'oo called suckling now, and a tiger they called woo-t'oo; hence the child was named Now-woo-t'oo [See his first appearance in the Chuen after III. xxx. 2, where he is called T'oo-woo-t'oo instead of Now-woo-t'oo], and his mother was married to Pih-pe. The child subsequently became the chief minister of Ts'oo, Tsze-wän. His grandson, K'ih-hwang, was minister of Remonstrance, and was absent on a mission to Ts'e [when the above rebellion took place]. He heard of it in Sung, on his way back, when his people said to him, "You must not enter the State." But he replied, "If I abandon the king's commission, who will receive it? My ruler is Heaven;—can Heaven be fled from?" He accordingly returned to Ts'oo, reported the discharge of his mission, and then delivered himself a prisoner to the minister of Crime. The king thought of Tsze-wän's govt. of Ts'oo, and said, "If I leave Tsze-wän without any posterity, how shall I encourage men to good?" He made K'ih-hwang return to his office, and changed his name to Säng.'

Par. 7. Tso-she says the reason of this invasion was that Ch'ing had not yet submitted, notwithstanding that Ts'oo had attacked it in the summer of last year.

### Fifth year.

楚<sup>六</sup>子<sup>五</sup>冬<sup>四</sup>叔<sup>三</sup>姬。固<sup>二</sup>秋<sup>一</sup>夏<sup>一</sup>齊<sup>一</sup>。五年<sup>一</sup>春<sup>一</sup>公<sup>一</sup>如<sup>一</sup>  
人<sup>六</sup>叔<sup>五</sup>齊<sup>四</sup>高<sup>三</sup>固<sup>二</sup>來<sup>一</sup>逆<sup>一</sup>子<sup>一</sup>叔<sup>一</sup>  
鄭<sup>六</sup>來<sup>五</sup>高<sup>四</sup>固<sup>三</sup>及<sup>二</sup>卒<sup>一</sup>。  
陳<sup>六</sup>林<sup>五</sup>及<sup>四</sup>楚<sup>三</sup>冬<sup>二</sup>逆<sup>一</sup>也<sup>一</sup>。  
父<sup>六</sup>救<sup>五</sup>鄭<sup>四</sup>晉<sup>三</sup>荀<sup>二</sup>及<sup>一</sup>。  
鄭<sup>六</sup>伐<sup>五</sup>鄭<sup>四</sup>陳<sup>三</sup>馬<sup>二</sup>也<sup>一</sup>。  
卿<sup>六</sup>自<sup>五</sup>故<sup>四</sup>書<sup>三</sup>曰<sup>二</sup>。  
固<sup>六</sup>來<sup>五</sup>逆<sup>四</sup>女<sup>三</sup>自<sup>二</sup>。  
秋<sup>六</sup>九<sup>五</sup>月<sup>四</sup>齊<sup>三</sup>高<sup>二</sup>。  
書<sup>六</sup>過<sup>五</sup>也<sup>四</sup>。  
夏<sup>六</sup>公<sup>五</sup>至<sup>四</sup>自<sup>三</sup>齊<sup>二</sup>。  
公<sup>六</sup>請<sup>五</sup>叔<sup>四</sup>姬<sup>三</sup>馬<sup>二</sup>。  
固<sup>六</sup>使<sup>五</sup>齊<sup>四</sup>侯<sup>三</sup>止<sup>二</sup>。  
春<sup>六</sup>公<sup>五</sup>如<sup>四</sup>齊<sup>三</sup>高<sup>二</sup>。  
左<sup>六</sup>傳<sup>五</sup>曰<sup>四</sup>。  
五<sup>六</sup>年<sup>五</sup>春<sup>四</sup>公<sup>三</sup>如<sup>二</sup>齊<sup>一</sup>。

- V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke went to Ts'e.  
 2 In summer, the duke arrived from Ts'e.  
 3 In autumn, in the ninth month, Kaou Koo of Ts'e came to meet [his bride], the duke's second daughter.  
 4 Shuh-sun Tih-shin died.  
 5 In winter, Kaou Koo of Ts'e and the duke's second daughter came to Loo.  
 6 A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. The Chuen says that, on this visit, Kaou Koo [A minister of Ts'e] made the marquis of Ts'e detain the duke, and ask him to give Koo his second daughter in marriage.

Par. 2. The Chuen says that this entry shows how the duke 'exceeded,' in the ceremony which is implied. What that ceremony was has been described on II. ii. 9. Now on this occasion the duke had been forcibly detained in Ts'e, and obliged to consent to marry his daughter to a man of rank inferior to his own, compromising his own character and that of his ancestors. But should he therefore have refrained from the ceremony 'proper,' on his own safe return to his State?

Par. 3. The Chuen says that Kaou Koo came himself to meet his bride, but that we have not the phrase 逆女, the lady being mentioned by her designation, because the case was that of a minister meeting her for himself. Too calls attention to there being no further entry about her going to Ts'e (歸于齊), because such entries were only made when the daughters of Loo married princes of States. Tso-she does not have the 子 before 叔姬. There can be no doubt as to its meaning here. Comp. VI. xii. 3; xiv. 12; xv. 11.

Par. 4. Too needlessly finds a reason for the day of Tih-shin's death not being given. Tih-shin is often mentioned as Chwang-shuh (莊

叔), Chwang being his posthumous epithet. He was succeeded by his son K'ëaou-joo (僑如); given from the Sow-mwan giant whose death is mentioned in the Chuen on VI. xi. 6), known as Seu-en-pih (宣伯).

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'They came to Loo in winter, returning the horses:—which needs explanation. On the marriage of a lady to a great officer or a husband of higher rank, she was escorted to her home with a carriage and horses;—one or many. Three days after, the carriage was sent back, but the horses were detained for 3 months, in case there should be need of them for the lady's return to her parents, the experiment of marriage not proving satisfactory. If it did prove so, then they also were sent back by a messenger. Here the husband himself accompanies his wife on her visit to her parents, and takes charge of the horses, to show his satisfaction with her. Still the critics all insist on the impropriety of the lady's visit to Loo;—it was too early for it, and the time had not come. Then, again, it was contrary to rule for her on such an occasion to be accompanied by her husband.'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'On this invasion, Ch'in and Ts'oo made peace, when Seun Lin-foo relieved Ch'ing, and invaded Ch'in.'

### Sixth year.

六年春，晉趙盾，衛孫免，侵陳。夏四月，螽。秋八月，冬十月。

左傳曰：六年春，晉衛侵陳，陳即楚故也。夏，定王使子服求后於齊。秋，赤狄伐晉，圍懷及邢丘。晉侯欲伐之，中行桓子曰：「使疾其民，以盈其貫，將可殪也。」周書曰：「殪戎殷，此類之。」冬，召桓公逆王后於齊。鄭人伐鄭，取成而還。鄭公子曼滿，

殺鄭一矣。過離，豐周其而無人廖卿。欲廖子與之。人歲，聞之弗之易，在貪德曰，告伯爲語，伯王。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, Chaou Tun of Tsin and Sun Mëen of Wei made an incursion into Ch'in.  
 2 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there were locusts.  
 4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. Sun Mëen,—there was a clan with the surname Sun in Wei, descended from a son of duke Woo, who died B. C. 757, a little before the commencement of the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew. Tso-she says here that the reason of this incursion by Tsin and Wei was Ch'in's adherence to Ts'oo. The invasion of it by Seun Lin-foo the previous winter had failed to alter Ch'in's policy.

Kung-yang gives here in a long note an account of the murder of duke Ling of Tsin, substantially the same as that in Tso-she's Chuen on II. 4; and seems to think that the re-appearance of Chaou Tun in this par. is a sort of condoning him for his connection with the deed.

Par. 2. See on I. vi. 3. [The Chuen introduces two brief notices:—'In summer, king Ting sent Tsze-fuh to ask a queen for him from Ts'e.' 'In autumn, the Red Teih invaded Tsin, when they besieged Hwae and Hing-k'ëw. The marquis of Tsin wished to invade their country [in return], but the officer Hwan of the middle

column said to him, "Let [their chief first] make his people hate him [for his incessant warfare], filling up the measure of his practices, and then he may be utterly destroyed. The language in one of the Books of Chow,—'Exterminate the great Yin (Shoo, V. ix. 4),' is applicable to this kind of people."']

Par. 3. See II. v. 8.

Par. 4 [The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'In winter, duke Hwan of Shaou met the king's bride in Ts'e.' 2d, 'A body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, took conditions of peace, and returned to Ts'oo.' 3d, 'Kung-tsze Man-mwan of Ch'ing spoke to the king's son Pih-lëaou, [who was serving in Ch'ing], about his wish to become a high minister. Pih-lëaou told another person, saying, "The case of one who covets [a high position] without the proper virtue appears from the Chow Yih, and is like the diagram Fung's (䷉) becoming Le (䷊). [Man-mwan] will not live beyond the time thereby indicated." After the interval of a year, the people of Ch'ing put Man-mwan to death.']

### Seventh year.

七年春，衛侯使孫良夫來盟。夏，公會齊侯。秋，公至自伐萊。冬，公會晉侯，宋公，衛侯，鄭公，曹伯，于黑壤。

左傳曰：七年春，衛孫桓子來盟，始通且謀會晉也。夏，公會齊侯伐萊，不與謀也。凡師出，與謀曰及，不與謀曰會。赤狄侵晉，取向陰之禾。鄭及晉平，公子宋之謀也，故相鄭伯以會。冬，盟於黑壤，王叔桓公臨之，以謀不睦。晉侯之立也，公不朝焉，又不使大夫聘，晉人止公於會，盟於黃父，公不與盟，以賂免，故黑壤之盟不書，諱之也。

- VII. 1 In his seventh year, in spring, the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lëang-foo to Loo, to make a covenant [with the duke].
- 2 In summer, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'e in invading Lae.
- 3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Lae.
- 4 There was great drought.
- 5 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, and the earl of Ts'aou, in Hih-jang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says that this mission of the officer Hwan [桓] was the posthumous title of Sun Lëang-foo] was the first intercourse between Wei and Loo since the duke's accession, and that the object was to consult about the duke's attending a meeting to be called by Tsin. For these purposes a friendly mission of inquiry (聘) would have been sufficient; but it is to be understood that Wei was acting in the interest of Tsin, the new ruler of which wished to assert what he considered his claim to be the leader of the States. Duke Seuen had, since his accession, been a devoted adherent of Ts'e, and had stood aloof from Tsin; and now Wei required from him the engagement of a covenant, to clear itself with Tsin, should the duke after all not attend the meeting.

Par. 2. Lae was a small State, held by Këangs, with the title of viscount,—in the pres. dis. of Hwang (黃縣), dep. T'ang-chow, Shan-tung. Tso-she here gives his canon regarding the use of 及 and 會, in the case at least of military expeditions, saying that the 會 here implies that Loo had not been a party in planning the expedition:—'In all military expeditions, where Loo had previously acted in the planning

of them, 及 is used; where it had not done so, we have 會.' The K'ang-he editors accept the canon with a slight reservation.

Par. 4. See on V. xxi. 3. Too observes here that 'the sacrifice for rain had had no effect, or perhaps it had not been offered.' [The Chuen appends:—'The Red Teih made an incursion into Tsin, and cut down and carried off the growing grain of Hëang-yin'].

Par. 5. Hih-jang was in Tsin,—40 *le* north-west from the pres. dis. of Ts'in-shwuy, dep. Tsih-chow, Shan-se.

The Chuen says:—'Peace had been brought about between Ch'ing and Tsin by means of the counsels of Kung-tsze Sung, who therefore now attended the earl of Ch'ing, as his assistant, to this meeting. In winter, a covenant was made at Hih-jang, when the king's uncle, the duke of Hwan, was present, to consult on the case of discordant States. On the accession of the marquis of Tsin, [in the duke's 2d year], the duke had not paid a court-visit to him, nor had he since sent any great officer to Tsin with friendly inquiries. The people of Tsin therefore now detained him at the meeting, and when the covenant was made at Hwang-foo [i. q. Hih-jang], he did not take part in it. He got away to Loo, however, by means of bribes; and the text does not mention the covenant at Hih-jang, to conceal the duke's disgrace in connection with it.'

### Eighth year.

八年春，公至自夏會。夏六月，公子遂如齊，至黃乃復。辛巳，有事于大廟。仲遂卒于垂。壬午，猶繹，萬入。戊子，夫人嬴氏薨。

晉師，白狄伐秦。楚人滅舒蓼。秋七月，甲子，日有食之。既。冬十月，己丑，葬我小君敬嬴。雨，不克葬。庚寅，日中而克葬。城平陽。楚師伐陳。

左傳曰：八年春，白狄及晉平夏，會晉伐秦。晉人獲秦謀，殺諸絳，市六日而蘇。秦有事於大廟，襄仲卒而繹，非禮也。楚為衆舒叛，故伐舒蓼，滅之。楚子疆之及滑汭，盟吳越而還。晉胥克有蠱疾，卻缺為政，秋廢胥克，使趙朔佐下軍。冬葬敬嬴，旱，無麻，始用葛。雨，不克葬。禮也。禮，卜葬先遠日，辟不懷也。城平陽，書時也。陳及晉平，楚師伐陳，取成而還。

- VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Hih-jang].
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, duke [Chwang's] son, Suy, went to Ts'e. When he had got to Hwang, he returned.
- 3 On Sin-sze, there was a sacrifice in the grand temple; and Chung Suy died at Ch'uy.
- 4 On Jin-woo, the sacrifice was repeated for the next day; but when the pantomimes entered, they put away their flutes.
- 5 On Mow-tsze, [duke Wän's] wife, the lady Ying, died.
- 6 An army of Tsin and the White Teih invaded Ts'in.
- 7 A body of men from Ts'oo extinguished Shoo-lëaou.
- 8 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Këah-tsze, the sun was totally eclipsed.
- 9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ke-ch'ow, we [had arranged to] bury our duchess, King Ying.
- 10 Because of rain the interment was not effected; but on [the next day] Käng-yin, at mid-day, it was completed.
- 11 [The duke] walled P'ing-yang.
- 12 An army of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.



Par. 1. See on V. 1, 2. The Chuen has here an entry, which terminates very strangely, and which the K'ang-he editors do not give, looking on it, no doubt, as incredible:—'This spring, the White Teih made peace with Tsin, and in the summer they joined it in an invasion of Tsin. The people of Tsin caught a spy of Tsin, and put him to death in K'ang, in the market place, but on the 6th day he came alive again!'

Par. 2. Hwang,—see II. xvii. 1. Kuh-l'ang seems to take 復 in the sense of 復命, 'reported the execution of his mission,' which is evidently incorrect. The meaning must be that given in the translation. From the mention of Suy's death in the next par., we must conclude that, when he got to Hwang, he felt himself too ill to proceed farther, and began to retrace his steps to Loo. The critics are hard upon him for doing so. Too says it was 'contrary to rule,' for, having received his ruler's commission, he should have gone on till he died, and arranged that his corpse should be carried to the capital of Ts'e!

Par. 3, 4. Ch'uy was in Ts'e,—somewhere in the borders of the pres. dis. of P'ing-yin (平陰), dep. Yen-chow. The phrase 有事=有祭事, 'there was a sacrifice.' This is certain from the usage in the Ch'ün Ts'ew;—comp. 大事 in VI. ii. 6, and 有事, in X. xv. 2. But what particular sacrifice is intended in the text is a matter of controversy. Ying-tah and many other critics think it was the 禘 (帝) sacrifice;—see on V. viii. 4. Woo Ch'ing and others hold that it was merely the summer seasonal sacrifice. The discussion of this question is not important to the elucidation of the text.

The sacrifice was offered on Sin-sze, and that same day the Kung-tsze Suy died at Ch'uy. The two events are chronicled together, though it is not likely the news of Suy's death reached Loo before the offering of the sacrifice. It reached it, however, before the following day, when the previous sacrifice was repeated;—see the note on the name of the 9th Book in the 4th part of the Shoo. That repetition was comparatively unimportant, and the news of Suy's death should have prevented it. Hence Tso-she says that it was 'contrary to rule,' and we have the same decision regarding it, as from Confucius himself, in the Le Ke, II., Pt. II. ii. 20.

In p. 4, 萬 is the name for the pantomimic performers at the sacrifice. There were civil pantomimes (文舞) and martial pantomimes (武舞); and the term 萬 was used to cover them both. Here we are to think only of the civil. The martial pantomimes carried in their right hand an axe, and in the left a shield; the civil carried in their right a pheasant's feather, and in their left a flute, on which they played. The flutes were put away on this occasion, their sound being thought inconsistent with the feelings which the news of Suy's death should produce. It remains only to speak of the characters 仲遂 in p. 3, the former of which has occasioned the critics great trouble. The 公子

of p. 2 gives place here, it will be seen, to 仲, which was only Suy's designation as having been the second among his brothers. It became the surname of his descendants; and the simplest way of accounting for its employment here is to suppose, with Maou, that duke Seuen at once gave it to his deceased relative and minister as the clan-name (氏) of himself and his posterity.

Par. 5. This was duke Seuen's mother. Though only a concubine of duke Wän, she appears here as his wife,—raised to that rank by her son. Kuh and Kung have 熊 instead of 贏, making the lady thereby to have been of the House of Ts'oo, and not of that of Ts'in.

Par. 6. See on III. 6. This is the first appearance of the white Teih in the Classic. See the Chuen at the commencement of this year.

Par. 7. 蓼 is with Kung-yang 鄆. Shoo-l'ao was a small State,—in the pres. dis. of Leu-k'ang (廬江), dep. Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. The other Shoo States were near to it. Too Yu says erroneously that Shoo and L'ao were two States. The Chuen says:—'Ts'oo, because the various Shoo States had revolted from it, attacked Shoo-l'ao and extinguished it. The viscount of Ts'oo laid out anew its boundaries, as far as the banks of the Hwah, took a covenant from Woo and Yueh, and returned [to Ying].'

Par. 8. 既=盡, 'completely,' as in II. iii. 4. There is an error in the text in the record of this eclipse. It was total about half past 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Sept. 12, B. C. 600, thus corresponding to the 1st day of the tenth moon, which would on that year be K'eah-tsze (甲子), as in the text. Wang Taou supposes that the 七 in the text should be 十, and would cast out the 秋, transferring the 冬 from the next par. to the head of this. But in that way we should have no entry in this year under the season of autumn;—which is contrary to the rule of the classic. Perhaps we should read 秋七月 as a paragraph, simply saying—'It was autumn, the 7th month.' Then this par. will begin 冬十月 which characters must be removed from p. 9, the day 己丑 of which would still be in the tenth month,—the 26th day of it.

[The Chuen appends here:—Seu K'ih of Tsin had an illness which unsettled his mind. K'eh Keueh became chief minister of the State. In autumn Seu K'ih was discharged from his office, and Chaou Soh was appointed assistant-commander of the 3d army.]

Parr. 9, 10. Kung and Kuh for 敬贏 have 頃熊. But 頃 as a posthumous title is evidently wrong. 敬 so used denotes—'Day and

night reverently attentive to duty (日夜敬事曰敬).'

Tso-she records that, at this burial, there being no flax in consequence of drought, they first used ropes made of the fibres of the dolichos, to draw the bier. As the burial did not take place till the day after Ke-ch'ow, we must understand 己丑葬 as in the translation. That day had been determined on for the ceremony, after consulting the tortoise-shell, according to the rule mentioned in the Le Ke, I. Part I. v. 23, that the day should be determined at least ten days before. At the interment of a person of rank, however, the number of persons employed and observances to be attended to was so great, that we can easily understand how the business would be stopt by rain, though such delay was not allowed in the case of the burial of a common person. Tso-she

says:—'Not to complete the burial because of the rain was according to rule. The rule required that the tortoise-shell should be consulted about an interment on a distant day, [not less than ten days], before it took place, to avoid the charge of not being affectionately solicitous in the case of such a duty.' The K'ang-he editors, however, strongly condemn the delay in the interment, thinking, with Kung and Kuh, that it was occasioned by the want of sufficient care and diligence in making the necessary preparations, even after the day had been fixed so long before.

Par. 11. P'ing-yang was 4 le to the north-west of the pres. dis. city of Sin-t'ae (新泰), dept. Tse-nan. Tso-she says the record was made to show the seasonableness of the undertaking.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'Ch'in and Tsin had made peace. An army of Ts'oo, [therefore], invaded Ch'in, took terms of submission from it, and returned.'

### Ninth year.

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 陳 | 楚 | 冬 | 辛 | 晉 | 九 | 八 | 齊 | 公 | 九 |
| 殺 | 子 | 十 | 酉 | 荀 | 月 | 月 | 侯 | 至 | 年 |
| 其 | 伐 | 月 | 西 | 林 | 晉 | 滕 | 伐 | 自 | 春 |
| 大 | 鄭 | 癸 | 晉 | 父 | 侯 | 子 | 萊 | 齊 | 王 |
| 夫 | 晉 | 酉 | 卻 | 帥 | 宋 | 卒 |   |   | 正 |
| 洩 | 卻 | 衛 | 缺 | 師 | 公 |   |   |   | 月 |
| 冶 | 帥 | 侯 | 帥 | 伐 | 衛 |   |   |   | 公 |
|   | 師 | 鄭 | 師 | 陳 | 侯 |   |   |   | 如 |
|   | 救 | 卒 | 救 |   | 鄭 |   |   |   | 齊 |
|   | 鄭 |   | 鄭 |   | 伯 |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   | 宋 |   | 曹 |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   | 人 |   | 伯 |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   | 圍 |   | 會 |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   | 滕 |   | 于 |   |   |   |   |
|   |   |   |   |   | 扈 |   |   |   |   |

左傳曰：九年春，王使來徵聘。夏，孟獻子聘於周，王以為有禮，厚賄之。秋，取根牟，言易也。滕昭公卒。會於扈，討不睦也。陳侯不會，晉荀林父以諸侯之師伐陳，晉侯卒於扈，乃還。冬，宋人圍滕，因其喪也。陳靈公與孔寧、儀行父通於夏姬，皆衷其袒服，以戲於朝。洩冶諫曰：公卿宣淫，民無效焉。且聞不令，君其納之。公曰：吾能改矣。公告二子，二子請殺之。公弗禁，遂殺洩冶。孔子曰：詩云，民之多辟，無自立辟，其洩冶之謂乎。鄭伯敗楚師於柳，楚人皆喜，唯鄭子良憂曰：是國之災也，吾死無日矣。

- IX. 1 In his ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Ts'e.  
 2 The duke arrived from Ts'e.  
 3 In summer, Chung-sun Meeh went to the capital.  
 4 The marquis of Ts'e invaded Lae.  
 5 In autumn, [we] took Kin-mow.  
 6 In the eighth month, the viscount of T'ang died.  
 7 In the ninth month, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, and the earl of Ts'aou, had a meeting in Hoo.  
 8 Sün Lin-foo of Tsin led the armies [of the above States], and invaded Ch'in.  
 9 On Sin-yew, Hih-t'un, marquis of Tsin, died in Hoo.  
 10 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-yew, Ch'ing, marquis of Wei, died.  
 11 A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] T'ang.  
 12 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing; [and] K'eh Keueh of Tsin led a force, and relieved it.  
 13 Ch'in put to death its great officer S'eh Yay.

Parr. 1, 2. Tso-she says nothing on these two parr. Fan Ning, Sun Fuh, and other critics, remark on the duke's throwing on one side the mourning for his mother, and going away to Ts'e; but we have seen that during all his rule the duke was reduced to a miserable subserviency to that State.

Par. 3. This Chung-sun Meeh was the grandson of Kung-sun Gaou, whose name occurs so often in Books V. and VI. Of course he was the great-grandson of K'ing-foo, who died, or was obliged rather to strangle himself, in the 2d year of duke Min. Meeh's posthumous title was H'een (獻), He was 孟獻子;—see the Chuen on VI. xv. 4.

The Chuen says:—“In spring, the king had sent to Loo demanding from the duke a mission of friendly inquiries. In summer, [therefore], M'ang H'een went on such a mission to Ch'ow, and the king, considering that he conducted it according to the rules of propriety, gave him rich gifts.” Too observes that the king's previous mission is not mentioned in the text, as a gentle condemnation of the king's conduct.

Par. 4. Lae,—see p. 8 of last year.

Par. 5. Acc. to Too Yu, Kin-mow was a State belonging to one of the E or wild tribes of the east;—in the south of the pres. dis. of E-shwuy (沂水), dep. E-chow. This identification is better than that of Kung-yang, who would

make it out to be a town of Choo (邾婁之邑). Tso-she thinks the ‘took’ (取) denotes the ease with which the capture was made. More likely is the opinion of Wang K'ih (汪克寬), that the term is a gentle one for ‘extinguished,’ partially concealing the lawlessness of Loo.

Par. 6. This was duke Ch'aou (昭公) of T'ang. See on I. vii. 2; but in Yin's time the lords of T'ang were marquises. They had now descended two steps, and were only viscounts.

Parr. 7—9. Hoo—see III. xxiii. 10, *et al.* Too, in assigning the situation of Hoo, always says it belonged to Ch'ing. Kung-yang, however, here says it belonged to Tsin; and the K'ang-he editors adduce the Bamboo books, under the reign of king Ching-ting, to show that, though the place originally belonged to Ch'ing, it ultimately became a possession of Tsin. At this time, however, it still belonged to Ch'ing.

The Chuen says:—“The meeting at Hoo was to punish discordant States. The marquis of Ch'in did not attend it [See on p. 12 of last year], and Sün Lin-foo, with the armies of the States, invaded Ch'in; but, on the death of the marquis of Tsin at Hoo, he returned.”

Acc. to Too, there was no Sin-yew day in the 9th month. Kwei-yew in next par. was the 16th of the 10th month; and Sin-yew therefore must have been the 6th.

Par. 10. In this attack of T'ang, Sung, says Tso-she, took advantage of the death of the viscount in the 8th month.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—“The viscount of Ts'oo, because of the affair at Le [What affair

this was is not known. Too finds it in connection with the 2d Chuen at the end of the 6th year], invaded Ch'ing, which was relieved by K'eh Keueh of Tsin. The earl of Ch'ing defeated an army of Ts'oo at L'ew-fan, to the joy of all the people. Tsze-l'ang, however, was sad, and said, “This [victory] will prove a calamity to the State. We shall die before very long.”

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—“Duke Ling of Ch'in, with [his two ministers] K'ung Ning and E H'ang-foo, all had an intrigue with H'ea Ke [A daughter of the House of Ch'ing, surnamed Ke, the widow of an officer of Ch'in, surnamed or designated H'ea], and each of the three of them wore an article of her under clothing, with which they made game with one another in the court. S'eh (Kung and Kuh have

泄 for 洩) Yay remonstrated with the duke, saying, ‘When ruler and ministers thus proclaim their lawlessness, the people have nothing good to imitate. The report of such things is not good;—let your lordship put that article away.’ The duke said he would change his conduct, but he told the other two what S'eh Yay had said; and when they asked leave to kill him, he did not forbid them. Yay thereon was killed. Confucius said, “The words of the ode, (She, III. ii. ode X. 6),

‘When the people have many perversities  
Do not you set up your own perversity  
before them,’

are applicable to the case of S'eh Yay.”

This cannot be the decision of Confucius upon the fate of S'eh Yay, though we find it expanded in the K'ea Yu (家語), Bk. XIX.

(the 子路初見).

Tenth year.

平國。癸巳，陳夏徵舒弑其君。五月，公至自齊。齊崔氏出奔衛。齊人歸我濟西田。夏四月丙辰，日有食之。齊侯元卒。齊人歸我濟西田。十年春，公如齊，公至自

九章 六月，宋師伐滕。  
 十章 公孫歸父如齊，葬齊惠公。  
 十一章 晉人、宋人、衛人、曹人伐鄭。  
 十二章 秋，天王使王季子來聘。  
 十三章 公孫歸父帥師伐邾，取繹。  
 十四章 大水。  
 十五章 季孫行父如齊。  
 十六章 冬，公孫歸父如齊。  
 十七章 齊侯使國佐來聘。  
 十八章 饑。  
 十九章 楚子伐鄭。

左傳曰：十年春，公如齊，齊侯以我服故，歸濟西之田。  
 夏，齊惠公卒，崔杼有寵於惠公，高國畏其逼也，公卒而逐之，奔衛。書曰：崔氏非其罪也，且告以族，不以名。凡諸侯之大夫，違告於諸侯曰：某氏之守臣某，失守宗廟，敢告。所有玉帛之使者，則告，不然則否。  
 公如齊，奔喪。  
 陳靈公與孔寧、儀行父飲酒於夏氏，公謂行父曰：徵舒似女，對曰：亦似君。徵舒病之，公出，自其廐射而殺之。二子奔楚。  
 滕人恃晉而不事宋，六月，宋師伐滕。  
 鄭及楚平，諸侯之師伐鄭，取成而還。  
 秋，劉康公來報聘。  
 師伐邾，取繹。  
 季文子初聘於齊。  
 冬，季子家如齊，伐邾故也。國武子來報聘。  
 楚子伐鄭，晉士會救鄭，逐楚師於潁北，諸侯之師成鄭。  
 鄭子家卒，鄭人討幽公之亂，斲子家之棺而逐其族，改葬幽公，諡之曰靈。

- X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, the duke went to Ts'e. The duke arrived from Ts'e.
- 2 The people of Ts'e restored to us the lands of Tse-se.
- 3 In summer, in the the fourth month, on Ping-shin, the sun was eclipsed.
- 4 On Ke-sze, Yuen, marquis of Ts'e, died.
- 5 The Head of the Ts'uy family of Ts'e left the State, and fled to Wei.
- 6 The duke went to Ts'e.
- 7 In the fifth month, the duke arrived from Ts'e.
- 8 On Kwei-sze, Hea Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in murdered his ruler, P'ing-kwoh.
- 9 In the sixth month, an army of Sung invaded T'ang.
- 10 Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Ts'e, to the burial of duke Hwuy of Ts'e.
- 11 A body of men from Tsin, one from Sung, one from Wei, and one from Ts'aou, invaded Ch'ing.
- 12 In autumn, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent his youngest brother to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 13 Kung-sun Kwei-foo led a force to invade Choo, and took Yih.
- 14 There were great floods.
- 15 Ke-sun Häng-foo went to Ts'e.
- 16 In winter, Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Ts'e.
- 17 The marquis of Ts'e sent Kwoh Tso to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 18 There was famine.
- 19 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Parr. 1, 2. This was now the 4th time that the duke had repaired to the court of Ts'e. The Chuen says:—'In spring, the duke went to Ts'e; and the marquis of Ts'e, in consideration of the submission and service of the duke, restored the lands of Tse-se.' Those lands were taken by Ts'e, it will be remembered, in the duke's first year, being the price which Loo paid for Ts'e's support of the duke's usurpation.

Par. 3. This eclipse was visible at sunrise, on the 26th February, B. C. 598. Ping-shin was the 1st day of the moon.

Parr. 4, 5. The Ts'uy family or clan was one of the most powerful in Ts'e. It was descended from a son of one of the ancient princes of the State,—duke Ting (丁公), who died B. C. 1052. To that son the lands of Ts'uy had been assigned, and Ts'uy became the surname of his descendants. We have met with a Ts'uy Yaou, who was present at the battle of Shing-puh, in the 28th year of duke He. The head of the clan at this time was, acc. to Tso-she, Ts'uy Choo (崔杼), and it is to him the text refers. We find him (?) long after this; in IX. xxv. 2. in Ts'e again, and murdering his ruler.

The Chuen says:—'In summer, duke Hwuy of Ts'e died. Ts'uy Choo had been a favourite with him; and [the ministers], Kaou and Kwoh, being afraid of Ts'uy's exercising a pressure upon them, drove him out;—when he fled to Wei. The language of the text,—'The Head of the Ts'uy family,' shows that he was not driven out for any fault of his (?); moreover, the announcement was made to Loo about him as the Head of his clan, and not by his name. When a great officer of any State fled from it, or was banished, the announcement of it ran,—'Our subject, so and so, Head of the clan so and so, has failed to maintain the charge of his ancestral temple; and we presume to announce the fact.' Such announcement was made to other States in the case of one who had been sent with the mission-jade and offerings of silk (i. e., on missions of friendly inquiries) to them; but not in the case of other officers.'

The reason why we have 崔氏 here, and not 崔杼, if indeed the officer was really Choo, need not be anxiously sought. Tso-she's canon about it is inadmissible; so is Kung-yang's, that it is to condemn the principle and the practice in Ts'e of hereditary offices (世卿); and

so is K'uh-l'ang's, that it indicates that the clan, as well as the individual, was driven from the State.

Par. 6, 7. 'The duke,' says Tso-she, 'hurried away to Ts'e, to be present at the earliest ceremonies to the deceased marquis.' After this he paid no more visits to Ts'e.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ling of Ch'in, with K'ung Ning and E H'ang-foo, was drinking in the house of the H'ea family [See the Chuen on the last par. of last year], when the duke said to H'ang-foo, "Ch'ing-shoo [The son of H'ea Ke, and Head of the family, as his father was dead] is like you." "He is also like your lordship," was the reply. Ch'ing-shoo [overheard these remarks, and] was indignant at them; and when the duke was [trying to] escape [from the house] by the stable, he shot, and killed him. The two officers fled to Ts'oo.' This is a case in which 'executed' would be a better rendering really of 弑 than 'murdered.'

Par. 9. The siege of the capital of T'ang by Sung in the past year [p. 10] had, we may presume, been fruitless. Now, again, as the Chuen says, 'the people of T'ang, relying upon Tsin, would not do service to Sung; and in the 6th month, an army of Sung invaded T'ang.'

Par. 10. Kwei-foo was the son of Chung Suy, and of course was himself a Kung-sun, 'grandson' of duke Chwang. The burial of duke Hwuy took place before the proper time. Hwuy Ching-h'een observes that when we consider how the head of the Ts'uy clan was driven out of the State immediately after the duke's death, how the burial was hastened, and how his son is styled marquis (p. 17) before the year was expired, there must have been troubles in Ts'e, of which we have not any record.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'Ch'ing had made peace with Ts'oo [After the events related on p. 12 of last year]. The armies of these States, [therefore], invaded Ch'ing, took from it terms of submission, and returned.'

Par. 12. Kung-yang says that 'the king's youngest son' here introduced was the reigning

king's full brother. His father therefore was king K'ing (頃王). The prince's descendants were dukes of L'ew, and the Chuen here calls him 'duke K'ang of L'ew,' adding that his visit was in return for that of M'ang H'een to the court, in p. 3 of last year.

Par. 13. Yih was a city of Choo,—in the pres. dis. of Tsow (鄒縣), dep. Yen-chow. But in the Chuen on VI. xiii. 3 the capital of Choo appears removed to Yih; and the taking of Yih would be equivalent to extinguishing Choo, which, we know, was not the case. On this account, the K'ang-he editors incline to adopt the reading of Kung-yang,—of 繹 for 繹.

Par. 14. See II. i. 5, et al.

Par. 15. Tso-she says:—'Ke W'än went on a friendly mission to Ts'e,—for the 1st time, since the accession of the new marquis.'

Par. 16. Tso-she says:—'In winter Tsze-k'ea (Kung-sun Kwei-foo's designation) went to Ts'e, with reference to our invasion of Choo.'

Par. 17. Tso-she says:—'K'woh Woo's (武) was the posthumous title of K'woh Tso) mission was in return for that of Ke W'än, in p. 15.

Par. 18. Sun Fuh defines the term 'famine' as descriptive of the crops not coming to maturity, 'the five kinds of grain not ripening (五穀不成).'

Par. 19. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing [See the reason on p. 11]. Sze Hwuy of Tsin relieved it, and drove the army of Ts'oo to the north of the Yin. Tsze-k'ea [The Kung-tsze Kwei-s'ang] died, and the people proceeded to punish the authors of the disorder in which duke Y'ew died. They broke open the coffin of Tsze-k'ea, and drove all the branches of the family from the State. They changed the grave of duke Y'ew, and gave him the posthumous title of Ling.'

Eleventh year.

冬十月，楚人殺陳夏楚子、陳侯、鄭伯，盟於辰陵。公孫歸父會齊人伐莒。秋，晉侯會狄於欒。冬，十有二年，春，王正月。

陳父儀孫納入楚丁舒夏徵於行寧公陳子亥。

左傳曰：十一年春，楚子伐鄭，及櫟。子良曰：晉楚不務德而兵爭，與其來者，可也。晉楚無信，我焉得有信？乃從楚。夏，楚盟於辰陵。陳鄭服也。楚左尹子重侵宋，王待諸鄆，令尹蔣艾獵城沂，使封人慮事，以授司徒。量功命日，分財用，平板榦，稱畚築，程土物，議遠邇，略基趾，具餼糧，度有司，事三旬而成，不愆於素。晉郤成子求成於衆狄，衆狄疾赤狄之役，遂服於晉。秋，會於欒，衆狄服也。是行也，諸大夫欲召狄，郤成子曰：吾聞之，非德莫如勤，非勤何以求人，人能勤有繼，其從之也。詩曰：文王既勤止，文王猶勤，況寡德乎？冬，楚子爲陳夏氏亂故，伐陳，謂陳人無動，將討於少西氏，遂入陳，殺夏徵舒，轅諸栗門，因縣陳，陳侯在晉，申叔時使於齊，反復命而退。王使讓之曰：夏徵舒爲不道，弑其君，寡人以諸侯討而戮之，諸侯縣公皆慶寡人，汝獨不慶寡人，何故？對曰：猶可辭乎？王曰：可哉！曰：夏徵舒弑其君，其罪大矣，討而戮之，君之義也，抑人亦有言曰：牽牛以蹊人之田，而奪之牛，牽牛以蹊者，信有罪矣，而奪之牛，罰已重矣，諸侯之從也，曰：討有罪也，今縣陳，貪其富也，以討召諸侯，而以貪歸之，無乃不可乎？王曰：善哉！吾未之聞也，反之可乎？對曰：可哉！吾儕小人，所謂取諸其懷而與之也。乃復封陳，鄉取一人焉，以歸，謂之夏州。故書曰：楚子入陳，納公孫寧，儀行父於陳，書有禮也。厲之役，鄭伯逃歸，自是楚未得志焉。鄭既受盟於辰陵，又徵事于晉。

- XI. 1 It was the [duke's] eleventh year, the spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'ing, made a covenant in Shin-ling.  
3 Kung-sun Kwei-foo joined an officer of Ts'e in invading Keu.  
4 In autumn, the marquis of Tsin had a meeting with the Teih in Tswan-han.



- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, the people of Ts'oo put to death Hëa Ch'ing-shoo of Ch'in.
- 6 On Ting-hae, the viscount of Ts'oo entered [the capital of] Ch'in.
- 7 He restored Kung-sun Ning and E Häng-foo to Ch'in.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'This spring, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing [Because of the action in the Chuen on par. 12 of the 9th year], and advanced, as far as Leih. Tszé-läng (K'eu-tsih of the Chuen on IV. 3) said, "Tsin and Ts'oo make no effort to show kindness [to smaller States], but keep struggling for the superiority;—there is no reason why we should not take the side of the [first] comer. They have no faith;—why should we show good faith?" Accordingly, Ch'ing accepted the demands of Ts'oo; and in summer, Ts'oo took a covenant in Shin-ling, when Ch'in and Ch'ing make their submission to it.'

Shin-ling was in Ch'in,—40 *le* to the northwest of the dep. city of Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan. Kuh has 夷陵. This was the 2d time at which the chief of Ts'oo presided over a meeting of other princes. The 1st time was in the 27th year of duke He.

[The Chuen adds here:—'Tszé-ch'ung, minister of the Left, of Ts'oo, made an incursion into Sung, while the king (i.e., the viscount) waited at Yen. Wei Gae-lëh, the chief minister, undertook the walling of E, and appointed the border-warden to make the arrangements and calculations for the business. He then gave these to the superintendent of the work, who estimated the labour to be done, and the number of days; gave out all the money that was necessary for it; adjusted the frames, and provided the baskets and stampers, and other articles for raising the walls; apportioned equally their tasks, according to the distance of the labourers from the place; marked out with his feet the foundations; supplied the provisions; and determined the inspectors. The work was completed in 30 days, exactly in accordance with the previous calculations.']

Par. 3. Notwithstanding the operations of Ts'e and Loo against Keu in the duke's 4th year, that State, it would appear, continued to maintain a hostile attitude, which led to the invasion in the text.

Par. 4. We have here probably the issue of the policy towards the Teih, recommended to the marquis of Tsin in the Chuen appended to VI. 4. The Chuen says here:—'Këoh Ch'ing [Këoh Keueh] of Tsin sought for terms of peace from the Teih; and all the rest of their tribes, being distressed and indignant at the services required from them by the Red Teih, made submission to Tsin. The meeting this autumn was on the occasion of their doing so. In regard to the marquis's going to them, all the great officers wished to call [the chiefs of] the Teih [to Tsin], but Këoh Ch'ing said, "Where there is not virtue, the next best thing is to show earnest diligence. Without such diligence, how can we seek for the adherence of others? If we can show it, however, [success] will follow. Let the marquis go to them." It is said in the ode (She, IV. i. [iii.] X.),

'King Wän did indeed labour earnestly.'

[If king Wän did so, how much more ought we, who are of such inferior virtue!']

Tswan-han was in the territory of the Teih, but its site has not been more exactly determined.

Parr. 5—7. See IX. 13, and X. 8, with the Chuen on them. The Chuen says here:—'In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, because of the deed perpetrated by the head of the Hëa family, invaded Ch'in, publishing a notice to the people that they should make no movement, as he wished to punish only the head of the Shaou-se

[少西 was the name of the grand-father of Ch'ing-shoo. His designation was Tszé-hëa]. Forthwith he entered [the capital of] Ch'in, and put to death Hëa Ch'ing-shoo, having him torn in pieces by chariots [See the 1st Chuen, appended to II. xviii. 3] at the Leih gate. He then proceeded to make Ch'in a district [of Ts'oo].

'At this time, the marquis of Ch'in was in Tsin; and Shuh of Shin had been sent [by the viscount] to Ts'e. When Shuh returned, he reported the discharge of his mission, and withdrew, [without saying anything about the affairs of Ch'in]. The king sent to reprove him, saying, "Hëa Ch'ing-shoo acted very wickedly, murdering his ruler. With [the forces of my own and] other States I have punished and executed him. The princes of those States and the dukes of our districts have all congratulated me; what is the reason that you alone have offered no congratulation?" "May I still explain myself?" replied Shuh. "You may," said the king; and Shuh continued, "The crime of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo in murdering his ruler was great, and you performed a righteous deed in punishing and executing him. But the people have a saying, "He led his ox through another man's field, and the ox was taken from him." Now he that so led his ox to trample on another man's field indeed committed an offence; but when his ox was taken from him, the punishment was too severe. The princes followed you in this enterprise, saying it was to punish a criminal; but now you have made Ch'in one of your districts, desiring its riches. You called out the princes to punish an offender, and you are sending them away after satisfying your covetousness;—does not this seem improper?" The king replied, "Good! I had not heard this view of the case! Can I still give Ch'in back?" "That," said Shuh, "will be an instance of what we small men call "Taking a thing from one's breast and giving it [back]."

'The viscount accordingly restored the State of Ch'in; but from each of its villages he took a man, and carried them with him to Ts'oo, where he settled them in a place which he called Hëa-chow. Hence what the text says,—"The viscount

of Ts'oo entered Ch'in, and restored Kung-sun Ning, and E Häng-foo," is worded to show how the viscount observed the rules of propriety.'

The viscount of Ts'oo did right in not appropriating Ch'in to himself; but most western readers will form a very different judgment from Tso-she on his execution of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo and his restoration of the two villains, K'ung

Ning and E Häng-foo. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has 甯 for 寧.

[The Chuen adds here:—'After the affair at Le [See on IX. 12], the earl of Ch'ing made his escape home, and [the viscount of] Ts'oo was not able subsequently to obtain his desire. And though Ch'ing accepted a covenant [from Ts'oo] this year at Shin-ling, it kept trying to strengthen itself by doing service to Tsin.']

### Twelfth year.

十<sup>一</sup>有二年春葬陳靈公。  
楚子圍鄭。  
夏<sup>三</sup>六月乙卯晉荀林父帥師。  
及楚子戰於邲晉師敗績。  
秋<sup>四</sup>七月。  
冬<sup>五</sup>十有二月戊寅楚子滅蕭。  
晉人宋人衛人曹人同盟於清丘。  
宋師伐陳衛人救陳。

左傳曰十二年春楚子圍鄭旬有七日鄭人卜行成不吉卜臨於大宮且巷出車吉國人大臨守陴者皆哭楚子退師鄭人脩城進復圍之三月克之入自皇門至於遠路鄭伯肉袒牽羊以逆曰孤不天不能事君使君懷怒以及敝邑孤之罪也敢不唯命是聽其俘諸江南以實海濱亦唯命其翦以賜諸侯使臣妾之亦唯命若惠顧前好微福於厲宣桓武不泯其社稷使改事君夷於九縣君之惠也孤之願也非所敢望也敢布腹心君實圖之左右曰不可許也得國無赦王曰其君能下人必能信用其民矣庸可幾乎退三十里而許之平潘厓入盟子良出質荀林父將中軍夏六月晉師救鄭荀林父將中軍

聽而無上，眾誰適從？此行也，晉師必敗，且君而逃臣，若社稷何？王病之，告令尹改乘轅而北之，次于管以待之。晉師在敖郤之間，鄭皇戌使如晉師，曰：「鄭之從楚，社稷之故也，未有貳心。楚師驟勝而驕，其師老矣，而不設備，子擊之，鄭師爲承，楚師必敗。」彘子曰：「敗楚服鄭，于此在矣，必許之。」欒武子曰：「楚自克庸以來，其君無日不討國人而訓之于民生之不易，禍至之無日，戒懼之不可以怠，在軍無日不討軍實而申儆之于勝之不可保，紂之百克而卒無後，訓之以若敖，蚘冒，筮路，藍縷，以啟山林，箴之曰：『民生在勤，勤則不匱，不可謂驕。』先大夫子犯有言曰：『師直爲壯，曲爲老，我則不德，而徼怨於楚。』我曲楚直，不可謂老，其君之戎，分爲二廣，廣有一卒，卒偏之兩，右廣初駕，數及日中，左則受之，以至於昏，內官序當其夜，以待不虞，不可謂無備。子良，鄭之良也，師叔，楚之崇也，師叔入盟，子良在楚，楚鄭親矣，來勸我戰，我克則來，不克遂往，以我卜也，鄭不可從。趙括，趙同，曰：『率師以來，唯敵是求，克敵得屬，又何俟？必從彘子。』知季曰：『原屏，咎之徒也。』趙莊子曰：『欒伯善哉，實其言，必長晉國。』楚少宰如晉師，曰：『寡君少遭閔凶，不能文，聞二先君之出入此行也，將鄭是訓定，豈敢求罪於晉？二三子無淹久，隨季命之辱，彘子以爲詔，使趙括從而更之，曰：『行人失辭，寡君使羣臣遷大國之迹於鄭，曰：『無辟敵，羣臣無所逃命。』楚子又使求成於晉，晉人許之，盟有日矣。』楚許伯御樂伯，攝叔爲右，以致晉師，許伯曰：『吾聞致師者，御靡旌，摩壘而還，樂伯曰：『吾聞致師者，左射以蔽，代御執轡，御下兩馬，掉鞅而還，攝叔曰：『吾聞致師者，右入壘，折馘執俘而還，皆行其所聞而復，晉人逐之，左右角之，樂伯左射馬，而右射人，角不能進，矢一而已，麋興於前，射麋麗龜，晉鮑癸當其後，使攝叔奉麋獻焉，曰：『以歲之非時，獻禽之未至，敢膳諸從者。』鮑癸止之，曰：『其左善射，其右有辭，君子也。』既免，晉魏錡求公族未得，而怒，欲敗晉師，請致師，弗許，請使許之，遂往，請戰而還，楚潘黨逐之，及熒澤，見六麋，射一麋以顧獻，曰：『子有軍事，獸人無乃不給於鮮，敢獻于從者。』叔黨命去之。趙旃求卿未得，且怒於失

先穀佐之，士會將上軍，卻克佐之，趙朔將下軍，欒書佐之，趙括、趙嬰齊爲中軍大夫，鞏朔、韓穿爲上軍大夫，荀首、趙同爲下軍大夫，韓厥爲司馬，及河，聞鄭既及楚平，桓子欲還，曰：「無及於鄭，而勦民焉用之？楚歸而動，不後。」隨武子曰：「善，會聞用師，觀釁而動，德刑政事，典禮不易，不可敵也，不爲是征，楚軍討鄭，怒其貳而哀其卑，叛而伐之，服而舍之，德刑成矣，伐叛，刑也，柔服，德也，二者立矣。昔歲入陳，今茲入鄭，民不罷勞，君無怨讎，政有經矣，荆尸而舉，商農工賈，不敗其業，而卒乘輯睦，事不奸矣。舊歲爲宰，擇楚國之令典，軍行，右轅，左追，辱，前茅慮無，中權，後勁，百官象物而動，軍政不戒而備，能用典矣，其君之舉也，內姓選於親，外姓選於舊，舉不失德，賞不失勞，老有加惠，旅有施舍，君子小人，物有服章，貴有常尊，賤有等威，禮不逆矣，德立，刑行，政成，事時，典從，禮順，若之何敵之？見可而進，知難而退，軍之善政也，兼弱攻昧，武之善經也，子姑整軍而經武乎？猶有弱而昧者，何必楚？仲虺有言曰：『取亂侮亡，兼弱也。』汧曰：『於鑠王師，遵養時晦，耆昧也。』武曰：『無競惟烈，撫弱耆昧，以務烈所可也。』彘子曰：『不可，晉所以霸，師武臣力也，今失諸侯，不可謂力，有敵而不從，不可謂武，由我失霸，不如死，且成師以出，聞敵疆而退，非夫也，命爲軍帥，而卒以非夫，唯羣子能，我弗爲也。』以中軍佐濟，知莊子曰：『此師殆哉！周易有之，在師之臨，曰：『師出以律，否臧凶。』執事順成爲臧，逆爲否，衆散爲弱，川壅爲澤，有律以如己也，故曰：『律否臧，且律竭也。』盈而以竭，天且不整，所以凶也，不行之謂臨，有帥而不從，臨孰甚焉？此之謂矣，果遇必敗，彘子尸之，雖免而歸，必有大咎。』韓獻子謂桓子曰：『彘子以偏師陷，子罪大矣，子爲元帥，師不用命，誰之罪也？失屬亡師，爲罪已重，不如進也，事之不捷，惡有所分，與其專罪，六人同之，不猶愈乎？』師遂濟，楚子北師次於郟，沈尹將中軍，子重將左，子反將右，將飲馬於河而歸，聞晉師既濟，王欲還，嬖人伍參欲戰，令尹孫叔敖弗欲，曰：『昔歲入陳，今茲入鄭，不無事矣，戰而不捷，參之肉其足食乎？』參曰：『若事之捷，孫叔爲無謀矣，不捷，參之肉將在晉軍，可得食乎？』令尹南轅返旆，伍參言於王曰：『晉之從政者新，未能行令，其佐先穀，剛愎不仁，未肯用命，其三帥者，專行不獲，

能軍。宵濟，亦終夜有聲。丙辰，楚重至於郢，遂次于衡雍。潘黨曰：「君盍築武軍，而收晉尸以爲京觀。」臣聞克敵，必示子孫以無忘武功。楚子曰：「非爾所知也。」夫文止戈爲武。武王克商，作頌曰：「載戰于戈，載櫜弓矢。我求懿德，肆于時夏，允王保之。」又作武，其卒章曰：「耆定爾功。」其三曰：「鋪時繹思，我徂惟求定。」其六曰：「綏萬邦，屢豐年。」夫武禁暴，戢兵，保大，定功，安民，和衆，豐財者也。故使子孫無忘其章。今我使二國暴骨，暴矣。觀兵以威諸侯，兵不戢矣。暴而不戢，安能保大？猶有晉在，焉得定功？所違民欲猶多，民何安焉？無德而強，爭諸侯，何以和衆？利人之幾，而安人之亂，以爲己榮，何以豐財？武有七德，我無一焉，何以示子孫？其爲先君宮，告成事而已。武非吾功也。古者明王伐不敬，取其鯨鯢而封之，以爲大戮。於是乎有京觀，以懲淫慝。今罪無所，而民皆盡忠以死君命，又何以爲京觀乎？祀於河，作先君宮，告成事而還，是役也。鄭石制實入楚師，將以分鄭，而立公子魚臣。辛未，鄭殺僕叔及子服。君子曰：「史佚所謂毋怙亂者，謂是類也。」詩曰：「亂離瘼矣，爰其適歸。」歸於怙亂者也夫。

○鄭伯許男如楚。

○秋，晉師歸，桓子請死，晉侯欲許之。士貞子諫曰：「不可。」城濮之役，晉師三日穀，文公猶有憂色。左右曰：「有喜而憂，如有憂而喜乎？」公曰：「得臣猶在，憂未歇也。」困獸猶鬪，況國相乎？及楚殺子玉，公喜而後可知也。曰：「莫余毒也已。」是晉再克而楚再敗也。楚是以再世不競。今天或者大警晉也，而又殺林父以重楚勝，其無乃久不競乎？林父之事君也，進思盡忠，退思補過，社稷之衛也。若之何殺之？夫其敗也，如日月之食焉，何損於明？晉侯使復其位。

冬，楚子伐蕭，宋華椒以蔡人救蕭。蕭人囚熊相宜僚及公子丙。王曰：「勿殺，吾退。」蕭人殺之。王怒，遂圍蕭。蕭潰，申公巫臣曰：「師人多寒。」王巡三軍，拊而勉之。三軍之士皆如挾纊，遂傳于蕭。還無社與司馬卯言，號申叔展。叔展曰：「有麥麴乎？」曰：「無。」有山鞠窮乎？」曰：「無。」河魚腹疾奈何？」曰：「目于晉井而極之。」若爲茅經，哭井則已。明日，蕭潰，申叔展之致師者，請挑戰，弗許，請召盟，許之。與魏錡皆命而往。郤獻子曰：「二憾往矣，弗備必敗。」彘子曰：「鄭人勸戰，弗敢從也。楚人求成，弗能好也。師無成命，多備何爲？」士季曰：「備之善若二子，怨楚，楚人乘我，喪師無日矣。不如備之。楚之無惡，除備而盟，何損於好？若以惡來，有備不敗。且雖諸侯相見，軍衛不徹，警也。彘子不可。」士季使鞏朔、韓穿帥七覆於敖，前故上軍不敗。趙嬰齊使其徒先具舟於河，故敗而先濟。潘黨既逐魏錡，趙旃夜至於楚軍，席於軍門之外，使其徒入之。楚子爲乘廣三十乘，分爲左右。右廣雞鳴而駕，日中而說。左則受之，日入而說。許偃御右廣，養由基爲右，彭名御左廣，屈蕩爲右。乙卯，王乘左廣，以逐趙旃。趙旃棄車而走林，屈蕩搏之，得其甲裳。晉人懼二子之怒楚師也，使軫車逆之。潘黨望其塵，使騁而告曰：「晉師至矣。」楚人亦懼王之入晉軍也，遂出陳。孫叔曰：「進之，寧我薄人，無人薄我。」詩云：「元戎十乘，以先啟行。」先人也。軍志曰：「先人有奪人之心，薄之也。」遂疾進師，車馳卒奔，乘晉軍。桓子不知所爲，鼓於軍中曰：「先濟者有賞。」中軍下軍爭舟，舟中之指可掬也。晉師右移，上軍未動。工尹齊將右拒卒，以逐下軍。楚子使唐狡與蔡鳩居告唐惠侯曰：「不穀不德而貪，以遇大敵，不穀之罪也。然楚不克，君之羞也，敢藉君靈，以濟楚師。」使潘黨率游闕四十乘從唐侯以爲左拒，以從上軍。駒伯曰：「待諸乎？」隨季曰：「楚師方壯，若萃於我，吾師必盡。不如收而去之，分謗生民，不亦可乎？」殿其卒而退，不敗。王見右廣將從之，乘屈蕩尸之曰：「君以此始，亦必以終。」自是楚之乘廣先左。晉人或以廣隊不能進，楚人基之脫局，少進，馬還，又基之，拔旆投衡，乃出。顧曰：「吾不如大國之數奔也。」趙旃以其良馬二濟其兄與叔父，以他馬反，遇敵不能去，棄車而走林，逢大夫與其二子乘，謂其二子無顧。顧曰：「趙旃在後，怒之使下。」指木曰：「尸汝於此。」授趙旃綏，以免。明日，以表尸之，皆重獲在木下。楚熊負羈囚知罃，知莊子以其族反之。廚武子御，下軍之士多從之。每射，抽矢，鼓納諸廚子之房。廚子怒曰：「非子之求，而蒲之愛。」董澤之蒲，可勝既乎？知季曰：「不以人子，吾子其可得乎？吾不可以苟射故也。」射連尹襄老獲之，遂載其尸。射公子穀臣，囚之，以二者還。及昏，楚師軍於郢，晉之餘師不

死國言先之。陳爲其不貳。曰盟達華晉號茅視  
之。討焉。君孔衛盟言書。於恤於曹椒。原而經其  
我若有達人故也。不是病清人。衛穀出存井。  
則大約曰。救伐宋實卿討丘。同孔宋之。焉。則

- XII. 1 In the duke's twelfth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke Ling of Ch'in.
- 2 The viscount of Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing.
- 3 In summer, in the sixth month, on Yih-maou, Seun Lin-foo of Tsin led a force, and fought with the viscount of Ts'oo at Peih, when the army of Tsin was disgracefully defeated.
- 4 It was autumn, the seventh month.
- 5 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Mow-yin, the viscount of Ts'oo extinguished Sëaou.
- 6 An officer of Tsin, one of Sung, one of Wei, and one of Ts'aou, made a covenant together at Ts'ing-k'ëw.
- 7 An army of Sung invaded Ch'in, [but] a body of men from Wei relieved it.

Par. 1. Twenty-two months had elapsed since the death of duke Ling at the hands of Hëa Ch'ing-shoo. We can hardly suppose that his body had been unburied all that time. Perhaps the rites of interment were now performed in a more regular and solemn manner, the coffin being deposited in a new grave.

Par. 2. The Chuen at the end of last year was preparatory to this par., to supply the reason for the fresh invasion of Ch'ing by Ts'oo. We have here the following narrative:—"In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo had held the capital of Ch'ing in siege for 17 days, when the people divined whether it would be well for them to accept conditions of peace, but the answer was not favourable. They then divined whether they should weep in the grand temple, and bring forth their chariots into the streets [*i. e.*, probably, to be ready for removing where Ts'oo might direct]; and the reply was favourable. The people of the city then made a great weeping, and the keepers of the parapets all cried aloud, so that the viscount of Ts'oo withdrew his men, till the people repaired the wall. He then advanced and renewed the siege, when the place was reduced at the end of three months. He entered the city by the Hwang gate, and proceeded to the principal street, where he was met by the earl of Ch'ing, with his flesh exposed, and leading a sheep. "Uncared for by Heaven," said the earl, "I could not serve your lordship, and aroused your anger, till it has been discharged upon my city. The offence is all mine; and I dare do nothing now but wait for your commands. If you carry us away to the south of the Këang, to occupy the land by the shores of the sea, be it so. If you take the State and give it to some other as its ruler, to whom I shall be as in the position of a handmaid, be it so. If you kindly regard former relations of friendship between our States, and to obtain blessing from [the kings] Le and Seuen, and from [the dukes] Hwan and Woo, you do not extinguish our

altars, so that I may change my course, and serve your lordship equally with the governors of the nine [new] districts [which you have established], that will be your kindness, and it is my desire, but it is what I do not dare to hope for. I have presumed to disclose to you all my heart; your lordship will take your measures accordingly."

"His attendants urged the viscount not to grant [the earl's request], urging that, having got the State, he ought not to forgive him; but the king replied, "Since the ruler of Ch'ing can humble himself thus, he must be able to secure the faith of his people; how can I hope to obtain the State?" With this he retired 30 *le*, and granted peace. P'wan Wang entered the city and made a covenant; and T'ze-lëang left it to be a hostage [with Ts'oo]."

Par. 3. Peih was in Ch'ing,—6 *le* to the east of Ch'ing Chow, dep. K'ae-fung.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, in the 6th month, the armies of Tsin [marched to] relieve Ch'ing. Seun Lin-foo commanded the army of the centre [In place of Këoh Keueh], with Sëen Hwuh as his assistant [In room of Lin-foo]. Sze Hwuy commanded the first army, with Këoh K'ih as his assistant [In room of Chaou Soh]. Chaou Soh commanded the 3d army, with Lwan Shoo as his assistant. Chaou Kwoh and Chaou Ying-ts'e were the great officers of the army of the centre; Kung Soh and Chaou Ch'uen, those of the 1st army; and Seun Show and Chaou T'ung, those of the 3d. Han Këueh was marshal of the host.

"When they reached the Ho, they heard that Ch'ing had made peace with Ts'oo, and Hwan-tsze [Hwan was Lin-foo's posthumous title] wished to return, saying, "We are too late for the relief of Ch'ing; what will be the use now of perilling the lives of our people? Let us wait till Ts'oo has retired, and then make a movement [against Ch'ing]."

'Woo-tze of Suy (Sze Hwuy) approved of this view, and said, "According to what I have heard, military enterprises should be undertaken only when there is an opportunity of prosecuting them with advantage. An enemy who cultivates, without changing, kindness in his virtue, justice in his punishments, the ordering of his government, the right regulation of different affairs, and the statutes and rules of his State, is not to be contended with; it is not against such an one that we conduct punitive expeditions. Now when the army of Ts'oo punished Ch'ing, there was anger because of its double dealing, and compassion when the earl humbled himself. When it revolted from him, [the viscount] invaded it. When it submitted, he forgave it:—his kindness and justice were established. There was the justice of punishment in the attack of revolt; there was the kindness of virtue in the gentle dealing with submission. Both these things were shown.

"[Again], last year Ts'oo entered the capital of Ch'in, and this year it entered that of Ch'ing; but its people have not complained of the fatigue and toil, nor murmured against their ruler:—showing how well its government is ordered. [Then], throughout Ts'oo, when its forces are called out according to its system, its travelling merchants, husbandmen, mechanics, and stationary traders, have not their several occupations injuriously interfered with, and the footmen and chariot-men act in harmony with one another:—showing how collision is avoided in its ordering of affairs.

"[Further], when Wei Gacu became chief minister, he selected the best statutes of Ts'oo. When the army is marching, the [footmen of the] right keep on either side of the chariot, and those of the left go in quest of grass and rushes. The bearers of the standards of the *maou* keep in advance, looking out anxiously that nothing occur for which there is not preparation. The troops in the centre are ready to act as occasion may require, while behind them is the strength of the army. The different officers move according to the signals displayed, and the ordering of the army is ready for any emergency, without special orders for it being given. Thus is Ts'oo able to carry out its statutes.

[Lastly], When the viscount of Ts'oo raises individuals to office, they are of the same surname with himself, chosen from among his relatives, and of other surnames, chosen from the old servants of the State. But offices are given with due respect to the necessary qualifications, and rewards are conferred according to the service performed, while at the same time additional kindness is shown to the aged. Strangers receive gifts, and enjoy various exemptions. Officers and the common people have different dresses to distinguish them. The noble have a defined standard of honour; the mean have to comport themselves according to different degrees. Thus are the rules of propriety observed in Ts'oo.

"Now why should we enter on a struggle with a State which thus manifests kindness, carries out justice, perfects its government, times its undertakings, follows its statutes, and observes so admirably the rules of propriety? To advance when you see advance is possible, and withdraw in face of difficulties, is a good way of moving an army; to absorb weak States,

and attack those that are wilfully blind, is a good rule of war. Do you for the present order your army accordingly, and follow that maxim. There are other States that are weak and wilfully blind; why must you deal with Ts'oo, [as if it were so]? There are the words of Chung Hwuy [Shoo, IV. ii. 7], "Take their States from the disorderly, deal summarily with those that are going to ruin, absorb the weak." The Choh ode (She, IV. i. [iii.] VIII.) [also] says,

'Oh! powerful was the royal army,

But he nourished it in obedience to circumstances, while the time was yet dark;—

the king's object was to deal with the blind. [Again], in the Woo (She, IV. i. [i.] IX.) it is said,

'Irresistible was his ardour.'

If you soothe [for a time] the weak, and bring on the wilful blindness, aiming at ardour [like that of Woo], you will pursue the proper course."

'Che-tsze (Sëen Hwuh) then said, "This counsel is not good. Tsin obtained the leadership of the States by the prowess of its armies and the strength of its leaders. But now it is losing the States, and its strength cannot be spoken of. If, when the enemy is before us, we do not follow him, we cannot be said to have prowess. If we are to lose our chief place among the States, the best thing we can do is to die. Moreover, we marched out with our armies in array; if, because the enemy is strong, we retire, we shall not be men. To begin with our ruler's charge to a command in the army, and to end with not being a man:—you all may play that part, but I will not do so." Upon this with [the portion of] the army of the centre [under his command], he crossed the Ho.

'Chwang-tsze of Che (Seun Show) said, "This army is in great peril. The case is that indicated in the change of the diagram Sze (師, ䷆) into Lin (臨, ䷒). (On Sze) it is said, "A host must be led forth according to the rules of service. If these be not good, there will be evil." When the commanders all observe their proper harmony, the rules are good; if they oppose one another, they are not. [The change of ䷆ into ䷒ indicates] the separation

of the host producing weakness; it is the stopping up of a stream so as to form a marsh. The rules of service are turned into each one's taking his own way. Hence the words,—"the rules become not good";—they are as it were dried up. The full stream is dried up; it is stopped and cannot have its course:—consequently evil must ensue. Lin [moreover] is the name for what does not proceed. When a commander does not follow the orders of his leader, what greater want of on-going could there be? and it is the case we now have. If we do meet the enemy we are sure to be defeated; and the calamity will be owing to Che-tsze. Though he should now escape, yet, on his return to Tsin, great evil will await him."

'Han Hëen-tsze (Han Keueh) said to Hwan-tsze, "Che-tsze with his portion of the army has committed a grave offence. But you are commander-in-chief;—whose offence is it that the generals do not obey your orders? You have



lost our subject State (Ch'ing); and if you lose that army, your offence will indeed be heavy;—you had better advance. If the affair do not prove successful, there will be others to share the blame. Will it not be better for you to bear the blame as one of six than to bear it alone?"

"The whole army then crossed the Ho. The viscount of Ts'oo was halting, with his army looking northwards, at Yen. The governor of Shin commanded the centre; Tsze-chung, the left; and Tsze-fan, the right. The viscount meant to water their horses at the Ho, and then return to Ts'oo. When he heard that the army of Tsin had crossed, he wanted to withdraw before it; but his favourite, Woo Ts'an, wished to fight. Shuh-sun Gaou, the chief minister of Ts'oo, did not wish [to fight], and said, "Last year we entered Ch'in, and this year we have entered Ch'ing;—it cannot be said that we have accomplished nothing. If we fight and do not succeed, will the eating Ts'an's flesh be sufficient to atone for the result?" Ts'an replied, "If the battle be gained, you will be proved to have been incapable of planning. If it be lost, my flesh will be in the army of Tsin, and you will not get it to eat."

"The chief minister then turned his chariot to the south, and ordered the great standard to be carried back. But Woo Ts'an said to the king, "Tsin's chief minister is new, and cannot make his commands obeyed. His assistant commander, Seen Hwuh, is violent and headstrong, without any benevolence, and unwilling to obey the other's commands. The generals of the three armies would each take the chief controul, but not one of them can do so. In council there is no supreme Head; whom can the multitudes follow? In this expedition Tsin cannot fail to be defeated. Moreover, if your majesty flee before a subject of Tsin, what becomes of the honour of our altars?" The king felt powerfully these representations, and told the chief minister to change the course of the chariots, and proceed northwards. He then halted at Kwan to await the army of Tsin, which was between Gaou and K'au.

"[In the meantime], Hwang S'eh of Ch'ing came on a mission to the army of Tsin, saying, "Ch'ing has submitted to Ts'oo only to preserve its altars, and does not waver in its preference for your State. The army of Ts'oo is proud with repeated victories, and weary with the length of its service. Nor does it make preparations for an engagement. If you attack it, the army of Ch'ing will second you; and Ts'oo is sure to be defeated." Che-tsze said, "The defeat of Ts'oo, and the securing the adherence of Ch'ing, both depend on this action. We must agree to the envoy's proposal." Lwan Woo-tsze (Lwan Shoo), however, urged, "Since the time when Ts'oo subdued Yung [See VI. xvi. 6], its ruler has let no day pass without training and instructing his people, saying, 'Ah! the people's welfare is not easily secured. Calamity may come without a day's warning. You must be cautious and apprehensive, never giving way to idleness.' In the army [also], he has not been a day without looking after the weapons, and admonishing the men, saying, 'Ah! victory cannot be made sure of. There was Chow, who, after a hundred conquests, yet left none to succeed him.' He has also inculcated on them the examples of Joh-

gaou and Fun-maon, who laboured in wooden carts and tattered hempen clothes to bring the hills and forests under cultivation. He made this proverb for them also, 'People's weal depends on diligence; with diligence there is no want.' His army cannot be said to be elated. A former great officer [of our State], Tsze-fan, said, 'When an army has right on its side, it is strong; when the expedition is wrong, the army is weary and weak.' In this case we cannot plead our virtue, but are bent on a quarrel with Ts'oo. We are in the wrong, and Ts'oo is in the right;—its army cannot be said to be weary and weak. Its ruler's own chariots are divided into two bodies of 15 each. To each of them are attached 100 men, and an additional complement of 25 men. The body on the right is harnessed early, and kept on duty till mid-day, when that on the left takes its place till dusk. The officers in immediate attendance on the ruler keep watch by turns during the night. Thus provision is made against any surprise, and the army cannot be said to be without preparation. Tsze-l'ang is the best man of Ch'ing and Sze-shuh [Pwan Wang] is highly honoured in Ts'oo. Sze-shuh entered [the capital of Ch'ing] and made a covenant; and Tsze-l'ang is [a hostage] with Ts'oo. Ts'oo and Ch'ing are in friendly relations; and Ch'ing advises us to fight! If we conquer, it will come to us; if we do not conquer, it will draw off. According as I should divine, the counsel of Ch'ing is not to be followed."

"Chaou Hwuh and Chaou T'ung said, "We have led our host thus far, seeking for the enemy. We have to conquer the enemy, and recover our subject State;—what more do we wait for? We must follow Che-tsze."

"Ke of Che [Chwang-tsze; Seun Show] said, "Yuen [Chaou T'ung] and Ping [Chaou Kwuh] are partisans of our evil counsellor [Che-tsze]." Chaou Chwang-tsze [Chaou Soh] said, "Lwan Pih [Woo-tsze; Lwan Shoo] has spoken well! Let him make his words good, and he will take the chief command in Tsin."

"[After these discordant counsels], the sub-administrator of Ts'oo went to the army of Tsin, and said, "Our ruler, when young, met with sorrowful bereavement, and was not able to cultivate the accomplishments of learning. But he has heard that his two predecessors [the kings Ch'ing and Muh] went backwards and forwards by this path. His only aim has been to instruct and settle Ch'ing, without seeking to give offence to Tsin. You, the officers of Tsin, should not remain here long." Ke of Suy (Sze Hwuy) replied, "Long ago king P'ing gave charge to our former ruler, the marquis Wan, saying, 'Along with Ch'ing support the House of Chow, and do not disregard the king's charge.' Now Ch'ing is showing no regard for it, and our ruler sent us to ask it the reason; we do not presume to inflict any disgrace on you who have met us. Let me acknowledge the condescension of your ruler in this message." Che-tsze thought this reply was fawning, and sent Chaou Kwuh to follow the envoy with a different one, saying, "Our messenger gave you a wrong reply. Our ruler sent his servants to remove from Ch'ing every foot-print of your great State, telling us not to evade any enemy. We will not slink away from any commands you may lay on us."

"The viscount of Ts'oo, however, sent another message to ask for peace with Tsin, which was agreed to on the part of Tsin; and a day was set for a covenant."

"[In the meantime], Heu Pih of Ts'oo drove Yoh Pih, with Sheh Shuh on the right of the chariot, to flout and provoke the army of Tsin. Heu Pih said, "I have heard that when an army is flouted, the driver urges his chariot, with the flag shaking, close to the entrenchments, and then returns." Yoh Pih said, "I have heard that the archer on the left discharges a strong arrow, and then takes the reins, while the charioteer descends, dusts the horses, and adjusts the martingales, and then they return." Sheh Shuh said, "I have heard that the spearman on the right enters the entrenchments, cuts off an ear, takes another man prisoner, and returns." They all three did as they had heard, and were returning, pursued by the men of Tsin, who came after them like two horns, from the left, and the right. Yoh Pih shot the horses on the left, and the men on the right, so that the pursuers could not advance. He had but one arrow left, when a stag rose up before the chariot, which he shot right in the hump. Paou Kwei of Tsin was right behind him, when he made Sheh Shuh take the stag, and present it to the pursuer, saying, "It is not the season of the year for such a thing, the time for presenting animals has not arrived, but I venture to offer this to feast your followers." Paou Kwei stopped the pursuit, saying, "He on the left shoots well; he on the right speaks well;—they are superior men." So they got off. Wei E [A son of Wei Ch'ow; see the Chuen on V. xxvii., p. 4 and xxviii., p. 4] of Tsin had asked to be appointed among the ducal clans [See the Chuen at the end of the 2d year], and been refused. In his resentment he wished to bring on the defeat of the army, and now asked [the commander-in-chief] to allow him to flout the army [of Ts'oo]. This was refused; but his further request to be sent with a message to it was granted; so he went, challenged Ts'oo to battle, and was returning. P'wan Tang of Ts'oo pursued him; but when E had got to the marsh of Yung, he saw six stags, and shot one of them. Then turning round, he presented it to Tang, saying, "Amid the business of the army, your hunters may have failed to supply you with fresh meat, and I venture to present this for your followers." On this Shuh-tang gave orders to leave off the pursuit.

"Chaou Chen [a son of Chaou Ch'uen] had asked to be made a minister [in Tsin], and been refused. He was angry, moreover, at the escape of the party of Ts'oo which had flouted the army, and begged to be allowed to go and provoke a battle. This was refused, but he was allowed to go and call Ts'oo to a covenant. So he and Wei E both went to the army of Ts'oo on their several missions."

"K'eh H'een-tsze [K'eh K'ih] said, "These two dissatisfied spirits are gone. If we do not make preparations, we are sure to be defeated." Che-tsze said, "The people of Ch'ing advised us to fight, and we do not dare to follow their counsel. Ts'oo asked for peace, and we are not able to come to terms with it. There is no acknowledged authority in the army;—what can many preparations do?" Sze Ke [Sze Hwuy] said, "It is well to be prepared. If

those two enrage Ts'oo, and its army come suddenly upon us, we shall lose our army in no time. Our best plan is to make preparations [for a battle]. If Ts'oo do not make an attempt upon us, we can remove our preparations, and make a covenant, without there being any injury to a good understanding. If it do make an attempt, being prepared for it, we shall not be defeated. Even in the case of an interview between two princes, they take the precaution not to dispense with a guard of troops."

"Che-tsze [still] refused to agree to this proposal, and Sze Ke sent Kung Soh and Han Ch'uen to place 7 ambushments in front of Gaou. By this means the 1st army was saved from the defeat [which ensued]. Chaou Ying-ts'e sent a party to prepare boats at the Ho; and in this way, though he shared in the defeat, he and his men were the first to cross the river."

"When P'wan Tang had driven away Wei E, Chaou Chen came that same night to the army of Ts'oo; and having spread his mat outside the gate of the camp, he sent his followers in. There were the two bodies of the viscount's own chariots, drawn up on the right and left. Those on the left had stood with the horses yoked from day-break till mid-day; and those on the left had then been similarly harnessed until sun-down. Heu Yen was charioteer to the king in the body on the right, with Yang Y'ew-ke as spearman; while P'ang Ming performed the same duty on the left, with K'eh Tang as spearman."

"On Yih-maou, the king at the head of the chariots of the left, drove out to pursue Chaou Chen, who abandoned his chariot, and ran into a wood, pursued by K'eh Tang, who got his buff-coat and lower garment. [Meanwhile], being afraid in the camp of Tsin that the two officers would enrage the army of Ts'oo, they had sent some large chariots to meet them. P'wan Tang, seeing at a distance the dust raised by these, sent a horseman with all speed to tell the king that the army of Tsin was advancing. The men of Ts'oo, [on their side], were also afraid lest the king should enter the army of Tsin, and issued from their camp in order of battle. Sun Shuh said, "Let us advance. It is better that we set upon them than let them set upon us. The ode says (She, II. iii. ode III., 4),

'Ten large war chariots  
Led the van;—

the object was to be beforehand with the enemy. The 'Art of War' [also] says, 'Anticipate your enemy, and you take away his heart.' Let us press on them." Accordingly he hurried on the army. The carriages dashed along, and the footmen seemed to fly; and so they fell on the army of Tsin. Hwan-tsze did not know what he was doing, but ordered the drums to be beaten in the army, crying out, "A reward to those who first recross the river!" The army of the centre and the 3d army struggled for the boats, till the fingers [of those trying to get in, and that were cut off by those who had already got possession] could be taken up with both hands at once. The other armies moved to the right of the 1st, which alone held its place without moving. Ts'e, minister of Works [in Ts'oo], led the troops which had occupied the left front to pursue the 3d army [At the same time], the

viscount sent T'ang K'ao and Ts'ae K'ew-keu with a message to the marquis Hwuy of T'ang, saying, "All unworthy I am, and in my ambitious desires I have encountered a great enemy. I acknowledge my offence; but if Ts'oo do not conquer, it will be your lordship's disgrace. I venture to depend on your powerful influence to complete the victory of my army." While sending this message, he ordered P'wan Tang, with 40 of the chariots of reserve, to follow the marquis of T'ang, and to act on the left by following the 1st army [of Tsin]. Keu Pih, (K'oh K'ih) said, "Shall we await their onset?" Ke of Suy replied, "The army of Ts'oo is in the flush of its night. If it now collect around us, we are sure to be destroyed. Our best plan is to gather in our troops, and retreat. We shall share the reproach of the other armies, but we shall save the lives of the people." He then placed his own troops in the rear of the retreating forces, and retired without being defeated.

"The king, seeing his own chariots of the right, wished to continue the pursuit in one of them; but K'ew Tang stopped him, saying, "You began with this, and you must end with this." From this time in Ts'oo the chariots of the left got the precedence.

"[In the flight], a chariot belonging to Tsin sank in a rut, and could not proceed. A man of Ts'oo told its occupant to take out the frame for weapons. After this, it advanced a little, and then the horses wanted to turn. The same man advised to take out the large flag-staff, and lay it crosswise. When this was done, the carriage got out of the hole, when its occupant turned round and said to his helper, "We are not so accustomed to fly as the soldiers of your great State!"

"Ch'ao Chen gave his two best horses to assist his elder brother and his uncle, and was going back with the others, when he met the enemy, and was unable to escape them. He abandoned his chariot therefore, and ran into a wood. The great officer Fung was driving past with his two sons, and [catching sight of Chen], he told them not to look round. They did so, however, and said, "The old great officer Ch'ao is behind us." He was angry with them, and made them dismount, pointing to a tree, and saying, "Let me find your bodies there." He then gave the reins to Ch'ao Chen, who thus made his escape. The other, next day, found his sons' bodies at the spot which he had marked.

"H'ung Hoo-ke of Ts'oo took Ying of Che prisoner; and when [Ying's father], Chwang-tsze knew it, he returned to the battle-field with the soldiers of his own clan, Woo-tsze of Ch'oo [Wei E] acting as his charioteer, and many soldiers of the 3d army following him. Whenever he drew out an arrow, though it seemed to be strong, he placed it in the quiver of Woo-tsze, till the latter was angry, and said, "Are you not looking for your son? And do you grudge your arrows? Will it be possible to exhaust the willows of the Tung marsh?" Chwang-tsze replied, "If I do not get some one's son, shall I be able to recover mine? I must not shoot an arrow that I cannot be sure of." He then shot the *L'een-yin*, S'ang Laou, killed him, and took the body into the carriage. Another arrow hit the Kung-tsze Kuh-shin, whom he made prisoner; and these two trophies obtained, he returned to the army

of Tsin. When it was dusk, the army of Ts'oo encamped in Peih, while what remained of that of Tsin could not encamp anywhere, but kept crossing the Ho all the night, the noise of its movements never ceasing.

"On Ping-shin, the heavy waggons of Ts'oo were brought to Peih, and the viscount went on to H'ang-yung. P'wan Tang said to him, "Why should your lordship not signalize your triumph by making a mound, and collect in it the bodies of the Tsinites so as to form a grand monument? I have heard that successful battles should be shown to posterity, so that the prowess of them may not be forgotten." The viscount said, "You do not know what you are talking about. The character for 'prowess' is formed by those for 'to stay' and 'a spear' (武 = 止 and 戈). When king Woo had subdued Shang, he made the ode, which says (She, IV. i. [i.] VIII.),

'He has called in shields and spears;  
He has returned to their cases bows and arrows.

I will seek true virtue,  
And display it throughout the great land,  
That as king I may indeed preserve our appointment.'

He also made the Woo (武; She, IV. i. [ii.] X.), of which the last stanza says,

'So he firmly established his merit.'

The 3d stanza says (see She, IV. i. [iii.] X. This is not now a part of the Woo song),

'We wish to develop the purposes [of king W'än],

And go to seek the settlement of the kingdom.'

The 6th stanza says (She, IV. i. [iii.] IX.),

'He gave repose to all the States,  
And there ensued several years of plenty.'

Thus military prowess is seen in the repression of cruelty, the calling in of the weapons of war, the preservation of the great appointment, the firm establishment of one's merit, the giving repose to the people, the harmonizing all [the States], and the enlargement of the general wealth; and king Woo took care by those stanzas that his posterity should not forget this. Now I have caused the bones of the soldiers of two States to lie bleaching on the earth:—an act of cruelty; I display my weapons of war to awe the States:—thus unable to call them in. Cruel and not calling in the weapons of war, how can I preserve the great appointment? And while still the State of Tsin remains, how can I firmly establish my merit? There are many things by which I oppose what the people desire, and how can they get repose from me? Without the practice of virtue, striving by force for supremacy among the States, how can I produce harmony among them? I have made my gain from the perils of others, and found my safety in their disorders;—these things are my glory, but what enlargement of the general wealth is there in them? Not one of the seven virtues belonging to military prowess attaches to me;—what have I to display to my posterity? Let us simply make here a temple for the tablets of my predecessors, and announce to

them our success. The merit of military prowess does not belong to me.

"[Moreover], in ancient times, when the intelligent kings punished disrespectful and disobedient States, they took the greatest criminals among them, and buried them under a mound as the greatest punishment. Thus it was that grand monuments were made for the warning of the unruly and bad. But now when it is not certain to whom the guilt can positively be ascribed, and the people have all with the utmost loyalty died in fulfilling their ruler's commands, what grounds are there for rearing a grand monument?"

"After this the viscount offered sacrifice at the Ho, reared a temple for the tablets of his predecessors, announced to them the successful accomplishment of his enterprise, and returned to Ts'oo.

"At this time, Shih Che of Ch'ing entered the army of Ts'oo, and proposed to divide Ch'ing into two States, and appoint the Kung-tsze Yu-shin over one of them. On Sin-wei, Ch'ing put to death Puh-shuh (Yu-shin) and Tsze-fuh (Shih Che). The superior man may say that what the historiographer Yih remarked about not taking advantage of people's troubles was applicable to such parties. The ode says (She, II. v. ode X. 2),

'In such distress of disorder and separation,  
Whither can I betake myself?'

They betook themselves to those who would have taken advantage of the trouble and disorder.'

Par. 4. [The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'The earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Heu went to Ts'oo.' 2d, 'In autumn, the army of Tsin returned, and Hwan-tsze (Seun Lin-foo) requested that he might be put to death. The marquis was about to accede to the request, when Sze Ching-tsze [A member of the Sze clan. His name was 渥濁, Uh-chuh] said, "Do not do so. After the battle of Shing-puh [In the 28th year of duke He], the army of Tsin fed for 3 days on the grain [of the enemy], but there was still sorrow on the countenance of duke W'än. His attendants said to him, "On an occasion of such joy you are still sorrowful; would you be joyful in a time of sorrow?" The duke replied, "While Tih-shin is still alive, my sorrow cannot cease. A wild beast in the toils will still fight; how much more the chief minister of a State!" When Ts'oo put Tsze-yuh [Tih-shin] to death, the joy of the duke could then be seen by all. He said, "There is now none to embitter my peace." In fact [the death of Tih-shin] was a second victory to Tsin, and a second defeat to Ts'oo; and through the time of two rulers Ts'oo could not again show itself strong. Now Heaven has, it may be, given a great warning to Tsin; but if you now proceed to put to death

Lin-foo, thereby giving a second victory to Ts'oo, will not Tsin be reduced for a long time to a state of weakness? Lin-foo's service of his ruler has been of this character, that, in an advance, his thought has been how to display his loyalty, and, when obliged to withdraw, his thought has been how to retrieve his errors;—he is a bulwark to the altars of Tsin, and on what ground can you put him to death? His defeat is like an eclipse of the sun or moon; what injury does an eclipse do to those bodies?" On this, the marquis of Tsin ordered Hwan-tsze to resume his office.]

Par. 5. S'aoou,—see V. xxx. 6. Too observes that there was no Mow-yin day in the 12th month of this year. Mow-yin was the 9th day of the 11th month. The Chuen says:—'In winter the viscount of Ts'oo invaded S'aoou, which Hwa Ts'aoou of Sung, with a body of men from Ts'ae, endeavoured to relieve. The people of S'aoou held as prisoners H'ung-s'ang E-l'aoou and the Kung-tsze Ping. The king said, "Do not put them to death, and I will retire." They put them to death, however, which enraged the king, so that he laid siege to their city; when the people dispersed. Woo-shin, duke of Shin, said to the king, "Many of the soldiers are suffering from the cold;" on which the king went round all the host, comforting the soldiers and encouraging them, which made them feel as if they were clad in quilted garments. They then approached S'aoou, when S'aoou Woo-shay spoke with the marshal Maou, and asked him to call Shuh-chen of Shin to him. Shuh-chen said, "Have you any wheaten cakes made with heaven?" "No," said the other. "Have you any spirits made from the hill grass?" "No," was the reply again. "What then will you do when your belly is pained with the fish from the river?" asked Shuh-chen. The other replied, "Look into a dry well, and save me out of it." "If you place a band of rushes on it," [said Shuh-chen, "I will know it]. And when you hear the sound of weeping near the well, it will be I." Next day, the people of S'aoou dispersed. Shuh of Shin looked for the well, and there was the rush-band at it. He then wept, and brought out [his friend] Woo-she.'

Par. 6. The K'ang-he editors observe that here for the first time we have the great officers of States covenanting together about the affairs of their States. T'ing-k'ew was in Wei, 70 *le* to the south-east of the present K'ae-chow, dep. Ta-ming. Chih-le. Tso-she says:—'H'woh of Yuen (S'een H'woh), Hwa Ts'aoou of Sung, Tah of Wei, and an officer of Ts'aoou, covenanted together at T'ing-k'ew, to the effect that they would compassionate States which were in distress, and punish those that were disaffected.' He adds, 'The names of the ministers are not recorded, because they did not make their words good.'

Par. 7. Ch'in had taken the side of Ts'oo, and was therefore a 'disaffected State,' against which the States mentioned in the preceding par. should have acted in common, whereas we have Wei going to its help.

The Chuen says:—'In accordance with the covenant, Sung invaded Ch'in, but the people of Wei went to its help. K'ung Tah said, "Our former ruler had a treaty with Ch'in; if the great State [of Tsin] come to punish us [for helping it], I will die on account of the affair."

## Thirteenth year.

十有三<sup>一</sup>年春齊<sup>二</sup>師伐莒<sup>三</sup>夏楚子<sup>四</sup>伐宋<sup>五</sup>秋螽<sup>六</sup>冬晉殺<sup>七</sup>其大夫<sup>八</sup>先穀<sup>九</sup>

左傳曰十三年春齊師伐莒恃晉而不事齊故也夏楚子伐宋以其救蕭也君子曰清丘之盟唯宋可以免焉秋赤狄伐晉及清先穀召之也冬晉人討邲之敗與清之師歸罪於先穀而殺之盡滅其族君子曰惡之來也已則取之其先穀之謂乎○清丘之盟晉以衛之救陳也討焉使人弗去曰罪無所歸將加而師孔達曰苟利社稷請以我說罪我之由我則爲政而亢大國之討將以誰任我則死之

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, an army of Ts'e invaded Keu.  
2 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Sung.  
3 In autumn, there were locusts.  
4 In winter, Tsin put to death its great officer, Sëen Hwoh.

Par. 1. Kung-yang has Wei (衛) here instead of Keu; but the latter is no doubt the correct reading. Nowhere in the Ch'un Ts'ew have we any account of hostilities between Ts'e and Wei, whereas from the 4th year of duke Sëuen there seems to have been a state of chronic hostility between Keu on the one part, and Loo and Ts'e on the other [See IV. 1; XI. 3]. Tso-she says that the reason for the invasion in the text was because Keu, depending on the protection of Tsin, would not do service to Ts'e.

Par. 2. Tso-she says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Sung, because it had endeavoured to relieve Sëaou. The superior man may say that, in [the account of] the covenant of Ts'ing-k'ew, Sung might have escaped [the disapprobation indicated by the suppression of the name of its minister].'

Par. 3. Here again Kung-yang has 螽 for 穀.

Par. 4. For 穀 Kung-leang has 穀. Sëen Hwoh deserved to die, for the great defeat at Peih was mainly owing to his insubordination:

and he had since engaged in other nefarious plotting. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the Red Teih, at the invitation of Sëen Hwoh, invaded Tsin, and advanced as far as Ts'ing. In winter, Tsin, to avenge the defeat at Peih and this advance of the Teih to Ts'ing, laid the blame of both affairs on Sëen Hwoh, and put him to death, exterminating also all the branches of his clan. The superior man may say that the maxim, "When evil comes on a man, it has been brought on by himself," found an illustration in Sëen Hwoh.'

[The Chuen appends here:—'In consequence of the covenant at Ts'ing-k'ew, Tsin sent to demand from Wei an account of its relieving Ch'in. The messenger would not go away, and said, "If the offence be not laid on some one, my mission will be followed up by an army of attack." K'ung Tah said, "If it will be of advantage to the State, please lay the blame on me. The ground of criminating me lies in the fact that from me proceeded the movement which has excited the great State to demand reparation? I will die for this matter.']

## Fourteenth year.

十有四年春衛<sup>一</sup>殺其大夫孔達<sup>二</sup>夏五月壬申曹<sup>三</sup>伯壽卒<sup>四</sup>晉侯伐鄭<sup>五</sup>秋九月楚子圍<sup>六</sup>宋<sup>七</sup>葬曹文公<sup>八</sup>冬公孫歸父會<sup>九</sup>齊侯於穀<sup>十</sup>

左傳曰十四年春孔達縊而死衛人以說于晉而免遂告於諸侯曰寡君有不令之臣達構我敝邑於大國既伏其罪矣敢告衛人以爲成勞復室其子使復其位夏晉侯伐鄭爲邲故也告於諸侯蒐焉而還中行桓子之謀也曰示之以整使謀而來鄭人懼使子張代子良於楚鄭伯如楚謀晉故也鄭以子良爲有禮故召之楚子使申舟聘於齊曰無假道於宋亦使公子馮聘於晉不假道於鄭申舟以孟諸之役惡宋曰鄭昭宋聾晉使不害我則必死王曰殺女我伐之見犀而行及宋宋人止之華元曰過我而不假道鄙我也鄙我亡也殺其使者必伐我伐我亦亡也亡一也乃殺之楚子聞之投袂而起屢及於室皇劍及於寢門之外車及於蒲胥之市秋九月楚子圍宋冬公孫歸父會齊侯於穀見晏桓子與之言魯樂桓子告高宣子曰子家其亡乎懷於魯矣懷必貪貪必謀人謀人人亦謀己一國謀之何以不亡○孟獻子言于公曰臣聞小國之免于大國也聘而獻物于是有庭實旅百朝而獻功于是有容貌采章嘉淑而有加貨謀其不免也誅而薦賄則無及也今楚在宋君其圖之公說

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, Wei put to death its great officer, K'ung Tah.  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-shin, Show, earl of Ts'aou, died.

- 3 The marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing.
- 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, the viscount of Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Sung.
- 5 There was the burial of duke Wăn of Ts'aou.
- 6 In winter, Kung-sun Kwei-foo had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Kuh.

Par. 1. This is the sequel to the narrative at the end of the last year. The Chuen says:—“In the duke's 14th year, in spring, K'ung Tah strangled himself, which the people of Wei represented so as to satisfy Tsin, and escape [further proceedings from that State]. They then announced the thing to the States, saying, “Our ruler had a bad minister, Tah, who brought our poor city into collision with the great State. The minister has suffered for his crime, and we venture to inform you of it.” But considering the services which Tah had performed in pacifying [the State], they gave his son [a daughter of the marquis] to wife, and made him continue in his father's position [as a great officer].”

Par. 3. Ch'ing had acknowledged the supremacy of Ts'oo, after Tsin's defeat at Peih; hence this invasion of it. It is strange the K'ang-he editors should find the sage's approval of the invasion in the words of the text,—“the marquis of Tsin.” The marquis conducted the expedition in person, and the fact is so stated. The right or wrong of it is to be determined by other considerations.

The Chuen says:—“In summer, the marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, because of the defeat at Peih. He announced his doing so to the various States, held a review of his troops, and returned. This was by the counsel of Chung-hang Hwan-tsze [Sün Lin-foo. Chung-hang here becomes = his surname. For the origin of the denomination, see the Chuen at the end of V. xxviii], who said, “Show them our array, and let them consult about it, and come to us.” The people of Ch'ing were afraid, and sent Tsze-chang to take the place of Tsze-lêng in Ts'oo [See the Chuen on XII. 2]. The earl also went to Ts'oo, to consult about Tsin; and the State, considering with what propriety Tsze-lêng had behaved [in formerly declining the marquisate], recalled him.”

Par. 4. This invasion of Sung and siege of its capital was a further movement of Ts'oo to weaken Tsin. How it was brought about is related in the Chuen:—“The viscount of Ts'oo sent Shin Chow on a friendly mission to Ts'e, telling him that he should go through Sung without asking a right of way. At the same time he sent the Kung-tsze P'ing on a friendly mission to Tsin, without asking permission to

pass through Ch'ing. Shin Chow, remembering how he had incurred the resentment of Sung in the affair at Mäng-choo [See the Chuen on VI. x. 6. 7. Chow here is the Woo-wei there], said, “Ch'ing is clear-sighted, but Sung is deaf. The messenger to Tsin will suffer no harm, but I am sure to meet with my death.” The king said, “If Sung put you to death, I will invade it.” Chow then introduced [his son], Se, to the king, and went on his journey.

“When he came to Sung, they detained him there. Hwa Yuen said, “To pass through our State without asking our permission, is to treat our State as if it were a border of Ts'oo,—is to deal with it as if Sung were not a State. If we put to death its messenger, Ts'oo is sure to invade us, and Sung will perish. In either case Sung ceases to be a State.” Accordingly, Shin Chow was put to death. When the viscount heard of it, he shook down his sleeves and rose from his seat. His shoes were brought to him when he had reached the threshold of his chamber; his sword was brought to him outside the door of the chamber; and his carriage reached him when he had got to the marketplace called P'oo-seu. In autumn, in the 9th month, he laid siege to the capital of Sung.”

Par. 6. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4, *et al.* Kung-sun Kwei-foo,—see on X. 10. Wang Pao and other critics strongly condemn Kwei-foo as having been the first great officer who did according to his own pleasure in the administration of the government of Loo. The Chuen says:—“At this meeting, when Kwei-foo saw Gan Hwan-tsze, he spoke with him about the affairs of Loo, rejoicing [in his own position there]. Hwan-tsze told Kaou Seu-en-tsze [the Kaou Koo of V. 3] about it, saying, “Tsze-k'ea [The designation of Kwei-foo] is sure to come to ruin. He is all intent on [the dignities of] Loo. Being so, he is sure to cherish a covetous ambition, and then to be scheming against others. But when one schemes against others, they will scheme against him; and when a whole State schemes against a man, how can he escape going to ruin?”

[The Chuen appends here:—“Mäng Hên-tsze [See the Chuen on VI. xv. 4] said to the duke, “I have heard that the way in which a small State escapes [being incriminated by] a great one is by sending to it friendly missions and making various offerings, on which there are the hundred things set forth in the court-yard. Or if the prince go himself to the court [of the great State] to show his services, then he assumes a pleased appearance, and makes elegant and valuable presents, even beyond what could be required of him. He acts thus lest he should not escape [being incriminated]. If, after being reprimanded, he present rich offerings, it is too late. Ts'oo is now in Sung; let your lordship consider what should be done.” The duke was pleased.”]

Fifteenth year.

十有五年春，公孫歸父會楚子于宋。  
 夏五月，宋人及楚人平。  
 六月，癸卯，晉師滅赤狄潞氏，以潞子嬰兒歸。  
 秦人伐晉。  
 王札子殺召伯、毛伯。  
 秋，螽。  
 仲孫蔑會齊高固于無婁。  
 初，稅畝。  
 冬，蠶生。  
 饑。

左傳曰：十五年春，公孫歸父會楚子于宋。宋人使樂嬰齊告急于晉，晉侯欲救之。伯宗曰：不可。古人有言曰：雖鞭之長，不及馬腹。天方授楚，未可與爭。雖晉之彊，能違天乎？諺曰：高下在心，川澤納汙，山藪藏疾，瑾瑜匿瑕，國君含垢，天之道也。君其待之。乃止。使解揚如宋，使無降楚。曰：晉師悉起，將至矣。鄭人囚而獻諸楚。楚子厚賂之，使反其言。不許。三而許之，登諸樓車，使呼宋而告之，遂致其君命。楚子將殺之，使與之言。



曰。爾既許不穀而反之。何故。非我無信。汝則棄之。速即爾刑。對曰。臣聞之。君能制命爲義。臣能承命爲信。信載義而行之。爲利謀不失利。以衛社稷。民之主也。義無二信。信無二命。君之賂臣。不知命也。受命以出。有死無貳。又可賂乎。臣之許君。以成命也。死而成命。臣之祿也。寡君有信臣。下臣獲考。死又何求。楚子舍之以歸。夏五月。楚師將去宋。申犀稽首于王之馬前。曰。毋畏知死。而不敢廢王命。王棄言焉。王不能答。申叔時僕。曰。築室反耕者。宋必聽命。從之。宋人懼。使華元夜入楚師。登子反之牀。起之曰。寡君使元以病告。曰。敝邑易子而食。析骸以爨。雖然。城下之盟。有以國斃。不能從也。去我三十里。唯命是聽。子反懼。與之盟而告王。王退三十里。宋及楚平。華元爲質。盟曰。我無爾詐。爾無我虞。

路子嬰兒之夫人。晉景公之姊也。酆舒爲政而殺之。又傷潞子之目。晉侯將伐之。諸大夫皆曰。不可。酆舒有三雋才。不如待後之人。伯宗曰。必伐之。狄有五罪。雋才雖多。何補焉。不祀一也。奢酒二也。棄仲章而奪黎氏地三也。虐我伯姬四也。傷其君目五也。怙其雋才。而不以茂德。茲益罪也。後之人。或者將敬奉德義。以事神人。而申固其命。若之何待之。不討有罪。曰將待後。後有辭而討焉。毋乃不可乎。夫恃才與衆亡之道也。商紂由之。故滅。天反時爲災。地反物爲妖。民反德爲亂。亂則妖災生。故文反正爲乏。盡在狄矣。晉侯從之。六月。癸卯。晉荀林父敗赤狄於曲梁。辛亥。滅潞。酆舒奔衛。衛人歸諸晉。晉人殺之。

秋七月。秦桓公伐晉。次於輔氏。壬午。晉侯治兵於稷。以畧狄土。立黎侯而還。及雒。魏顆敗秦師於輔氏。獲杜回。秦之力人也。初。魏武子有嬖妾。無子。武子疾。命顆曰。必嫁是。疾病則曰。必以爲殉。及卒。顆嫁之。曰。疾病則亂。吾從其治也。及輔氏之役。顆見老人結草以亢杜回。杜回躡而顛。故獲之。夜夢之曰。余而所嫁婦人之父也。爾用先人之治命。余是以報。

王孫蘇與召氏毛氏爭政。使王子捷殺召戴公。及毛伯衛。卒立召襄。

○晉侯賞桓子狄臣千室。亦賞士伯以瓜衍之縣。曰。吾獲狄土。子之功也。微子。吾喪伯氏矣。羊舌職說是賞也。曰。周書所謂庸庸。祇者。謂此物也。夫士伯庸中。行伯君信之。亦庸士伯。此之謂明德矣。文王所以造周。不是過也。故詩曰。陳錫哉周。能施也。率是道也。其何不濟。

○晉侯使趙同獻狄俘於周。不敬。劉康公曰。不及十年。原叔有大咎。天奪之魄矣。

初稅畝。非禮也。穀出不過藉。以豐財也。

冬。螽生。饑。幸之也。

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, Kung-sun Kwei-foo had an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo in Sung.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, the people of Sung made peace with the people of Ts'oo.
- 3 In the sixth month, on Kwei-maou, an army of Tsin extinguished the Loo tribe of the Red Teih, and carried Ying-urh, viscount of Loo, back with it to Tsin.
- 4 A body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.
- 5 The king's son Chah put to death the earls of Shaou and Maou.
- 6 In autumn, there were locusts.
- 7 Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with Kaou Koo of Ts'e in Woo-low.
- 8 For the first time an [additional] tithe was levied from the acre.
- 9 In winter, the larvæ of locusts were produced.
- 10 There was famine.

Par. 1. It is said at the end of the concluding Chuen of last year, that the duke was pleased with the suggestion of Mäng Hëen that he should send a friendly mission to the viscount of Ts'oo. Here we are told how he proceeded to do so.

Par. 2. 宋人及楚人平—宋及楚平, 'Sung made peace with Ts'oo.' In accounts of peace made between States, only the names of the States are given, without the addition of 人 as here;—see X. vii. 1; XI. x. 1, et al. But no stress is to be laid on the 人 here, as if it indicated the princes or ministers by whom the treaty of peace was made. The use of it is merely a variation of the usual style (史異辭耳);—see the gloss of Ying-tah, in loc.

The Chuen relates:—The people of Sung sent Yoh Ying-ts'e to announce to Tsin how hard they were pressed, and the marquis of Tsin wished to proceed to their relief. Pih-tsung, however, said, 'No. The ancients had a saying that, however long the whip was, it did not reach the horse's belly. Heaven is now giving

[the power] to Ts'oo, and we cannot contend against it. Strong as Tsin is, can it resist Heaven? There are the common sayings, 'The mind must determine how high or how low it can go; 'the rivers and mers receive [much] filth; 'the hills and thickets hide noxious things; 'the finest gems have flaws; 'princes of States must [at times] take dirt in their mouths.' This is the way of Heaven; let your lordship wait [for another opportunity].' The marquis then desisted from his purpose, and sent Heae Yang to Sung, to advise [the duke] not to surrender to Ts'oo, saying, 'Tsin is raising all its forces, and they will [soon] be with you.' The people of Ch'ing took him prisoner, and delivered him to Ts'oo, when the viscount offered him large bribes to induce him to convey a message of a contrary character. He refused at first, but finally agreed to do so. He was then mounted on a turreted carriage; and having called the attention of the people of Sung, he delivered the message with which the marquis had entrusted him. The viscount was going to put him to death, and sent him a message, saying, 'Why did you thus violate the promise which you made to me? I do not break my faith with you;—it is you who have

cast [our agreement] away. Go quickly, and receive your punishment." Hsue Yang replied, "I have heard that when a prince gives out his command, it is a righteous act which he discharges, and when a minister receives that command, he is bound in fidelity to fulfil it. The faithful fulfilment of the righteous command is beneficial to the State, and he who lays his plans so that that benefit shall be secured for the defence of the altars is the people's friend. The righteous command does not admit of two fidelities; fidelity does not recognize two commands. When your lordship tried to bribe me, you knew not the nature of a command. I came forth with the command which I had received; and though I die, it has not fallen to the ground. To die in fulfilling the command is my happiness;—[it will be seen that] my prince had a faithful servant. I have been able to accomplish my task,—though I die, what more should I seek for?" [On hearing this reply], the viscount let him go to return [to Ts'in].

'In summer, in the 5th month, the army of Ts'oo was about to withdraw from Sung, when Shin Se bowed with his head to the ground before the king's horses, and said, "Though Woo-wei [Shin Chow, Se's father] knew it would cost him his life, he did not dare to decline your majesty's commission; and your majesty is breaking your word!" The king could not answer him. His charioteer, Shin Shuh-she, said, "If you build houses here, and send half the army back to till the ground, Sung will receive your commands and submit to them." [The king followed the counsel], and the people of Sung were afraid, and sent Hwa Yuen by night into the army of Ts'oo. He went up to the couch of Tsze-fan, and roused him, saying, "My master has sent me to inform you of our distress. In the city we are exchanging our children and eating them, and splitting up their bones for fuel. Notwithstanding, if you require us to make a covenant with you under the walls, we will not do so, though our city should be utterly overthrown. Withdraw from us 30 *le*, and then we will accept your commands." Tsze-fan was afraid, made a covenant with Yuen, and informed the king, who retired 30 *le*, when Sung and Ts'oo made peace, Hwa Yuen remaining as a hostage with Ts'oo. The words of their covenant were, "We [of Ts'oo] will not deceive you; do not you doubt us."

Par. 3. 赤狄潞氏;—see on III. 6. We see from this par. that the chiefs of the Loo tribes had the title of viscount. The Chuen relates:—"The wife of Ying-urh, viscount of Loo, was an elder sister of duke King of Ts'in. The power of the tribe was in the hands of Fung Shoo, who put this lady to death, and injured one of the viscount's eyes. The marquis of Ts'in wished to attack the tribe, but the great officers all advised against such an undertaking, saying that Fung Shoo possessed three extraordinary endowments, and that Ts'in had better wait for a future opportunity to deal with the Loo-she. Pih-tsung, however, said, "We must attack them [now]. [That] Teih is chargeable with five crimes, and of what help will his many extraordinary endowments be to him? His first crime is that he does not offer sacrifices; his second, that he is given to drunkenness; his third, that he abandoned Chung Chang, and

took away the territory of the chief of Le; his fourth, that he dealt so cruelly with the eldest daughter of our State; and his fifth, that he injured the eye of his ruler. His reliance on his extraordinary endowments, to the neglect of all virtue, only increases his guilt. His successor will perhaps reverently addict himself to the cultivation of virtue and righteousness, so as to serve both Spirits and men, thereby strengthening his title to the country;—how will it be, if we should wait for such an one? If we do not punish the present criminal, but say, 'Let us wait for his successor,' and then proceed to punish him, who may have reasons to allege why he should not be touched at all, will not our course be unreasonable? To rely on one's endowments and numbers is the way to ruin;—Chow of Shang followed it, and his utter ruin was the consequence. When the seasons of heaven are reversed, we have calamities; when the productions of the earth are reversed, we have prodigious things; when the virtues of men are reversed, we have disorders. It is those disorders which give rise to the calamities and prodigious things, just as the character for correctness, when reversed, produces that for failure [See the 說文解字注, in the 皇清經解, Ch. 642, 下, art. 1). All these things are predicable of the Teih."

'The marquis of Ts'in followed this counsel; and in the 6th month, on Kwei-maou, Seun Lin-foo defeated the Red Teih at K'eh-léang. On Sin-hae he extinguished Loo. Fung Shoo fled to Wei, the people of which sent him to Ts'in, where he was put to death.'

Par. 4. There had been no hostilities between Ts'in and Ts'in, since the invasion of Ts'in mentioned in the duke's 2d year. We do not know what led to the invasion in the text, though, from the Kwoh Yu, Bk. XIII. art. 1, we may suppose that Ts'in was jealous of Ts'in's acquisition of the Loo-she. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, in the 7th month, duke Hwan of Ts'in invaded Ts'in, and halted with his army at Foo-she. On Jin-woo, the marquis of Ts'in led a body of troops and exercised them at Tsih, to secure the annexation of the territory of the Teih. He then restored the marquis of Le, and had got as far as Loh on his return, when Wei Ko defeated the army of Ts'in at Foo-she, taking prisoner Too Hwuy, who was [known as] the strong man of Ts'in. Before this, [Wei Ko's father], Wei Woo-tsze had a favourite concubine, who brought him no child. When he was ill, he charged Ko that he should marry her to some one; but afterwards, when he had become very ill, he told him that he must bury her alive in his grave. After his father's death, Ko provided her with a husband, saying, "When my father was so very ill, his senses were disordered; I will follow the charge he gave when his mind was right." At the battle of Foo-she, he saw an old man who was making ropes of grass in the way of Too Hwuy, against which the strong man tripped, so that he fell and was taken. In the night, Ko dreamt that the old man said to him, "I am the father of the woman whom you provided with a husband. Because you followed the charge which your father gave you when in his senses, I have thus recompensed you."

Par. 5. 王札子 is simply 王子 札, 'the king's son, Chah.' Why the characters are so inverted it is difficult to say. What the paragraph relates shows that the court of Chow must have been in as disorderly and lawless a condition as the courts of the diff. States. Chah was probably a brother of the reigning king. The Chuen says:—"Wang-sun (i. e., a grandson of some former king) Soo had a contention with the chiefs of Shaou and Maou about the chief sway in the government, and made the king's son Tsze-ts'eh [The designation of Chah] put to death duke Tae of Shaou and Wei, earl of Maou. Afterwards, Séang of Shaou was appointed [in his father's place]."

Par. 6. [The Chuen here relates:—1st, 'The marquis of Ts'in rewarded Hwan-tsze with the revenues of a thousand families with which the Teih ministers had been endowed, and he also rewarded Sze Pih [The Sze Ching-tsze of the 2d narrative appended to XII. 4] with the district of Kwa-yen, saying, "That I have got the territory of the Teih is all owing to you. But for you, I should have lost Pih-she [Seun Lin-foo; See the Chuen just referred to]. Yang-shih Chih, speaking of these rewards, said "The words in [one of] the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix. 4), 'He employed the employable, and revered the reverend,' are applicable to such a case as this. Sze Pih advised the employment of Chung-hang Pih. The marquis confided in him, and followed his advice. This may be called a case of 'intelligent virtue.' The virtue by which king Wán raised the House of Chow did not go beyond this. Hence the ode (She, III. i. ode I. 2) says,

'Vast were the gifts of Chow,'

and thus it was that [king Wán] could perpetuate [his fortune]. It is impossible that he should not succeed who follows this way." 2d. 'The marquis of Ts'in sent Chaou T'ung to present the spoils of the Teih at the court of Chow, where he behaved disrespectfully. Duke K'ang of Léw said, "In less than ten years Shuh of Yuen (Chaou T'ung) will be sure to meet with great calamity. Heaven has taken his wits away from him."']

Par. 7. Chung-sun M'eh is the M'ang H'een-tsze, with whom we have met already. Kaou Koo is the minister of Ts'e, whose marriage with one of the duke's daughters is related in the 5th year. Too says that Woo-low was a

town of Ke (杞邑); but Kung-yang has 牟 for 無, and the place would thus be the Mow-low which Keu took from Ke in the 4th year of duke Yin. We do not know what the two ministers met about, and need not occupy ourselves with the conjectures of the critics.

Par. 8. Tso-she says:—"This enactment was contrary to rule. The grain contributed by the people should not have exceeded the tithe from the system of mutual dependence [See Mencius, III. Pt. I. iii. 6], having respect to the enlargement of the people's wealth.' It would appear then, acc. to this view, that, besides the produce of every tenth acre, cultivated by the common labour of the farmers round it, and the property of the State, duke Seun now required another 10th from the produce of the other 9 acres which every family cultivated for itself. And this is probably correct. From the Analects, XII. ix. 3, we learn that, in Confucius' time, two tenths of the produce of the land were levied by the State, and it is most likely that we have in the text the first imposition of the second of these. Kung and Kuh, however, think that the text only speaks of the abandonment of the ancient system of the cultivation of the public tenth of the land by the common labour of the husbandmen in the different plots around it, and the dividing it among them, and then requiring from each family a tenth of the produce of its allotment. The K'ang-he editors merely say that Hoo Gan-kwoh maintains this view, while Choo He preferred that of Too Yu, founded on Tso-she's remarks, without giving any opinion of their own.

Parr. 9, 10. 蜋 is the name for the locust in the grub or caterpillar state (始生日 蜋大曰螽). I cannot understand the note of Tso-she on these paragraphs. He says:—"In winter the larvæ were produced, and there was famine. The language shows thankfulness for the luck." Acc. to Too, his idea is that those larvæ were produced in the winter when they could not do much harm; but the winter of Chow was only the natural autumn of the year. In the natural summer there had been a plague of locusts; and now towards the end of autumn came these caterpillars to devour what the locusts had left. There was no 'luck' to be thankful for, but terrible calamity, and famine was the consequence.

Sixteenth year.

冬來秋榭夏留狄晉春十  
大有歸郟火成吁甲人王  
年伯姬周宣氏滅赤月有  
年姬宣宣氏滅赤月有

左傳曰：十六年春，晉士會帥師滅赤狄甲氏及潁，呼，鐸辰三月，獻狄俘，晉侯請於王，戊申，以黻冕命士會將中軍，且為大傅。於是晉國之盜逃奔于秦，羊舌職曰：吾聞之，禹稱善人，不善人遠，此之謂也。夫詩曰：戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰，善人在上也。戰善人在上，則國無幸民，諺曰：民之多幸，國之不幸也。是無善人之謂也。

夏，成周宣榭火，人火之也。凡火，人火曰火，天火曰災。

秋，郊伯姬來歸，出也。

晉人為毛召之難故，王室復亂，王孫蘇奔晉，晉人復之。

冬，晉侯使士會平王室，定王享之，原襄公相禮，殺烝，武子私問其故，王聞之，召武子曰：季氏而弗聞乎？王享有體，薦宴有折，公當享，卿當宴，王室之禮也。武子歸而講求典禮，以修晉國之法。

- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, a body of men from Tsin extinguished the Kēah and Lēw-yu tribes of the Red Teih.
- 2 In summer, the archery-court of [king] Sēuen at Ch'ing-chow was set on fire.
- 3 In autumn, the duke's eldest daughter, who had been married to [the viscount of] T'an, returned to Loo [divorced].
- 4 In winter, there was a very plentiful year.

Par. 1. The Kēah-she and the Lēw-yu were, after the Loo-she, the principal tribes of the Red Teih; the former having their site in the pres. dis. of Ke-tsih (鷄澤), dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le, while that of the second, was in the dis. of T'un-lēw (屯留), dep. Loo-gan, Shan-se. The Chuen mentions another tribe,—that of the Toh-shin, which appears to have been a branch of the Lēw-yu. On the extinction of these tribes, all the territory of the Red Teih came into the possession of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—'In spring, Sze Hwuy of Tsin led a force, and extinguished the Keah tribe of the Red Teih, and also the tribes of Lēw-yu and Toh-shin. In the 3d month he presented the spoils of the Teih [to the king]. The marquis of Tsin requested [the robes of appointment for him] from the king, and on Mow-shin, with the apron and cap he appointed Sze Hwuy to the command of the army of the centre, and also to be grand-guardian. After this the thieves of Tsin all fled into Tsin. Yang-shih Chih said, "I have heard that when Yu promoted good men, the bad men all disappeared; and here is an instance of the same. The words of the ode (She, II. v. ode II. 6).

'Be fearful and cautious,  
As if approaching a deep abyss,  
As if treading on thin ice,'

are descriptive of a good man in a high situation. When that is the case, there are no people in the State trusting to luck. 'When there are many people trusting to luck,' the common saying goes, 'that is unlucky for the State.' That is applicable to a time when there are no good men."

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 榭 for 榭; and both Kung and Kuh have 災 for 火. Tso-she says that in all accounts of fires, 火 denotes that the fire was caused by men, and 災 that it was from Heaven. Ch'ing-chow is the same as Loh-yang, the eastern or 'lower' capital of Chow;—see the Shoo, V. xxiv. 1. Too defines 榭 by 講武屋, 'a house for the practice of military exercises,' archery being specially intended. Kung-yang and, recently, Maou understand the term in the meaning of 'temple'; but the other signification is ably vindicated by Ying-tah. 宣 is probably = 宣王, though the meaning cannot be said to be well ascer-

tained. Sēuen was a distinguished king, and might well have left a court or pavilion at Ch'ing-chow, called by his name.

Par. 3. T'an,—see IV. 1. When the duke's daughter was married to the earl of T'an, we are not told. What is related in the 4th year shows that there were friendly relations between Loo and T'an; but Tso-she says that the lady's coming back to Loo here was in consequence of her being divorced, or sent away from Ts'an (出也).

[The Chuen appends here:—1st, 'In consequence of the troubles about [the earls of] Shaou and Maou [See p. 5 of last year], the royal House was again thrown into confusion. Wang Sun-soo fled to Tsin, by which he was restored.' 2d, 'In winter, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze Hwuy to pacify the royal House, when king Ting feasted him, duke Sēang of Yuen directing the ceremonies. The meat was brought in cut on the platters. Woo-tze (Sze Hwuy)

privately asked the reason of this arrangement; and when the king heard that he did so, he called him, and said, 'Mr. Ke (季 was Hwuy's designation), have you not heard this;—when the king feasts the princes, the animals are brought in, not cut up; but when he entertains their ministers, the meat is served cut up on the platters. This is the rule of the royal House.' When Woo-tze returned to Tsin, he examined all its statutes [affecting entertainments], to regulate correctly its various rules.]

Par. 4. The critics cannot be content with accepting this paragraph as the simple statement of a fact by way of contrast to the suffering in the last quarter of the previous year; but cast about to find some moral reason for the record. See on II. iii. 10, where we have 有年 for 'a good year.' Here we have 大有年, 'a very good year.'

### Seventeenth year.

十有七年春，王正月，庚子，許男錫我卒。丁未，蔡侯申卒。夏，葬許昭公，葬蔡文公。六月，癸卯，日有食之。己未，公會晉侯、衛侯、曹伯、邾子，同盟於斷道。秋，公至自會。冬，十有一月，壬午，公弟叔肸卒。

左傳曰：十七年春，晉侯使卻克徵會於齊，齊頃公帷婦人使觀之，卻子登，婦人笑於房，獻子怒，出而誓曰：所不此報，無能涉河。獻子先歸，使欒京廬待命于齊，曰：不得齊事，無復命矣。卻子至，請伐齊，晉侯弗許，請以其私屬又弗許。齊侯使高固、晏弱、蔡朝、南郭偃會及斂孟、高固逃歸。夏，會於斷道，討貳也。盟於卷楚，辭齊人。晉人執晏弱於野王，執蔡朝於原，執南郭偃於溫。苗賁皇使見晏桓子，歸言於晉侯曰：夫晏子何罪，昔者

諸侯事吾先君，皆如不逮，舉言羣臣不信，諸侯皆有貳志，齊君恐不得禮，故不出，而使四子來，左右或沮之，曰：「君不出，必執吾使，故高子及欽孟而逃。」夫三子者，曰：「若絕君好，寧歸死焉，爲是犯難而來。」吾若善逆彼，以懷來者，吾又執之以信齊沮，吾不既過矣乎？過而不改，而又久之，以成其悔，何利之有焉？使反者得辭，而害來者，以懼諸侯，將焉用之？晉人緩之逸。

秋八月，晉師還。范武子將老，召文子曰：「變乎？吾聞之，喜怒以類者鮮，易者實多。」詩曰：「君子如怒，亂庶遄沮。」君子如祉，亂庶遄已。君子之喜怒，以已亂也，弗已者，必益之。卻子其或者，欲已亂於齊乎？不然，余懼其益之也。余將老，使卻子逞其志，庶有多乎？爾從二三子，唯敬，乃請老。卻獻子爲政。

冬，公弟叔肸卒。公母弟也。凡大子之母弟，公在曰公子，不在曰弟。凡稱弟，皆母弟也。

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Käng-tsze, Seih-go, baron of Heu, died.
- 2 On Ting-we, Shin, marquis of Ts'ae, died.
- 3 In summer there were the burials of duke Ch'au of Heu, and of duke Wän of Ts'ae.
- 4 In the sixth month, on Kwei-maou, the sun was eclipsed.
- 5 On Ke-we, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, and the viscount of Choo, when they made a covenant together in Twan-taou.
- 6 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.
- 7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jin-woo, the duke's younger brother, Shuh-heih, died.

Parr. 1—3. Ke Pun (季本; Ming dynasty), says:—“At this time Heu and Ts'ae were of the party of Ts'oo. Their announcing the death of their princes to Loo, and Loo's messages to them of condolence, show that it also inclined to the same side.

Par. 4. Here for the second time there is a serious error in these records of eclipses. The 1st day of the 6th month in this year was Këah-shin (甲辰), the day after Kwei-maou, and there was no eclipse upon it. This was ascertained by Këang Kih (姜岌), of the eastern Tsin dynasty. He and the Buddhist priest Yih-hang (一行) of the T'ang dynasty, made out an eclipse to have been possible on Yih-hae (乙亥), the 1st day of the 5th month; but that was in the southern hemisphere. There was one

on Sin-we, in the 11th month; but it was not visible in Loo. There was, however an eclipse in Seuen's 7th year in the 6th month, when the day Kwei-maou was the new moon; and I have no doubt it is that which is entered here by some displacement of the tablets.

Par. 5. Twan-taou was in Tsin,—in the east of the pres. Ts'in Chow (沁州), Shen-se. The Chuen says:—“In spring, the marquis of Tsin having sent Këoh K'ih to require the marquis of Ts'e to attend a meeting, duke K'ing placed his mother and her attendants [婦人 simply—his women] behind a curtain so that they might see the envoy, [who had some bodily defect]; and as he ascended the steps, they were heard laughing in their apartment. Hëen-tsze [The posthumous title of Këoh K'ih] was indignant, and swore, “If I do not revenge this insult, may I not cross the Ho again!” He then

returned himself first to Tsin, making Lwan King-lëu wait behind till he should have something to report from Ts'e, and charging him not to bring him any word till he had got some charge against it. On his arrival [at Këang] he asked that Ts'e might be invaded, which the marquis refused. He then begged leave to invade it with his own adherents, which was also denied him.

[By and by], the marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Koo, Gan Joh, Ts'ae Chaou, and Nan-kwoh Yen to the meeting which had been called; of whom Kaou Koo fled back to Ts'e from Lëen-yu. The meeting was held in summer at Twan-taou, when it was resolved to punish the disaffected; and a covenant was made at Keuen-ts'oo, to which the officers of Ts'e were not admitted. The people of Tsin seized and held Gan Joh in Yay-wang; Ts'ae Chaou in Yuen; and Nan-kwoh Yen in Wän. Fun-hwang of Mëaou [This was a son of Tow Tsëaou of Ts'oo, who had taken refuge in Tsin, after the events related in the Chuen after VII. iv. 6] was sent to have an interview with Gan Hwan-tsze; and on his return, he said to the marquis of Tsin, “What crime is the officer Gan chargeable with? Formerly, the States all served your predecessors, as if they could not be prompt enough in doing so. [Now], they all say that the ministers of Tsin do not treat them with good faith, and, therefore, their minds are disaffected. The marquis of Ts'e was afraid he would not be received courteously, and did not come to the meeting, but sent four of his officers to attend it. Some of his attendants tried to stop his doing so, saying, ‘If your lordship does not go out, Tsin will seize and hold our messengers.’ It was on this account that Kaou-tsze ran away at Lëen-yu. The three other officers, however, said, ‘That will destroy the friendship between our ruler and Tsin; we had rather die on our return [than do that].’ On this account they came on at the risk of all suffering. If we had received them well, it would have been the way to encourage others to come to us. But have we not done wrong in seizing and holding them so as to justify those who tried to prevent their being sent? What advantage can we gain by long persisting in the wrong, so as to make them regret that they came on? We only supply him who fled back with an excuse for his conduct; and of what use is it to frighten the States by injuring those who come to us?” On this the people of Tsin treated Gan-tsze gently, and allowed him to get away.”

On the force of the ‘together (同),’ in the account of this covenant, the critics seem to differ, some holding that it indicates the ‘common’ purpose of the States to punish Ts'e, others their common opposition to Ts'oo. The K'ang-he editors would extend the meaning to both those objects.

[The Chuen appends here:—1st, ‘In autumn, in the 8th month, the army of Tsin returned.’ 2d, ‘Fan Woo-tsze [Sze Hwuy. At first he was invested with Suy (隨), and is thence call Suy Woo-tsze; afterwards he received the city of Fan, which became the surname of his descendants] being about to withdraw from the public service on account of his age, he called to him [his son] Wän-tsze, and said, “Sëeh [The son's name], I have heard that they are few whose satisfaction or whose anger rests on its proper object, while with many the feeling passes to other objects. The ode (She, II. v. ode IV. 2) says,

‘If the king were to be angry [with slanderers]  
The disorder would probably be quickly abated.  
If he were to show his joy [in the good],  
The disorder would probably quickly cease!’

Thus a superior man's being either made pleased or angry leads to the stopping of disorder. If that be not stopt, it goes on to increase. Perhaps Këoh-tsze wishes to bring the disorder he is producing to an end by an invasion of Ts'e. If he do not succeed in that, I am afraid he will increase the disorder. I will declare myself too old, and let him obtain his wish, which may perhaps lead to the dispersion [of the present evil]. Do you follow the other officers, and be careful of your conduct.” On this he asked liberty to retire on the ground of his age, and Këoh Hëen-tsze became the chief administrator of the government.”]

Par. 7. Tso-she says that Shuh-heih was a full brother of the duke, and then he gives the following canon:—“All the full brothers of the eldest son, while their father is alive, are called Kung-tsze (duke's sons); and when he is dead, Kung-te (duke's brothers). The appellation “younger brother” always denotes a full brother of the ruling duke.”

*Eighteenth year.*

甲戌於郕，人戕郕子。秋七月，公伐杞。夏四月，杞。世子臧，伐。春，晉侯，有八年。



奔齊。晉至笙遂歸父還自路寢。戊公薨於冬十月壬如晉。公孫歸父旅卒。

左傳曰十八年春晉侯衛太子臧伐齊至陽穀齊侯會晉侯盟於緡以公子彊爲質於晉晉師還蔡朝南郭偃逃歸。夏公使如楚乞師欲以伐齊。秋邾人戕鄆子于鄆凡自虐其君曰弑自外曰戕。楚莊王卒楚師不出既而用晉師楚于是乎有蜀之役。公孫歸父以襄仲之立公也有寵欲去三桓以張公室與公謀而聘於晉欲以晉人去之。冬公薨季文子言于朝曰使我殺適立庶以失大援者仲也夫臧宣叔怒曰當其時不能治也後之人何罪子欲去之許請去之遂逐東門氏子家遷及笙壇帷復命於介既復命袒括髮即位哭三踊而出遂奔齊書曰歸父還自晉善之也。

- XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin and Tsang, heir-son of Wei, invaded Ts'e.  
 2 The duke invaded Ke.  
 3 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, an officer of Choo murdered the viscount of Tsäng in his capital.  
 5 On Këah-seuh, Leu, viscount of Ts'oo, died.  
 6 Kung-sun Kwei-foo went to Tsin.  
 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-sëuh, the duke died in the State-chamber.  
 8 Kwei-foo was returning from Tsin; but when he got to Säng, he fled to Ts'e.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'When the invading armies had reached Yang-kuh, the marquis of Ts'e had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, when they made a covenant in Tsäng, the former agreeing that his son Këang should go to Tsin as a hostage. On this the army of Tsin returned, and Ts'ae Chaou and Nan-kwoh Yen made their escape back to Ts'e.'

Hoo Gan-kwoh thinks this invasion of Ts'e was brought about by Këoh K'ih, to gratify his resentment against that State. The K'ang-he

editors argue that it was a public movement on the part of the marquis of Tsin to punish Ts'e, because its marquis had kept away from the meeting at Twan-taou. Certainly the growth of the power of Ts'oo was mainly owing to Ts'e's standing aloof from Tsin as the chief among the northern States.

Par. 3. [The Chuen appends here:—'In summer, the duke sent to Ts'oo, to ask the assistance of an army;—wishing to invade Ts'e.']

Par. 4. Kuh-lëang has 繒 for 鄆. Acc. to Tso-she, 戕 is the character employed to denote the murder of the prince of a State by some one of another State, just as 弑 indicates that the perpetrator was one of the prince's own subjects. Tsäng,—see V. xiv. 2. In V. xix. 4 we have an account of a terrible outrage by the people of Choo on a former prince of Tsäng. Wang K'ih-kwan (汪克寬) thinks that by 邾人 in the text we should understand the 邾子, 'the viscount of Choo'; but this seems inconsistent with the use of the character 戕. 邾人, however, may denote—'a party of men from Choo.'

Par. 5. Here for the first time we have the death of one of the viscounts of Ts'oo recorded. His burial, however, is not mentioned, and there would have been a difficulty in recording it, as the deceased viscount must have then received the title which he claimed of 'king.' The Chuen says:—'In consequence of the death of king Chwang, the army [The help of which Loo had asked] did not come forth. Afterwards Loo availed itself of an army of Tsin [See VIII. ii. 2], in consequence of which Ts'oo had the meeting and covenant at Shuh (VIII. ii. 10).'

Par. 6. The object of this visit is given in the Chuen:—'Kung-sun Kwei-foo was a favourite

with the duke, whose elevation was due to [Kwei-foo's father], Sëang-chung. Wishing to remove the three clans descended from duke Hwan, and thereby increase the power of the ducal House, he consulted with the duke, and went on a friendly mission to Tsin, hoping to accomplish his object by means of the people of Tsin.'

Par. 7. See on III. xxxii. 4.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'In winter, on the death of the duke, Ke Wän-tze [Ke-sun Häng-foo] said in the court, "It was Chung who made us kill the son of the proper wife, and set up the son of another, so as to lose the great helper we might have calculated on." Sëuen-shuh [Tsang Heu; son of Tsang Wän-chung, or Tsang-sun Shin in III. xxviii. 6], was angry, and said, "Why did you not deal with him at the time? What offence is his son chargeable with? But if you wish to send their clan away, allow me to do it." Accordingly he drove the Tung-mun clan out of the State. Tsze-këa had then returned from Tsin as far as to Säng. He there cleared a space of ground, and raised a tent on it, where he delivered the account of his mission to his assistant, [that it might be transmitted to Loo]. Having done so, he took off his upper garment, bound his hair up with sackcloth, went to the place for it and wept, gave three leaps, and left the tent. He then fled to Ts'e. The style of the paragraph,—"Kwei-foo returned from Tsin," is commendatory of him.' For 笙 Kung and Kuh

have 櫟. The place was in Loo.

## BOOK VIII. DUKE CH'ING.

First year.

冬<sup>七章</sup>十月。秋<sup>六章</sup>王師敗績于茅戎。赤<sup>五章</sup>棘。夏<sup>四章</sup>臧孫許及晉侯盟于<sup>三章</sup>無<sup>二章</sup>冰。三<sup>一章</sup>月作丘甲。元<sup>二章</sup>年春王正月公即位。二<sup>二章</sup>月辛酉葬我君宣公。成公

○左傳曰元年春晉侯使瑕嘉平戎于王單襄公如晉拜成劉康公微戎將遂伐之叔服曰晉盟而欺欺大國此必敗晉盟不祥欺大國不義神人弗助將何以勝不聽遂伐茅戎三月癸未敗績于徐吾氏爲齊難故作丘甲聞齊將出楚師夏盟于赤棘秋王人來告敗○冬臧宣叔令修賦繕完具守備曰齊楚結好我新與晉盟晉楚爭盟齊師必至雖晉人伐齊楚必救之是齊楚同我也知難而有備乃可以逞

- 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 In the second month, on Sin-yêw, we buried our ruler, duke Seuen.
- 3 There was no ice.
- 4 In the third month, the *K'êw* and buff-coat ordinance was made.
- 5 In summer, Tsang-sun Heu and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant in Ch'ih-keih.
- 6 In autumn, the king's army was disgracefully defeated by the Maou-jung.
- 7 It was winter, the tenth month.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—成公, 'Duke Ch'ing.' He was marquis of Loo for 18 years, from B. C. 589—572. His name was Hih-kwäng (黑肱). He was the son of duke Seuen by his wife, a daughter of the House of Ts'e, and known as Muh Këang (穆姜). We have the account of Seuen's marriage with her in the 1st year of the last Book, and Hih-kwäng was, therefore, probably about 17 years old at his father's death. The posthumous title Ch'ing denotes 'Tranquilizer of the people, and Establisher of government (安民立政曰成)'

His first year synchronized with the 17th of king Ting (定王); the 10th of King (景) of Tsin; the 9th of K'ing (頃) of Ts'e; the 10th of Muh (穆) of Wei; the 2d of King (景) of Ts'ae; the 15th of Sëang (襄) of Ch'ing; the 5th of Seuen (宣) of Ts'au; the 9th of Ch'ing (成) of Ch'in; the 47th of Hwan of Ke; the 21st of Wän of Sung; the 15th of Hwan (桓) of Ts'in; and the 1st of Shin, king Kung (共王審), of Ts'oo.

Par. 1. See on VI.i.1.

Par. 2. This interment seems to have been regular;—five months after the duke's death.

Par. 3. The 2d month of the Chow year was the 12th month of Hëa's,—the last month of the natural winter. The season must have been one of unusual warmth, which is the reason why we have the record.

[The Chuen appends here:—'In the spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Këa of Hëa [See the Chuen introduced at VI. xiii. 1] to make peace between the Jung and the king; and duke Sëang of Shen went to Tsin to express [the king's] acknowledgment of the service. Duke K'ang of Lëw, however, wished to take advantage of the Jungs' being thrown off their guard and to attack them. Shuh-fuh said to him, "You will be violating the covenant, and doing despite to the great State;—you are sure to be defeated. To violate a covenant is inauspicious; to do despite to the great State is unrighteous. Neither Spirits nor men will help you in such a course; and how can you expect to conquer?" The duke did not listen to the warning, but proceeded to invade the Maou Jung; and in the 3d month, on Kwei-we, he received a great defeat from the Seu-woo tribe.']

Par. 4. Tso-she says that this ordinance was made because of the [impending] difficulties with Ts'e; but of the nature of the ordinance he says nothing. Duke Seuen, in his 17th year, had attended the conference of Twan-taou, a principal object of which was the punishment of Ts'e, and had gone on to cultivate more than Loo had done for long the friendship of Tsin. Ts'e, it was understood, contemplated an invasion of Loo, and Loo passed the ordinance in the text to increase its means of defence. So far the critics are agreed; but even Maou acknowledges that the nature of the ordinance has not been satisfactorily ascertained.

*K'êw* (丘 or 邱) is a territorial designation. Nine families occupied a *tsing* (井; see on Mencius, III. Pt. I. iii. 13); 4 *tsing* made a *yih* (邑); 4 *yih* made a *k'êw*; and 4 *k'êw* made a *tëen* (甸). A *tëen* contained 8 square *le*. The addition of a *le* on each side made a *ch'ing* (成). 甲 may be taken in the sense of 'a buff-coat or coat of mail' 'a soldier clad in a buff-coat'; 'a company of soldiers.'

Kung and Kuh both take 甲 in the first of these senses; and think that the ordinance required the people in the *k'êw* all to make buff-coats,—how many is not stated. But as Lëw Ch'ang observes, if this were the meaning, the text should be 丘作甲 and not 作丘甲.

Too Yu says:—'A *k'êw* or 16 *tsing* contributed 1 war-horse and 3 oxen; a *tëen* or 64 *tsing* contributed 1 war-chariot, 4 war-horses, 12 oxen, 3 mailed soldiers, and 72 footmen. The present ordinance levied the contribution of a *tëen* from a *k'êw*.' We cannot suppose that the ordinance in the text was so extreme and oppressive.

Hoo Gan-kwoh, going on a conversation between T'ae-tsung of the T'ang dynasty and his minister Le Tsing (李靖), thought that whereas a *k'êw* had formerly contributed 18 footmen, which formed 1 *këah*, the number was now increased to 25, the 4 *k'êw* or the whole *tëen* thus sending into the field 100 men along with its chariot. This view has been very generally followed; but recently, Wan Sze-ta (萬斯大), of the period K'ang-he, suggested the view that the ordinance had respect simply to the mailed soldiers of the chariot contributed by a *tëen*, increasing their number from three,—the charioteer, the archer on the left, and the spearman or lancer on the right—to four, and leaving the number of the footmen unchanged. Sometimes there were 4 men, however, in the chariot as we learn from the Chuen on the defeat of the Teih at Hëen, in the 11th year of duke Wän; and this he thinks was made the rule at this time in prospect of hostilities with Ts'e. See the 學春秋隨筆 in the 皇清經解卷五十七.

Par. 5. Tsang-sun Heu,—see the Chuen on VII. xviii. 8. Ch'ih-keih was in Tsin; but its situation has not been more particularly determined. Tso-she says:—'[Loo] had heard that Ts'e was about to come forth with an army of Ts'oo, and in summer made this covenant with Tsin.' Chao P'ang-fei supposes, what is very likely, that the confederation against Ts'e, of which we have the issue in par. 3 of next year, was now agreed upon.

Par. 6. The Maou-jung (Kung and Kuh have 賀戎) had their site in the south-east of the pres. dis. of P'ing-luh (平陸), Këae Chow, Shan-se. The defeat here sustained by the king's troops is that mentioned in the Chuen after par. 3. Too Yu says it is recorded now, because it was only now, in the autumn, that it was announced to Loo.

Par. 7. [The Chuen relates here:—'In winter. Tsang Seu-en-shuh [Tsang-sun Heu] gave orders that the military levies should be made, the walls all well repaired, and the instruments of defence provided, saying, "Ts'e and Ts'oo are in bonds of friendship, and we have lately made a covenant with Tsin. Tsin and Ts'oo are striving for the presidency of covenants. The army of Ts'e is sure to come [against us]; and though the people of Tsin invade Ts'e, Ts'oo will go to its relief:—thus both Ts'oo and Ts'e will together attack us. When we see our difficulties and make preparation for them, they may be resolved."']

Second year.

二年春齊侯伐我北鄙。  
夏四月丙戌衛孫良夫帥師及齊師戰于新築衛師敗績。  
六月癸酉季孫行父臧孫許叔孫僑如公孫嬰齊帥師會晉郤克衛孫良夫曹公子首及齊侯戰于鞏齊師敗績。  
秋七月齊侯使國佐如師己酉及國佐盟于袁婁。  
八月壬午宋公鮑卒。  
庚寅衛侯速卒。  
取汶陽田。

冬楚師鄭師侵衛。  
十有一月公會楚公子嬰齊于蜀。  
丙申公及楚人秦人宋人陳人衛人鄭人齊人曹人邾人薛人鄆人盟于蜀。

左傳曰二年春齊侯伐我北鄙圍龍頃公之嬖人盧蒲就魁門焉龍人囚之齊侯曰勿殺吾與而盟無入而封弗聽殺而膊諸城上齊侯親鼓士陵城三日取龍遂南侵及巢丘。  
衛侯使孫良夫石稷甯相向禽將侵齊與齊師遇石子欲還孫子曰不可以師伐人遇其師而還將謂君何若知不能則如無出今既遇矣不如戰也夏有石成子曰師敗矣子不少須衆懼盡子喪師徒何以復命皆不對又曰子國卿也隕子辱矣子以衆退我此乃止且告車來甚衆齊師乃止次于鞠居新築人仲叔于奚救孫桓子桓子是以免既衛人賞之以邑辭請曲縣繁纓以朝許之仲尼聞之曰惜也不如多與之邑唯器與名不可以假人君之所司也名以出信信以守器器以藏禮禮以行義義以生利利以平民政之大節也若以假人與人政也政亡則國家從之弗可止也已。  
孫桓子還于新築不入遂如晉乞師臧宣叔亦如晉乞師皆主郤獻子晉侯許之七百乘郤子曰此城濮之賦也有先君之明與先大夫之肅故捷克于先大夫無能爲役請八百乘許之郤克將中軍士燮佐上軍欒書將下軍韓厥爲司馬以救魯衛臧宣叔逆晉師且道之季文子帥師會之及衛地韓厥子將斬人郤獻子馳將救之至則既斬之矣郤子使速以徇告其僕曰吾以分謗也師從齊師于莘六月壬申師至于靡笄之下齊侯使請戰曰子以君師辱于敝邑不腆敝賦詰朝請見對曰晉與魯衛兄弟也來告曰大國朝夕釋憾于敝邑之地

母以爲信，其若王命何？且是以不孝令也。詩曰：孝子不匱，永錫爾類。若以不孝令於諸侯，其無乃非德類也乎？先王疆理天下，物土之宜，而布其利，故詩曰：我疆我理，南東其畝。今吾子疆理諸侯，而曰盡東其畝而已，唯吾子戎車是利，無顧土宜，其無乃非先王之命也乎？反先王則不義，何以爲盟主？其晉實有闕，四王之王也。樹德而濟同欲焉，五伯之霸也，勤而撫之，以役王命，今吾子求合諸侯，以逞無疆之欲，詩曰：布政優優，百祿是遘。子實不優而棄百祿，諸侯何害焉？不然，寡君之命使臣，則有辭矣。曰：子以君師辱於敝邑，不腆敝賦，以犒從者，畏君之震，師徒撓敗，吾子惠微齊國之福，不泯其社稷，使繼舊好，唯是先君之敝器、土地，不敢愛，子又不許，請收合餘燼，背城借一，敝邑之幸，亦云從也。況其不幸，敢不唯命是聽。魯衛諫曰：齊疾我矣，其死亡者，皆親暱也。子若不許，讐我必甚，唯子則又何求？子得其國寶，我亦得地，而紓于難，其榮多矣。齊晉亦唯天所授，豈必晉人許之？對曰：羣臣帥賦輿，以爲魯衛請，若苟有以藉口，而復于寡君，君之惠也，敢不唯命是聽。禽鄭自師逆公。秋七月，晉師及齊國佐盟于袁婁，使齊人歸我汶陽之田。

⑤公會晉師于上鄆，賜三帥先路，三命之服。司馬、司空、輿師，候正、亞旅，皆受一命之服。

八月，宋文公卒，始厚葬，用蜃炭，益車馬，始用殉，重器備，棺有四阿，棺有翰檜。君子謂華元樂舉，于是乎不臣，臣治煩去惑者也。是以伏死而爭，今二子者，君生則縱其惑，死又益其侈，是棄君於惡也，何臣之爲。

九月，衛穆公卒，晉三子自役弔焉，哭于大門之外。衛人逆之，婦人哭于門內，送亦如之，遂常以葬。

⑥楚之討陳夏氏也，莊王欲納夏姬，申公巫臣曰：不可。君召諸侯，以討罪也，今納夏姬，貪其色也，貪色爲淫，淫爲大罰。周書曰：明德慎罰，文王所以造周也。明德，務崇之之謂也；慎罰，務去之之謂也。若與諸侯，以取大罰，非慎之也。君其圖之。王乃止。子反欲取之，巫臣曰：是不祥人也，是天子蠻殺御叔，弑靈侯，戮夏南，出孔儀，喪陳國，何不祥如是。人生實難，其有不獲死乎？天下多美婦人，何必是？子反乃止。王以子連尹襄老、襄老死于邲，不獲

寡君不忍，使羣臣請于大國，無令輿師淹于君地，能進不能退，君無所辱命。齊侯曰：大夫之許，寡人之願也，若其不許，亦將見也。齊高固入晉師，桀石以投人，禽之而乘其車，繫桑本焉，以徇齊壘。曰：欲勇者，賈余餘勇。癸酉，師陳于鞏，邲夏御齊侯，逢丑父爲右，晉解張御卻克，鄭丘緩爲右。齊侯曰：余姑翦滅此而朝食，不介馬而馳之。卻克傷於矢，流血及屢，未絕鼓音，曰：余病矣。張侯曰：自始合，而矢貫余手及肘，余折以御，左輪朱殷，豈敢言病？吾子忍之。緩曰：自始合，苟有險，余必下推車，子豈識之？然子病矣。張侯曰：師之耳目，在吾旗鼓，進退從之，此車一人殿之，可以集事，若之何其以病敗君之大事也？擐甲執兵，固即死也，病未及死，吾子勉之。左并轡，右援枹而鼓，馬逸不能止，師從之。齊師敗績，逐之，三周華不注。韓厥夢子輿謂己曰：且辟左右。故中御而從齊侯，邲夏曰：射其御者，君子也。公曰：謂之君子而射之，非禮也。射其左，越於車下，射其右，斃於車中。綦母張喪車，從韓厥曰：請寓乘。從左右，皆肘之，使立于後。韓厥俛定其右，逢丑父與公易位，將及華泉，驂絙于木而止。丑父寢于轡中，蛇出於其下，以脰擊之，傷而匿之，故不能推車而及。韓厥執繫馬前，再拜稽首，奉觴加璧以進，曰：寡君使羣臣爲魯衛請，曰：無令輿師陷于君地，下臣不幸，屬當戎行，無所逃隱，且懼奔辟而忝兩君，臣辱戎士，敢告不敏，攝官承乏。丑父使公下，如華泉取飲，鄭周父御佐車，宛茷爲右，載齊侯以免。韓厥獻丑父，卻獻子將戮之，呼曰：自今無有代其君任患者，有一于此，將爲戮乎？卻子曰：人不難以死免其君，我戮之不祥，赦之以勸事君者，乃免之。齊侯免，求丑父，三入三出，每出齊師以帥退，入于狄卒，狄卒皆抽戈楯冒之，以入于衛師，衛師免之，遂自徐關入。齊侯見保者，曰：勉之，齊師敗矣。辟女子，女子曰：君免乎？曰：免矣。曰：銳司徒免乎？曰：免矣。曰：苟君與吾父免矣，可若何？乃奔。齊侯以爲有禮，既而問之，辟司徒之妻也。子之石窮，晉師從齊師，入自丘輿，擊馬陘。齊侯使賓媚人賂以紀甗、玉磬，與地不可，則聽客之所爲。賓媚人致賂，晉人不可，曰：必以蕭同叔子爲質，而使齊之封內盡東其畝。對曰：蕭同叔子非他，寡君之母也。若以匹敵，則亦晉君之母也。吾子布大命於諸侯，而曰必質其



其尸。其子黑娶。烝焉。巫臣使道焉。曰：歸。吾聘女。又使自鄭召之。曰：尸可得也。必來逆之。姬以告王。王問諸屈巫。對曰：其信。知罃之父。成公之嬖也。而中行伯之季弟也。新佐中軍。而善鄭皇戌。甚愛此子。其必因鄭而歸王子。與襄老之尸。以求之。鄭人懼於邲之役。而欲求媚于晉。其必許之。王遣夏姬歸。將行。謂送者曰：不得尸。吾不反矣。巫臣聘諸鄭。鄭伯許之。及共王即位。將為陽橋之役。使屈巫聘于齊。且告師期。巫臣盡室以行。申叔跪從其父。將適郢。遇之曰：異哉。夫子有三軍之懼。而又有桑中之喜。宜將竊妻以逃者也。及鄭。使介反幣。而以夏姬行。將奔齊。齊師新敗。曰：吾不處不勝之國。遂奔晉。而因郤至。以臣于晉。晉人使為邢大夫。子反請以重幣錮之。王曰：止。其自為謀也。則過矣。其為吾先君謀也。則忠。忠社稷之固也。所蓋多矣。且彼若能利國家。雖重幣。晉將可乎。若無益于晉。晉將棄之。何勞錮焉。

○晉師歸。范文子後入。武子曰：無為吾望爾也乎。對曰：師有功。國人喜以逆之。先入。必屬耳目焉。是代帥受名也。故不敢。武子曰：吾知免矣。郤伯見公。曰：子之力也。夫對曰：君之訓也。二三子之力也。臣何力之有焉。范叔見勞之如郤伯。對曰：庚所命也。克之制也。變何力之有焉。變伯見公。亦如之。對曰：變之詔也。士用命也。書何力之有焉。

宣公使求好于楚。莊王卒。宣公薨。不克作好。公即位。受盟于晉。會晉伐齊。衛人不行。使于楚。而亦受盟于晉。從于伐齊。故楚令尹子重為陽橋之役。以救齊。將起師。子重曰：君弱。羣臣不如先大夫。師眾而後可。詩曰：濟濟多士。文王以寧。夫文王猶用眾。況吾儕乎。且先君莊王屬之曰：無德以及遠方。莫如惠恤其民。而善用之。乃大戶。已責逮繇。救乏。赦罪。悉師。王卒盡行。彭名御戎。蔡景公為左。許靈公為右。二君弱。皆疆冠之。冬。楚師侵衛。遂侵我師于蜀。使臧孫往。辭曰：楚遠而久。固將退矣。無功而受名。臣不敢。楚侵及陽橋。孟孫請往賂之。以執斲。執鍼。織紵。皆百人。公衡為質。以請盟。楚人許平。

十一月公及楚公子嬰齊。蔡侯。許男。秦右大夫說。宋華元。陳公孫寧。衛孫良夫。鄭公子去疾。及齊國之大夫。盟于蜀。卿不書。置盟也。于是乎畏晉。而竊與楚盟。故曰置盟。蔡侯。許男。不書。乘楚車也。謂之失位。君子曰：位其不可不慎也乎。蔡許之君。一失其位。不得列于諸侯。況其下乎。詩曰：不解于位。民之攸暨。其是之謂矣。

○楚師及宋。公衡逃歸。臧宣叔曰：衡父不忍數年之不宴。以棄魯國。國將若之何。誰居。後之人必有任是夫。國棄矣。是行也。晉辟楚。畏其眾也。君子曰：眾之不可以已也。大夫為政。猶以眾克。況明君而善用其眾乎。大誓所謂商兆民離周十人同者。眾也。

○晉侯使鞏朔獻齊捷于周。王弗見。使單襄公辭焉。曰：蠻夷戎狄。不式王命。淫湎毀常。王命伐之。則有獻捷。王親受而勞之。所以懲不敬。勸有功也。兄弟甥舅。侵敗王畧。王命伐之。告事而已。不獻其功。所以敬親。矜禁淫慝也。今叔父克遂有功于齊。而不使命卿鎮撫王室。所使來撫余一人。而鞏伯實來。未有職司于王室。又奸先王之禮。余雖欲于鞏伯。其敢廢舊典。以忝叔父。夫齊甥舅之國也。而大師之後也。寧不亦淫從其欲。以怒叔父。抑豈不可諫誨。士莊伯不能對。王使委于三吏。禮之如侯伯。克敵。使大夫告慶之禮。降于卿禮一等。王以鞏伯宴而私賄之。使相告之曰：非禮也。勿籍。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern border.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-seuh, Sun Lëang-foo of Wei led a force, and fought with the army of Ts'e at Sin-chuh, when the army of Wei received a severe defeat.
- 3 In the sixth month, on Kwei-yëw, Ke-sun Häng-foo, Tsang-sun Heu, Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo, and Kung-sun Ying-ts'e, led a force, and joined Këoh K'ih of Tsin, Sun Lëang-foo of Wei, and the Kung-tsze Show of Ts'auou, [after which] they fought with the marquis of Ts'e at Gan, when the army of Ts'e received a severe defeat.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kwoh Tso to the army [of the allies], which made a covenant with him on Ke-yëw at Yuen-low.
- 5 In the eighth month, on Jin-woo, Paou, duke of Sung, died.
- 6 On Käng-yin, Suh, marquis of Wei, died.
- 7 We took the lands of Wän-yang.

- 8 In winter, an army of Ts'oo and an army of Ch'ing made an incursion into Wei.
- 9 In the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the Kung-ts'e Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo in Shuh.
- 10 On Ping-shin, the duke made a covenant in Shuh with an officer of Ts'oo, an officer of Ts'in, an officer of Sung, an officer of Ch'in, an officer of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, an officer of S'eh, and an officer of Ts'ang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"In the course of this invasion, the marquis of Ts'e laid siege to Lung, when his favourite, Leu-p'oo Ts'ew-kwei was made prisoner in attacking one of the gates. The marquis said, "Do not put him to death, and I will make a covenant with you, and not enter your borders." The people of Lung did not listen to the request, but put their prisoner to death, and dismembered him on the top of the wall. The marquis beat the drum himself, while his soldiers strove to mount the wall; and in three days Lung was taken. He then made an incursion southwards as far as Ch'aou-k'ew." Too observes that he cannot account for the silence of the text about this capture of Lung, and the subsequent incursion to Ch'aou-k'ew.

Par. 2. Sin-chuh was in Wei,—20 *le* south of the pres. district city of Wei (魏縣), dep.

Ta-ming, Chih-le. The 及 in the text has made some critics think that the battle was in consequence of an invasion of Ts'e by Wei, while its being fought in Wei looks as if it were in consequence of an invasion of that State by Ts'e. The K'ang-he editors, observe that Sun L'ang-foo was indeed marching to invade Ts'e, when the army of that State, flushed with its successes in Loo, met him before he had left his own State, and defeated him. As he had given occasion, by his advance towards Ts'e, however, to the action, the 及 is used.

The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Wei sent Sun L'ang-foo, Shih Tseih, Ning Seang, and H'ang K'in, to lead an incursion into Ts'e, when they met with the army of that State. Shih-tseih wished to retreat; but Sun-tse said, "No. Here we are with an army invading Ts'e. If we retreat on meeting with its army, what shall be said of our ruler? If we knew that we could not [cope with it], we had better not have come forth. Since we have met it, our best plan is to fight." In summer, \* \* \* \*

Shih Ch'ing-tse [Shih Tseih; 成 was his posthumous title] said, "The army is defeated. If you do not wait a little [for reinforcements], I am afraid it will be entirely destroyed. If you lose all your men, what report will you have to give [to our ruler]?" The other commanders could make no reply, and he continued, [addressing the general], "You are the chief minister of the State. Should we lose you, it will be a disgrace to it. Do you retire with the great body of the troops, while I remain here [to cover your retreat]." \* \* \* \*

By-and-by the approach of a great number of chariots was announced, and the army of Ts'e stayed its advance, halting at K'eh-ken.

"It was Chung-shuh Yu-he, commandant of Sin-chuh, who thus came to the relief of Sun Hwan-tsze, and secured his escape. In consequence, the people of Wei would have rewarded Yu-he with a city, but he refused it, and asked that he might be allowed to have his suspended instruments of music disposed incompletely [like those of the prince of a State], and to appear at court with the saddle-girth and bridle-trappings of a prince;—which was granted to him.

"When Chung-ne [Confucius] heard of this, he said, "Alas! it would have been better to give him many cities. It is only peculiar articles of use, and names, which cannot be granted to other [than those to whom they belong];—to them a ruler has particularly to attend. It is by [the right use of] names that he secures the confidence [of the people]; it is by that confidence that he preserves the articles [distinctive of ranks]; it is in those articles that the ceremonial distinctions of rank are hid; those ceremonial distinctions are essential to the practice of righteousness; it is righteousness which contributes to the advantage [of the State]; and it is that advantage which secures the quiet of the people. Attention to these things is the condition of [good] government. If they be conceded where they ought not to be conceded, it is giving away the government to the recipients. When the government thus perishes, the State will follow it;—it is not possible to arrest that issue."

Par. 3. Too says that Gan was in Ts'e, and Kuh-l'ang says that it was 500 *le* from the capital of that State. But so great a distance is irreconcilable with the account which we have in the Chuen of the immediate advance of the victors after the battle to Ying-k'ew. Gan was probably the same place known previously by the name of Leih-h'ea (歷下),—in the pres.

dep. of Ts'e-nan. For 公子首 Kung-yang has 公子手.

The Chuen says:—"Sun Hwan-tsze returned to Sin-chuh; but instead of entering it, he went on immediately to Ts'in to beg the assistance of an army. [At the same time], Tsang Seu-en-shuh [Tsang-sun Heu] had gone to Ts'in for a similar purpose; and they both lodged with K'eh H'een-tsze [K'eh K'ih; see the Chuen on VII. xvi. 5], to whom the marquis granted [an army of] 700 chariots [for an expedition against Ts'e]. K'eh-tsze said, "This was the amount of the force at

Shing-puh [See the 28th year of duke He], where it triumphed through the wisdom of our duke and the cautious valour of his great officers, whose servant I am not fit to be." He then requested a force of 800 chariots, which was granted him. He himself commanded the army of the centre. Sze-s'eh [Fan Wan-tsze; see the 2d Chuen appended to VII. xvii. 5], as assistant, had the command of the 1st army, and Lwan-shoo commanded the 3d; Han Keueh [Han H'een-tsze; see account of the battle of Peih in the Chuen on VII. xii. 3] being marshal of the host. And thus they proceeded to the relief of Loo and Wei. Tsang Seu-en-shuh met the army and guided its march, while Ke Wan-tsze [Ke-sun H'ang-foo] joined it with the forces [of Loo].

"When the army came to the territory of Wei, Han H'een-tsze being about to behead a man, K'eh H'een-tsze hurried in his chariot to save the culprit; but before he arrived, the punishment was inflicted. Immediately he sent [the man's head] all round the host, saying to his charioteer, "I will thus share the reproach of the deed." The army followed that of Ts'e to Sin, and in the 6th month, on Jin-shin, it arrived at the foot of [mount] Mei-ke. There the marquis of Ts'e sent a challenge to fight, saying [to K'eh K'ih], "You have condescended to come to my poor State with the army of your ruler; I will see you to-morrow morning with our poor levies." The other replied, "Tsin is the brother of Loo and Wei. They came and told our ruler that your great State was venting its indignation, morning and evening, on their poor countries. He could not bear [to hear of their sufferings], and sent us, his ministers, to intercede for them with your great State, charging us that we should not remain with our host long in your territory. We can advance, but we cannot retreat. You need not trouble yourself to send [any further] message." The marquis said, "What they grant us is what I desire. If they had not granted it, I should have seen them all the same."

"Kaou Koo of Ts'e entered the army of Tsin, and with a stone struck down a man. He then took him, and, [leaving his own chariot], mounted that of the prisoner, tied a mulberry tree to it, and so exhibited himself round the entrenchments of Ts'e, crying out, "If any one wants valour, I will sell him what I have left to spare."

"On Kwei-y'ew, both the armies were drawn up in array at Gan. The charioteer of the marquis of Ts'e was Ping H'ea, with Fung Ch'ow-foo as spearman on the right. H'ea Chang was charioteer to K'eh K'ih, with Ch'ing K'ew-hwan as spearman on the right. The marquis said, "Let me exterminate those, and then I will take my breakfast." With this he galloped forward, without having his horses covered with mail. K'eh K'ih was wounded by an arrow, till the blood ran down to his shoes, but he never let the sound of the drum cease. [At last], he said, "I am in pain." Chang-how [H'ea Chang. 侯 was his designation] said, "At the first encounter one arrow pierced my hand, and another my wrist. But I broke them and continued my driving, till the left wheel is of a deep purple, not daring to speak of the pain. Do you, Sir, bear yours." Hwan said, "From the first encounter, whenever we have come to difficult ground, I have got down and pushed the chariot along. You, Sir, have not known it because of your distress."

Chang-how said, "The eyes and ears of the army are on our flag and drum. It will advance or retire as our chariot does. While there is one man left to direct this chariot, we may achieve success. Why should you for your pain cause the failure of our ruler's great enterprise? When one dons his armour and takes his weapons, it is to go in the way of death; you are not in pain to death;—strive to combat with it." With this, he held the reins with his left hand, and with the right took the drumstick, and beat the drum. The trained horses urged on, unable to stop, followed by the army. The army of Ts'e received a great defeat; [and the marquis] was pursued thrice all round [the hill of] Hwa-foo-choo.

"Han Keueh had dreamt, [the night before], that Tsze-yu, [his father], said to him, "Avoid both the left and the right [of the chariot]." In consequence of this, he drove in the middle place, and pursued the marquis of Ts'e. Ping H'ea said, "Shoot the driver; he is a superior man." The marquis said, "Since you call him a superior man, it would be contrary to rule to shoot him." He shot therefore the man on the left, who fell down below the chariot, and then the man on the right, who died in it. [Just then], Ke Woo-chang, who had lost his own chariot, came up to Han Keueh, and asked that he would take him into his. He agreed to do so, but with his elbow moved him away first from the left and then from the right, and made him stand behind himself. [Soon after], he bent forward and adjusted the body of the spearman who had been on the right, [which gave an opportunity to] Fung Ch'ow-foo and the marquis to change places. When the fugitives had nearly reached the spring of Hwa, one of the outside horses was caught by a tree, and stopped. Ch'ow-foo, [some time before], had been lying in a sleeping carriage, when a snake made its appearance beneath him, which he struck with his elbow. It bit him, and though he had concealed the wound, he was now unable to push the carriage on, and the pursuers came up. Han Keueh went with a rope in his hand before the marquis's horses, bowed twice with his head to the ground, and then presented to him a cup, with a *peih* in it, saying, "My ruler sent us to intercede with you on behalf of Loo and Wei, charging us not to allow our army to enter deep into your lordship's territory. Unfortunately, I found myself thrown among the soldiers, and could not avoid my present position. I was afraid, moreover, that if I fled away so as to escape from it, I should disgrace both my own ruler and your lordship. And being now in the position of a soldier, I venture to tell you of my want of ability, and to undertake the office [of your charioteer], so supplying your present need." Ch'ow-foo then made the marquis descend from the chariot, and go to the spring of Hwa to fetch some water, when he was received into an attendant chariot by Ch'ing Chow-foo, Yuen Fei being the spearman on the right, and made his escape. Han Keueh presented Ch'ow-foo [as the marquis] to K'eh H'een-tsze, who, [on discovering the fraud], was about to put him to death. The prisoner cried out, "Henceforth no one will take upon himself in his room the danger to which his ruler is exposed. One such person there is here; and will you put him to death?" K'eh-tsze said, "This man did not

shrink from the risk of death to secure the escape of his ruler;—if I execute him, it will be inauspicious. I will forgive him as an encouragement to those who wish to serve their ruler." Accordingly, he spared his life, and in the meantime, the marquis, after his escape, thrice entered [the army of Tsin], and thrice issued from it, looking for Ch'ow-foo. Every time he hurried on at the head of his soldiers to stimulate those who wished to retire, and then he entered among the Teih men, who presented their spears and their shields, covering him till he passed through them into the army of Wei, which allowed him to make his escape.

"The army then went through the pass of Sen, the marquis charging the commandants [of the cities] whom he saw to exert themselves to the utmost, as the army was defeated. [Some one] urged a woman to get out of the way, but she said, "Has the marquis escaped?" Being told he had, she said, "Has the commander of the vanguard escaped?" Being told again that he also had escaped, she said, "Since the marquis and my father have escaped, it does not matter so much," and ran away. The marquis considered that she was a woman of propriety; and finding on inquiry that she was the wife of the superintendent of entrenchments, he gave him the city of Shih-lëw.

"The army of Tsin pursued that of Ts'e, entering the country by [the city of] K'ëw-yu, and going on to attack Ma-hing. The marquis sent Pin Me-jin [Kwoh Ts'o; but why he is thus designated here has not been fully explained] to offer [the invaders] the steamer and the musical stone of jade [which Ts'e had taken] from Ke, and the territory [of Wei and Loo, which it had taken]; and if this would not satisfy them, to ascertain what they wanted. Pin Me-jin offered these bribes; but the general of Tsin refused [to grant peace for them], and required that Ts'e should deliver up the daughter of T'ung-shuh of Sëaou as a hostage, and make the divisions of the fields in all the State run from east to west. The messenger replied, "The daughter of T'ung-shuh of Sëaou is no other than the mother of our ruler. Our States are of equal rank, and she is not inferior to the mother of the ruler of Tsin. If you, in giving out your great commands to the States, say to them, 'You must pledge the mothers [of your rulers] with us as the proof of your good faith,' what will be the character of such a course in relation to the commands of the [former] kings? And moreover, it is to command men not to be filial. The ode (She, III. ii. ode II. 5) says:—

'For such filial piety unceasing,  
There will for ever be conferred blessing  
on you.'

If you command the other princes to be unfilial, will you not be causing the fellows of your ruler to do what is not virtuous?

"The former kings, in laying out the boundaries and divisions of the land, examined the character of the ground so that the greatest benefit might be derived from it. Hence the ode (She, II. vi. ode VI. 1) says:—

'We have laid out the boundaries and  
smaller divisions,  
The south-lying and east-lying acres.'

But now when you would lay out the fields of the other States, and say, 'Their divisions must all run only from east to west,' such an arrangement would be of advantage only to your war-chariots. There is no regard in it to the character of the ground;—is not this to disown the commands [and example] of the former kings?

"To go against the former kings is to be unrighteous;—how can [the State which does so] be lord of covenants? Tsin is here in error. The kindly rule of the four [great] kings was seen in their establishment of virtue, and in their sympathy with and furtherance of the common wishes of all the people. The presidency of the five leaders of the States was signalized by their laborious cherishing of the States, and leading them to obey the commands of the kings. But now you seek to unite all the States for the gratification of your own limitless desires. The ode (She, IV. iii. ode IV. 4) says,

'Mildly he spread the rules of his govern-  
ment abroad,  
And all dignities became concentrated in  
him.'

You indeed have not that mildness, and you throw away [from Tsin] those dignities; but what harm can the [other] States receive from that?

"If you do not accede [to our request for peace], my ruler commissioned me to deliver this further message:—With the armies of your ruler you came to our poor State, and with our poor levies we gave largess to your followers. Through the terror inspired by your ruler, our troops were defeated and dispersed. If you, Sir, will kindly extend your favour to the fortunes of the State of Ts'e, and not destroy our altars, but allow the old friendship between your State and ours to be continued, then we shall not grudge giving up the precious things of our former rulers and the lands [which they had taken]. If you will not grant us this, then we will collect the fragments of our forces, and ask for another battle before the walls of our capital. Should we have the good fortune (to win it), we will still obey your orders. Should we not have that fortune, we shall much more not dare but listen to your commands."

Loo and Wei strongly urged [K'ëh K'ih], saying, "Ts'e is angry with us. Those who have died in battle are the marquis's relatives and favourites. If you do not grant [his request for peace], his enmity to us will be extreme. And what can you be seeking for? You have got the most precious things of his State. We have also got our territory, and are relieved from our difficulties. Your glory is great, and between Ts'e and Tsin, victory is the gift of Heaven; Tsin cannot be sure of it." On this, the general of Tsin agreed to grant peace, replying [to Pin Mei-jin], "We brought our chariots here, to make intercession for Loo and Wei. That we are now furnished with an answer which we can carry back to our ruler, is from the kindness of your ruler. We dare do nothing but listen to your commands." K'ing Ch'ing then proceeded from the army to Loo to meet the duke."

Par. 4. Of Yuen-low (Kuh-lëang has 爰婁, and says it was 50 *le* from the capital of Ts'e),

the site is not exactly determined. Chang Hëah says it was in the west of the pres. dis. of Lin-tsze, dept. Ts'ing-chow. Others find it in the dis. of Tsze-ch'uen (淄川), dep. Tse-nan. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, in the 7th month the army of Tsin approached the capital of Ts'e. Kwoh Ts'o made a covenant at Yuen-low, by which the people of Tsin were required to return to us the lands of Wän-yang."

[The Chuen adds here:—"The duke [of Loo] met the army of Tsin at Shang-ming, and to each of its three commanders (K'ëh K'ih, Sze Sëeh, and Lwan Shoo) he gave a carriage of leather, with the robes of a minister of three degrees. The marshal of the host, the superintendent of entrenchments, the master of the chariots, the master of the scouts, and the other great officers inferior to them, all received the robes of an officer of one degree."]

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"In the 8th month duke Wän of Sung died. He was the first [duke of Sung] to whom they gave an extravagant interment, using mortar made of [burnt] frogs [for the walls of the grave], with more than the usual number of [earthen] carriages and [straw] horses. For the first time men (? images of men) were interred with the corpse. The number of articles prepared for such an occasion was augmented. The outer coffin was made with 4 pillars, and the inner one was ornamented above and on the sides. The superior man will say:—"Hwa Yuen and Yoh Keu did not act on this occasion as ministers ought to do. It is the part of ministers to control the restless movements and remove the errors of their ruler, striving to do so even at the risk of their lives. These two officers, while their ruler was alive, allowed him to take the way of error; and when he was dead, they acted as if they were increasing his extravagance. They abandoned their ruler to wickedness, having nothing about them of the proper character of ministers."

Par. 6. The marquis of Wei must have died either during, or immediately after, his return from Ts'e. Kung-yang gives his name 逯 instead

of 速. The Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, duke Muh of Wei died. The three generals of Tsin, on their way from the campaign [in Ts'e], went [to the capital of Wei] to offer their condolences, and wept outside the great gate [of the palace]. The officers of Wei met them there, and the women wept inside the gate. The same rule was observed when the generals were escorted away;—and this became the regular method of condolence when there was to be an interment [in Wei]."

[The Chuen appends here two long narratives:—1st, 'When Ts'oo punished the Head of the Hëa family in Ch'in [See VII. xi. 5, and read the Chuen there and on ix. 13, x. 8] king Chwang wanted to take [his mother], Hëa Ke, to his harem; but Woo-shin, duke of Shin, said to him, "Do not do so. You called out the States to punish a criminal. If you now take Hëa Ke to your harem, it will be through desire of her beauty. Such desire is lewdness, and lewdness is a great crime. One of the Books of Chow [Shoo, V. ix. 2] says, 'He illustrated virtue and carefully abstained from wickedness;—it was thus that King Wän made

Chow [what it became]. 'He illustrated his virtue;—that is, he did his utmost to exalt it. 'He carefully abstained from wickedness;—that is, he did his utmost to put it away. If, having roused the States to this expedition, you go on to commit a great wickedness, that is not careful abstinence from it. Let your lordship well consider the matter.' The king on this desisted from his purpose.

"Tsze-fan then wished to take her; but Woo-shin said to him, "She is a woman of evil omen. She brought [her brother] Tsze-man, to an early death; proved the death of [her husband] Yu-shuh; occasioned the murder of the marquis Ling. The execution of [her son] Hëa Nan, the expulsion of K'ung and E, and the ruin of the State of Ch'in. What more inauspicious a woman could there be? Man's life is encompassed with difficulties;—is there any one who cannot [naturally] find death? There are many beautiful women in the world;—why must you have this one?" Tsze-fan on this [likewise] gave up his purpose.

The king then gave her to the Lëen-yin, Sëang Laou, who died at the battle of Peih [In the 12th year of duke Seuen], though his body had not been found. His son Hih-yaou then had a connection with her; but Woo-shin sent a message to her, saying, "Return [to Ch'ing], and I will make you regularly my wife." He further brought it about that they should send from Ch'ing to call her there, on the ground that the body [of her husband, Sëang Laou] could be found, and that she must come and meet it. [Hëa] Ke informed the king of this message, who asked K'ëh Woo [Woo-shin] about it. Woo-shin replied, "The thing is true. The father of Che Ying [A prisoner in Ts'oo, since the battle of Peih] was a favourite with duke Ch'ing [of Tsin], and is the youngest brother of Chung-hang Pih [Seun Lin-foo]. He has recently been made assistant-commander of the army of the centre, and is very friendly with Hwang Seuh of Ch'ing. He is much attached to this son, and is sure, through Ch'ing, to offer to restore our king's son [A prisoner, since the same battle, in Tsin] and the body of Sëang Laou in exchange for him. The people of Ch'ing are afraid [of Tsin] in consequence of the battle of Peih, and anxious to conciliate its favour, so that they will agree to the wishes of Che Ying's father." [On hearing this], the king sent Hëa Ke back to Ch'ing, and as she was about to commence the journey, she said to those who were escorting her, "If I do not get the body [of my husband], I will not return here." [Thus she went to Ch'ing, and by and by], Woo-shin made proposals of marriage with her to the earl of Ch'ing, who accepted them.

"After the accession of king Kung [in Ts'oo] when he was arranging for the expedition to Yang-k'ëaou [In the winter of this year], he sent K'ëh Woo to go on a friendly mission to Ts'e, and to inform the marquis of the time of taking the field. Woo-shin took all his family along with him, and was met by Shin Shuh-kwei, who was going to Ying in the suite of his father. Shuh-kwei said to him, "How strange! You have the anxiety of all the armies of the State on your mind, and yet you are as bright as if proceeding to an encounter among the mulberry trees. You ought to be stealing a marriage with some lady!" When Woo-



shin got to Ch'ing, he sent his assistant in the mission back to Ts'oo with the presents [he had received for Ts'e], and proceeded to go elsewhere with Hēa Ke. He had been minded to fly to Ts'e, but as its army had sustained the recent defeat, he said, "I will not live in a State which is not victorious," and fled to Tsin, where, by means of Kēoh Che, he obtained an appointment, and was made commandant of Hing. Tsze-fan requested [the king of Ts'oo to present large offerings [to Tsin], and get him dismissed from its service; but the king said, "He has gone in the way in which he had planned for himself; but in the plans which he laid for my father he was loyal. Loyalty secures the stability of the altars, and may cover a multitude of offences. If he prove of advantage to it, moreover, would Tsin listen to our request, though it were made with large offerings? If he do not prove of service, Tsin will cast him off, without our having the trouble of seeking his dismissal."]

2d. "When the army returned to Tsin, Fan Wān-tse [Sze Sēh; see the Chuen on p. 3] was the last [of the generals] to enter the capital. Woo-tse, [his father], said to him, "Have you not made me wait for you?" He replied, "The army has done good service, and the people are meeting it with joy. If I had entered first, I should have attracted to myself their eyes and ears, and received the fame which belongs to the commander-in-chief. On this account I did not dare [to enter sooner]." Woo-tse said, "I know by this that he will keep out of danger."

"Kēoh Pih had an interview with the duke, who said to him, "The victory was due to you." He replied, "It was due to your lordship's instructions, and to the efforts of all your officers. No peculiar merit belonged to me." Fan Shuh [Fan Wān-tse] had an interview, and the duke complimented him in the same way, when he replied, "I got my appointment through [Seun] Kāng [the commander of the 1st army. Sze Sēh's was only a temporary appointment], and the dispositions were made by K'ih. No peculiar merit belonged to me." When Lwan Pih had an interview, the duke addressed him also in the same way, but he said, "It was Sēh who instructed me, and the soldiers obeyed their orders. No peculiar merit belonged to me."

Par. 7. See on V. xxxi. 1. Tsin had insisted on Ts'e's surrendering this territory to Loo; and Loo would seem to have now taken decisive measures to secure it.

Parr. 8,9,10. The Chuen says:—"Duke Seuen had sent to ask the friendship [and aid] of Ts'oo [See the Chuen after VII. xviii. 3 and 5], but in consequence of his death and that of king Chwang, Loo and Ts'oo had not become allied. When duke Ch'ing succeeded to the State, he accepted a covenant with Tsin, and joined that State in the invasion of Ts'e. [At the same time], the people of Wei had neglected to send any mission to Ts'oo, and had also accepted a covenant with Tsin, and followed it against Ts'e. Tsze-ch'ung, the chief minister of Ts'oo, therefore, made the expedition of Yang-k'ēaou for the relief of Ts'e. When he was about to raise the army for the service, he said, "Our ruler is young, and we are not equal to the great officers of a former day. We shall require a large force in order to succeed. The ode (She, III. i. ode 1.3) says,

'Numerous was the array of officers,  
And by them king Wān enjoyed repose.'

If even king Wān employed a large force, much more must we do so! Moreover, our late ruler, duke Chwang, gave an order saying, "When our virtue is not sufficient to reach to distant regions, our best plan is to show kindness and compassion to our own people, and use them well."

"On this, he instituted a grand census from house to house, remitted taxes, was kind to the old and widowed, gave help to the needy, and pardoned offenders. He then raised all the forces of the State. The king's own troops also went. P'ang Ming drove the king's chariot, having duke King of Ts'ae on the left, and duke Ling of Heu on the right. These two princes were both young, and they were capped, notwithstanding, for the occasion.

"In winter the army of Ts'oo made an incursion into Wei, and then into our territory, where it encamped at Shuh. The duke wished to send Tsang-sun [Seuen-shuh] to it, but he declined, saying, "[The army of] Ts'oo has come far, and been long on the way. It is sure to withdraw, and I do not dare to receive the fame of effecting such a service." Ts'oo then advanced to Yang-k'ēaou, and Māng-sun [Māng Hēn-tse, called also Chung-sun Mēh] begged leave to go and bribe it [to retreat]. He took with him 100 mechanics, 100 female embroiderers, and as many weavers, with [the duke's son] Kung-hāng, as a hostage, and with them requested a covenant, when Ts'oo agreed to make peace.

"In the 11th month, the duke, with king [Muh's] son, Ying-tse of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ts'ae, the baron of Heu, Yueh, great officer of the right, of Ts'in, Hwa Yuen, of Sung, Kung-sun Ning of Ch'in, Sun Lēang-foo of Wei, the Kung-tse K'eu-tsil of Ch'ing, and a great officer, of Ts'e, made a covenant at Shuh."

Tso-she adds:—"The names of the ministers of the different States are not given in the text, because this was an imperfect covenant. It may be called so, because they were at this time afraid of Tsin, and made the covenant with Ts'oo by stealth. The marquis of Ts'ae and the baron of Heu are not mentioned, because they had occupied the carriage of [the viscount of] Ts'oo, and might be said to have lost their rank. The superior man will say, "His rank is what a man must be careful of! When once the rulers of Ts'ae and Heu had failed to assert their rank, they were not numbered with the princes of the States;—how much greater would be the consequence to men of inferior station! What the ode (She, III. ii. ode V. 4) says,

'Not being idle in their stations,  
They secure the repose of the people,'

may be applied to a case like this."

Shuh was a place belonging to Loo,—in the west of the dis. of T'ae-gan, dep. of the same name. The K'ang-he editors observe that the 公子 in p. 9 before 嬰齊 is the first time that any scion of the House of Ts'oo is thus designated; that the precedence given to Ts'oo and Ts'in in p. 10 shows the power of those States; and that Tso-she is right in the reason which he assigns for the absence of Ts'ae and Heu in the enumeration.

[The Chuen gives here the two following narratives:—1st, 'When the army of Ts'oo reached Sung [on its return], Kung-hāng [See above in the last Chuen] stole away from it, back to Loo. Tsang Seuen-shuh said "Hāng-foo, in thus shrinking from the discomfort of a few years, has had no regard to the welfare of the State of Loo. How shall the State deal with the case? Who will sustain the consequences? Hereafter, the people will have to suffer them. The State has been abandoned." During this expedition, Tsin avoided Ts'oo through fear of the multitude of its army. The superior man will say, "Numbers cannot be dispensed with. Great officers, having the authority in their hands, could overcome by numbers;—how much more must an intelligent ruler who uses his numbers well do so! What 'The great Declaration' (Shoo, III. i. Pt. ii. 6) says, about Shang's having millions of people, divided in heart and Chow's having ten men united, illustrates the value of numbers (?)"]

2d. 'The marquis of Tsin sent Kung-soh [Sze Chwang-pih 士莊伯] to Chow with the prisoners and spoils of Ts'e, but the king would not see him, and made duke Sēang of Shen decline [the offerings], saying, "When any of the wild tribes, south, east, west or north, do not obey the king's commands, and by their dissoluteness and drunkenness are violating all the duties of society, the king gives command to attack them. Then when the spoils taken from them are presented, the king receives them in person, and rewards their punishers;—thus curbing the

disrespectful, and encouraging the meritorious. When States, ruled by princes of the same surname with the royal House, or by princes of other surnames, are doing despite to the king's rules, he gives command to attack them. Then an announcement is made of the service performed, but no trophies of it are presented:—[the king] in this way showing his respect for his relatives and friends, and preventing rude license [in the punishment]. Now my uncle [of Tsin], having obtained a victory over Ts'e, yet has not sent any of his ministers commissioned by me to guard and comfort the royal House. The messenger whom he has sent to comfort me, the One man, is this Kung-pih, whose office gives him no introduction to the royal House, which is contrary to the rules of the former kings. Though I wish to receive Kung-pih, yet I do not dare to disgrace my uncle by setting at naught the old statutes. And Ts'e is a State ruled by princes of another surname, descendants of the grand-tutor [of king Wān]. Granting that its ruler rudely indulged his own desires so as to excite the anger of my uncle, would it not have been sufficient to remonstrate with him, and instruct him?"

"To this speech Sze Chwang-pih could make no reply, and the king entrusted the entertaining of him to his three [principal] ministers. They treated him with the ceremonies due to the great officer of a president of the States, announcing his ruler's conquest of his enemies,—a degree lower than the ceremonies proper to a high minister. The king also gave him an entertainment, and presented him privately with gifts, making the director of the ceremonies say to him, "This is contrary to rule. Do not make a record of it.""]

### Third year.

三年春王正月公會  
晉侯宋公衛侯曹伯  
伐鄭  
辛亥葬衛穆公  
二月公至自伐鄭  
甲子新宮災三日哭  
乙亥葬宋文公  
夏公如晉  
鄭公子去疾帥師伐  
許公至自晉



九章 秋，叔孫僑如帥師圍棘。  
 十章 大雩。  
 十一章 晉卻克、衛孫良夫伐廬。  
 十二章 咎如。  
 冬十有一月，晉侯使荀  
 庚來聘，衛侯使孫良夫  
 來聘。  
 十三章 丙午，及荀庚盟。丁未，及  
 孫良夫盟。  
 十四章 鄭伐許。

左傳曰：三年春，諸侯伐鄭，次于伯牛，討邲之役也。遂東侵鄭，鄭公子偃帥師禦之，使東鄙覆諸鄆，敗諸丘輿，皇戌如楚獻捷。  
 許恃楚而不事鄭，鄭子良伐許。  
 晉人歸楚公子穀臣，與連尹襄老之尸於楚，以求知罃。於是荀首佐中軍矣，故楚人許之。王送知罃，曰：子其怨我乎？對曰：二國治戎，臣實不才，又誰敢怨？王曰：然則德我乎？對曰：二國圖其社稷，而求紓其民，各懲其忿，以相宥也。兩釋纍囚，以成其好，二國有君，臣不與及，其誰敢德？王曰：子歸，何以報我？對曰：臣不任受怨，君亦不任受德，無怨無德，不知所報。王曰：雖然，必告不穀。對曰：以君之靈，壘臣得歸，骨于晉，寡君之以爲戮，死且不避。若從君之惠而免之，以賜君之外臣，首其請於寡君，而以戮於宗，亦死且不避。若弗獲命，而使嗣宗職，次及於事，而帥偏師，以修封疆，雖遇執事，其弗敢違，其竭力致死，無有二心，以盡臣禮，所以報也。王曰：晉未可與爭重，爲之禮而歸之。  
 秋，叔孫僑如圍棘，取汶陽之田，棘不服，故圍之。

晉卻克、衛孫良夫伐廬咎如，討赤狄之餘焉。廬咎如潰，上失民也。  
 冬十一月，晉侯使荀庚來聘，且尋盟。衛侯使孫良夫來聘，且尋盟。公問諸臧宣叔曰：中行伯之於晉也，其位在三，孫子之於衛也，位爲上卿，將誰先？對曰：次國之上卿，當大國之中，中當其下，下當其上大夫，小國之上卿，當大國之下卿，中當其上大夫，下當其下大夫，上下如是，古之制也。衛在晉，不得爲次國，晉爲盟主，其將先之。丙午，盟晉。丁未，盟衛。禮也。  
 十二月，甲戌，晉作六軍，韓厥、趙括、鞏朔、韓穿、荀躄、趙旃，皆爲卿，賞鞏之功也。  
 齊侯朝於晉，將授玉，卻克趨進曰：此行也，君爲婦人之笑辱也，寡君未之敢任。晉侯享齊侯，齊侯視韓厥，韓厥曰：君知厥也乎？齊侯曰：服改矣。韓厥登，舉爵曰：臣之不敢愛死，爲兩君之在此堂也。  
 荀瑩之在楚也，鄭賈人有將寘諸楮中以出，既謀之，未行，而楚人歸之。賈人如晉，荀瑩善視之，如實出己。賈人曰：吾無其功，敢有其實乎？吾小人不可以厚誣君子，遂適齊。

- III. 1 In his third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'au, in invading Ch'ing.
- 2 On Sin-hae there was the burial of duke Muh of Wei.
- 3 In the second month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.
- 4 On Keah-tsze the new temple took fire, when we wailed for it three days.
- 5 On Yih-hae there was the burial of duke Wăn of Sung.
- 6 In summer, the duke went to Tsin.
- 7 K'eu-tsih, duke [Muh's] son, of Ch'ing led an army, and invaded Heu.
- 8 The duke arrived from Tsin.
- 9 In autumn, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo led an army, and laid siege to Keih.
- 10 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 11 K'ëoh K'ih of Tsin, and Sun Lëang-foo of Wei, invaded the Tsëang-kaou-joo.
- 12 In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Tsin sent Seun Käng to Loo on a friendly mission; and the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lëang-foo on the same.

13 On Ping-woo we made a covenant with Seun Käng, and  
on Ting-we we made one with Sun Läng-foo.  
14 Ch'ing invaded Heu.

Par. 1. This par. shows how the weaker States oscillated between the two great ones of Tsin and Ts'oo, making covenants with them, and immediately after breaking them, according as the pressure came from them. Loo, Sung, Wei, and Ts'au had all been parties with Ch'ing to the covenant at Shuh, in which the presidency of Ts'oo was acknowledged, only two months before this; yet here they are, at the summons of Tsin, banded together with it, and invading Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—In the 3d year, in spring, the States [mentioned] invaded Ch'ing, when their armies halted at Pih-nëw; the object being to avenge the battle of Pih [?]. Sufficient reasons for the attack of Ch'ing may be found without going back so far as that battle. A detachment then proceeded eastwards into the country, which was met by duke [Muh's] son, Yen, who defeated it at K'ëw-yu, having previously placed an ambuscade at Man in the eastern borders. Hwang Seuh proceeded to Ts'oo with the trophies of this victory.

As the last earl of Ts'auou and the marquis of Wei were both unbred, their successors should not be mentioned here by their titles, but simply as 衛子 and 曹子, according to the analogy of 宋子 in V. ix. 2. Why this 'violation of rule,' as Too calls it, is committed here, we cannot tell. The failure of the enterprise is also kept back.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 繆 for 穆. The interment took place a month behind the proper time. The delay was probably occasioned by the expedition against Ch'ing.

Par. 4. By 新宮, 'the new temple,' we are to understand the temple or shrine-house of duke Seuen. So Kung-yang says expressly—宣公之宮, and Kuh-läng has, to the same effect, 一廟宮. The three years of mourning for him had been completed, and his Spirit-tablet had been solemnly and regularly inducted into the shrine-house proper to it [See on IV. ii. 2], when thus, shortly after, it took fire. It was according to rule for duke Ch'ing and his ministers to wait 3 days on such an occurrence.

Par. 5. The extravagant interment given to duke Wän is described on p. 5 of last year. Perhaps it was in the same spirit that the funeral was delayed, as if he had been emperor, till the 7th month after his death.

Par. 6. Tso-she says that the duke now went to Tsin to make his acknowledgments for the lands of Wän-yang, which Tsin had compelled Ts'e to restore to Loo.

Par. 7. K'eu-tsih was the name of Tsze-läng (子良), a son of duke Muh of Ch'ing, who appears, very creditably to himself, in the Chuen on VII. iv. 3. Tso says that he now invaded Heu, because that State, relying on the protection of Ts'oo, would not serve Ch'ing. It will be remembered how the earl of Ch'ing ex-

tinguished, or nearly so, the State of Heu in the 11th year of duke Yin. The young prince of Heu recovered his patrimony in the 15th year of duke Hwan; after which the text records sundry invasions of Heu by Ch'ing, till the 6th year of duke He, when Ts'oo laid siege to its capital, and Ch'ing was obliged to cease from troubling Heu in deference to that stronger power. For some reason or other, Ch'ing now thought fit to revive its ancient claims.

Par. 8. [The Chuen introduces here the following narrative, a sequel partly to the first introduced after par. 5 of last year:—The people of Tsin restored the Kung-tze Kuh-shin and the body of the Lëen-yin, Sëang Laou, asking that Che Ying might be sent to Tsin in exchange for them. At this time Seun Show, [Che Ying's father], was assistant-commander of [Tsin's] army of the centre, and on that account Ts'oo agreed to the exchange. When the king was sending Che Ying away, he said to him, "Do you feel resentment against me?" Ying replied, "Our two States were trying the appeal to battle, when I, through my want of ability, proved unequal to the duties of my position, became a prisoner, and, lost my left ear. That your servants did not take my blood to smear their drums with [See Mencius, I. Pt. I. vii. 4], and that you now send me back to Tsin to be punished there, is your kindness. I have to blame only my own want of ability;—against whom should I feel resentment?" "Then," continued the king, "do you feel grateful to me?" "Our two States," was the reply, "consulting for the [security of] their altars, and seeking to relieve the toils of their people, are curbing their anger, and exercising a mutual forgiveness. Each is giving up its prisoner, to establish the good understanding between them. The good of the two States is what is contemplated; there is no special reference to my [good]:—to whom should I presume to be grateful?" The king went on to ask, "When you return to Tsin, how will you repay me?" Ying replied, "I have nothing for which to feel resentment, and your lordship has nothing for which to demand gratitude. Where there is no resentment and no gratitude, I do not know what is to be repaid." "Yes," urged the king, "but you must give me an answer." Ying then said, "If, through your lordship, I, your prisoner, get back with my bones, to Tsin, should my ruler there order me to execution, in death I will remember your kindness. If by your kindness I escape that fate, and am delivered to [my father] Show, who is not a minister of Ts'oo, then should he request permission from our ruler, and execute me in our ancestral temple, I will still in death remember your kindness. If he should not obtain permission to inflict such a doom, but I be appointed to the office hereditary in my family; and should troubles then arise, and I be leading a troop to look after the borders of Tsin, and meet with your officers, I will not presume to avoid them. I will do my utmost, even to death, and with an undivided heart discharge my duty as a

servant [of Tsin]:—it is thus I will repay you." The king said, "Tsin is not to be contended with." He then treated Ying with exceeding courtesy, and sent him back to Tsin.

Par. 9. Tso observes that when Loo took or received from Ts'e the lands of Wän-yang, the city of Keih refused its submission, and in consequence Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo now laid siege to it, and, we must suppose, took it. According to this, Keih was in the territory of Wän-yang. It is referred to the pres. dis. of Fei-shing, dep. T'ae-gan.

Par. 10. See on II. v. 7.

Par. 11. The tribe of Tsëang-kaou-joo is mentioned in the last Chuen on V. xxiii., where we also learn that the surname of the chief was 隗. Kung-yang gives the name with a 將 instead of 詹, and Kuh-läng with a 牆. Tso-she says that the reason for the expedition was that the Tsëang-kaou-joo were a remnant of the Red Teih. He adds, "When it is said, 'The Tsëang Kaou-joo dispersed,' we are to understand that the chief had lost his hold on the people."

Par. 12, 13. The Chuen says:—In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Tsin sent Seun Käng to Loo on a friendly mission, and to renew the covenant [between Loo and Tsin] [That made at Ch'ih-keih, in Ch'ing's 1st year]. The marquis of Wei [also] sent Sun Läng-foo on a similar mission, and to renew the covenant between Loo and Wei [That in the 7th year of duke Seuen]. The duke consulted Tsang Seuen-shuh saying, "The station of Chung-lang Pih (Sëun Käng) in Tsin is that of a minister of the 3d degree, while Sun-tze is in Wei its minister of the 1st degree. With which shall I covenant first?" Seuen-shuh replied, "A minister of the 1st degree in a second-rate State corresponds to one of the 2d degree in a great State; its 2d degree corresponds to the great State's 3d; and its 3d degree to the great State's great officers of the highest class. In a small State, the minister of the 1st degree corresponds to a great State's of

the lowest; the 2d degree to the great State's highest class of great officers, and the 3d degree to the second class. These are the relations of high and low [as concerns ministers and great officers], fixed by ancient rule. Now Wei, as compared with Tsin, cannot be regarded as a State of the 2d degree; and Tsin is lord of covenants:—give the precedence to it." [Accordingly], on Ping-woo a covenant was made with Tsin, and on Ting-we, with Wei;—which was right.

Par. 14. [We have here three narratives appended in the Chuen:—1st. 'In the 12th month, on Këah-seuh, Tsin constituted six armies [See the Chuen at the end of V. xxviii.]. Han Keueh, Chaou Kwoh, Kung Soh, Han Ch'uen, Seun Chuy, and Chaou Chen, were all made high ministers,—in reward for their services at Gan.'

2d. 'The marquis of Ts'e paid a court-visit to Tsin. When he was about to deliver his symbol of jade, Këoh K'ih ran forward and said, "This visit is on account of the laughter of your lordship's women, and the disgrace thereby inflicted [on me] [See the Chuen on VII. xvii. 5]; our ruler dare not accept this ceremony." When the marquis of Tsin was feasting him of Ts'e, the latter looked [steadfastly] at Han Keueh, who said, "Does your lordship know me?" "Your clothes are different," was the reply [See the account of the battle of Gan, p. 3 of last year]. Han Keueh ascended the steps with a cup of spirits, and said, "I did not presume not to risk my life, in order that your lordships might meet in this hall."

3d. 'When Seun Ying was [a prisoner] in Ts'oo, a merchant of Ch'ing formed a plan to convey him out of it in a bag of clothes. The plan was not carried out; but when Ts'oo had restored Ying, the merchant went to Tsin, where Ying treated him as well as if he had really delivered him. The merchant said, "I did not do the service, and dare I receive this treatment as if I had done it? I am but a small man, and must not for my own advantage impose on a superior man." He then went to Ts'e.]

Fourth year.

四年春宋公使華  
元來聘  
三月壬申鄭伯堅  
卒杞伯來朝  
夏四月甲寅臧孫  
許卒公如晉  
葬鄭襄公  
秋公至自晉  
冬城鄆  
鄭伯伐許

左傳曰：四年春，宋華元來聘，通嗣君也。  
杞伯來朝，歸叔姬故也。  
夏，公如晉，晉侯見公，不敬。季文子曰：晉侯必不免。詩曰：敬之敬之，天維顯思，命不易哉。夫晉侯之命，在諸侯矣，可不敬乎？  
秋，公至自晉，欲求成於楚，而叛晉。季文子曰：不可。晉雖無道，未可叛也。國大，臣睦，而邇於我，諸侯聽焉，未可以貳。史佚之志有之曰：非我族類，其心必異。楚雖大，非吾族也。其肯字我乎？公乃止。  
冬十一月，鄭公孫申帥師疆許田，許人敗諸展陂。鄭伯伐許，取鉏任，冷敦之田。晉欒書將中軍，荀首佐之，士燮佐上軍，以救許。伐鄭，取汜，祭。楚子反救鄭，鄭伯與許男訟焉。皇戌攝鄭伯之辭。楚子反不能決也，曰：君若辱在寡君，寡君與其二三臣共聽兩君之所欲，成其可知也，不然，側不足以及知二國之成。  
晉趙嬰通于趙莊姬。

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, the duke of Sung sent Hwa Yuen to Loo on a friendly mission.  
2 In the third month, on Jin-shin, K'een, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
3 The earl of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.  
4 In summer, in the fourth month, on K'eah-yin, Tsang-sun Heu died.  
5 The duke went to Tsin.  
6 There was the burial of duke S'ang of Ch'ing.  
7 In autumn, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
8 In winter, we walled Yun.  
9 The earl of Ch'ing invaded Heu.

Par. 1. Before this time, in all the period of the Ch'ün Ts'ew, Sung had sent no friendly mission of inquiry to Loo. It had sent no response even to the mission of the Kung-tze Suy in Wän's 11th year. There was probably some reason for Hwa Yuen's visit more than what Tso-she assigns,—that it was to open communication with Loo on the part of the new duke of Sung (通嗣君).

Par. 2. On Too Yu's scheme of the calendar, Jin-shin was the 28th day of the 2d month.

Par. 3. This earl of Ke was married to a daughter of Loo, of whose return to her native State, divorced, we read in the 1st par. of next year. Tso says the visit he now paid to the court of Loo was in preparation for that event;—to explain, that is, the reasons which made it advisable. On the 伯, see on VI. xii. 2.

Par. 4. Heu had been an important officer of Loo. He was succeeded by his son, Heih

(紂), known as Tsang-sun Woo-chung (武仲).

Parr. 5, 7. The Chuen says:—“When the marquis of Tsin saw the duke, he did not behave to him with respect. Ke Wän-tze [Ke-sun Häng-foo] said, “The marquis of Tsin is sure not to escape [a violent death]. The ode (She, IV. i. [iii.] 111.) says,

‘Let me be reverent, let me be reverent.  
Heaven's method is clear;—  
Its appointment is not easily preserved.’

The appointment of the marquis of Tsin depends on the States; ought he not to treat them with respect?” In autumn, when the duke came [back] from Tsin, he wished to seek for a friendly understanding with Ts'oo, and to revolt from Tsin; but Ke Wän-tze said to him, “You should not do so. Though Tsin has behaved unreasonably, we should not revolt from

it. The State is large; its ministers are harmonious; and it is near to us. The [other] States receive its orders. We may not yet cherish disaffection to it. The work of the historiographer Yih says, “If he be not of our kin, he is sure to have a different mind.” Although Ts'oo be great, its ruler is not akin to us;—will he be willing to love us?” On this, the duke desisted from his purpose.

Par. 6. There were troubles, probably, in Ch'ing, which occasioned this hasty interment of duke S'ang.

Par. 8. 鄆.—Kung-yang has 運. Too thinks that the duke walled Yun, as a precautionary measure against Tsin, having it in mind to revolt from it. If this be a correct guess, then the Yun here must have been on the west of Loo, and a different place from the Yun in VI. xii. 8, which was fortified against any attempts of Keu from the east. But acc. to Too, on XI. x. 4 there was a Yun in the district of Wän-yang; and I agree with the K'ang-he editors in approving the view of Tae K'e (戴溪; Sung dyn., towards the end of the 12th cent.) that this was the city in the text, and that Loo now fortified it, simply to strengthen itself, without reference to Tsin. The Chuen on p. 7 says that the duke had desisted from his purpose to brave that power.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—“In winter, in the 4th month, Kung-sun Shin of Ch'ing led a force,

and endeavoured to lay out the boundaries of the fields of Heu, [which Ch'ing had taken in its recent inroads]. The people of Heu defeated him at Chen-p'e, when the earl of Ch'ing invaded that State [himself], and took the lands of Tseu-jin and Ling-tun. Lwan-shoo of Tsin, in command of the army of the centre, with Seun Show, as assistant-commander, and Sze S'eh, assistant-commander of the 1st army, in order to relieve Heu, made an invasion of Ch'ing, and took Fan-chae. Tsze-fan of Ts'oo then came to the relief of Ch'ing; and the earl of Ch'ing and the baron of Heu sued each other [before him], Hwang Seuh pleading the case of the earl. Tsze-fan could not determine the matter in dispute, and said, “If you two princes will go before my ruler, then he and some of his ministers will hear together what you want to prove, and the merits of your case can be known. If you will not do so, then I (Tsze-fan's name was 側) do not feel myself able to ascertain the merits of it.”

The critics dwell on the incongruousness of the earl of Ch'ing's being so styled, and of his engaging himself in the invasion of Heu, before the year in which his father died was expired.

[The Chuen adds here:—“In winter, Chaou Ying [A younger, or the youngest, brother of Chaou Tun, the great minister of Tsin in duke Wän's time] had an intrigue with Chaou Chwang-ke (Chwang-ke was the wife of Chaou Soh, or Chaou Chwang-tsze, the son of Chaou Tun).”]

### Fifth year.

五年春，王正月，杞叔姬來歸。  
夏，叔孫僑如會晉荀首于穀。  
仲孫蔑如宋。  
梁山崩。  
秋，大水。  
冬，十有一月，己酉，天王崩。  
十有二月，己丑，公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、邾子、杞伯，同盟于蟲牢。

⑤左傳曰：五年春，原屏放諸齊。嬰曰：我在，故欒氏不作；我亡，吾二昆其憂哉！且人各有能有不能，舍我何害？弗聽。嬰夢天使謂己：祭余，余福汝。使問諸士貞伯。貞伯曰：不識也。既而告其人曰：神福仁而禍淫，淫而無罰，福也。祭，其得亡乎？祭之，之明日而亡。  
 孟獻子如宋，報華元也。  
 夏，晉荀首如齊逆女，故宣伯譖諸穀。  
 梁山崩，晉侯以傳召伯宗。伯宗辟重，曰：辟，傳重人曰：待我，不如捷之速也。問其所，曰：絳人也。問絳事焉，曰：梁山崩，將召伯宗謀之。問將若之何，曰：山有朽壤而崩，可若何？國主山川，故山崩川竭，君爲之不舉，降服，乘縵，徹樂，出次，祝幣，史辭，以禮焉。其如此而已。雖伯宗若之何？伯宗請見之，不可，遂以告而從之。  
 ⑥許靈公愬鄭伯于楚。六月，鄭悼公如楚，訟不勝。楚人執皇戌及子國，故鄭伯歸，使公子偃請成於晉。秋八月，鄭伯及晉趙同盟于垂棘。  
 ⑦宋公子圍龜爲質于楚而歸，華元享之，請鼓譟以出，鼓譟以復入，曰：習攻華氏。宋公殺之。  
 十一月己酉，定王崩。  
 冬，同盟于蟲牢。鄭服也。諸侯謀復會，宋公使向爲人辭，以子靈之難。

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the third daughter [of duke Wăn, who had been married to the earl] of Ke, came back to Loo.
- 2 Chung-sun Mëeh went to Sung.
- 3 In summer, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo had a meeting with Seun Show of Tsin in Kuh.
- 4 [A part of] mount Lëang fell down.
- 5 In autumn, there were great floods.
- 6 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke-yëw, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.
- 7 In the twelfth month, on Ke-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscount of Choo, and the earl of Ke, when they made a covenant together in Ch'ing-laou.

Par. 1. See on the 3d par. of last year. Comp. also VII. xvi. 3. where we have a similar record concerning another daughter of Loo. The 叔姬 in the text could not be a daughter of duke Ch'ing who was now only about 21 years old. Nor is it likely she was a daughter of duke Seuen, for his eldest daughter's marriage appears 4 years after this. The remarks of Hoo Gankwoh on this passage are, perhaps, worth translating:—'The Ch'un Ts'ew is careful in recording the marriages and divorces of the daughters of Loo, because the relation of husband and wife is the greatest bond of society. When a son is born, the parents wish to get him a wife, and for a daughter they wish to get a husband. This is characteristic of all parents; and if they cannot select a proper wife and a proper husband, then the lot of husband and wife is bitter, and occasion is given to lewdness and evil. The royal laws attach great importance to this matter; it lies at the root of the human relations; and the Classic is careful in recording it, as a warning to future ages.'

[The Chuen continues the brief narrative at the end of last year:—"This spring, [Ying's brothers], he of Yuen (Chao'u T'ung), and he of Ping (Chao'u Kwoh), banished him to Ts'e. He said to them, "While I am here, I can prevent the House of Lwan from rising [against us]; if I be gone, you, my brothers, will have to be sorry [for your step]. Every body has what he can do, and what he cannot do. What harm will your letting me alone do?" His brothers would not listen to him.

"Ying dreamt that Heaven sent [a Spirit] to say to him, "Sacrifice to me, and I will bless you." He sent and asked Sze Ching-pih [Sze Uh-chuh] about the dream, who said he did not know its meaning. Afterwards, however, he [Probably Ching-pih] told it to one of his followers, who said, "Spirits bless the virtuous, and send calamity on the lewd. When one guilty of lewdness escapes without punishment, he is blessed. Is his banishment to be a consequence of that sacrifice?" The day after he sacrificed [to that Spirit], he went into exile."

Par. 3. 'This visit to Sung,' says Tso-she, 'was the return for Hwa Yuen's visit to Loo, in the spring of last year. It will be remembered that Chung-sun Meñh is often mentioned as Mäng Hën-tze.

Par. 4. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4. It was in Ts'e. Tso-she says that Sëun Show (Kung has 秀 instead of 首) had gone to Ts'e to meet the bride [Probably for his ruler], and therefore Seuen-pih (K'ëau-joo) [met him at Kuh] with a supply of provisions for his journey.'

Par. 5. Mount Läng was in Tsin,—90 *le* to the north-east of the pres. dis. city of Han-shing, dep. Se-gan, Shen-se;—see on the Shoo, III. i. Pt. i. 4. The Chuen says:—“When a part of mount Läng fell, the marquis of Tsin sent couriers to call Pih-tsung to him. Pih-tsung met a waggon, which he told to get out of the way to make room for his fast carriage. The waggoner said, “You will make more speed by taking a short road than by waiting for me.”

Pih-tsung asked him what place he was of, and he replied, "Of Kéang." He then asked what was taking place there. "Mount Léang has fallen," said the man, "and [the marquis] is calling Pih-tsung to consult about what is to be done." "And what do you think should be done?" pursued the officer. "When a mountain becomes disintegrated, it falls down; what can be done?" was the reply. "However, [each] State presides over [the sacrifices to] the hills and rivers in it; therefore when a mountain falls or a river becomes dry, the ruler in consequence does not have his table fully spread, does not appear in full dress, rides in a carriage without any ornament, hushes all his music, lodges outside the city, makes the priest prepare offerings, and the historiographer write a confession of his faults, and then does sacrifice [to the hills and rivers]. This is what the ruler has to do; what else can he do, even with the advice of Pih-tsung?" Pih-tsung wished to introduce the man at court, but he refused. However, he told what he had heard from him, and gave counsel accordingly.

[The Chuen gives here two narratives:—1st, 'Duke Ling of Heu accused the earl of Ch'ing in Ts'oo [See the Chuen on p. 9 of last year]; and in the 6th month, duke Taou of Ch'ing went to Ts'oo to reply. He did not succeed, however, and the people of Ts'oo seized and held Hwang Seuh, and [duke Muh's son], Tsz-kwoh. On this account, when the earl of Ch'ing returned, he sent the Kung-tsz Yen to ask for peace with Tsin. In autumn, in the 8th month, the earl of Ch'ing and Chaou Kwoh of Tsin made a covenant at Ch'uy-keih.' 2d, 'Wei-kwei, duke [Wán's] son, of Sung, returned from being a hostage in Ts'oo. Hwa Yuen made a feast for him, when he asked [duke Kung] that he might leave his palace amid drums and clamour, and return to it in the same style, saying, "I will practise how to attack the Hwa family." On this the duke of Sung put him to death.']

Par. 6. This was king Ting (定王). Somehow this par. has got transposed in the Chuen, and follows the next. No remark is made on it which is contrary to Tso-she's practice, and has set Too Yu conjecturing that the par. is an interpolation.

Par. 7. Ch'ung-laou was in Ch'ing,—3 *le* north from the present dis. city of Fung-k'ew (封丘), dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says: —'In winter, the States [mentioned] made a covenant together at Ch'ung-laou;—on occasion of the submission [to Tsin] of Ch'ing. They were consulting about another meeting, when the duke of Sung made H'ang Wei-jin decline on his part, on account of the difficulties about Tsze-ling [The Wei-kwei in the 2d narrative after par. 5].'

On 同 see III. xvi. 4. It here much perplexes the critics. The famous Ch'ing E interprets it of the parties thus meeting with one accord, neglectful of the duties incumbent on them upon the king's death!



Sixth year.

六年春王正月公至自會。  
 二月辛巳立武宮。  
 取鄆。衛孫良夫帥師侵宋。  
 夏六月邾子來朝。  
 公孫嬰齊如晉。  
 壬申鄭伯費卒。  
 秋仲孫蔑叔孫僑如帥師侵宋。  
 楚公子嬰齊帥師伐鄭。  
 冬季孫行父如晉。  
 晉欒書帥師救鄭。

①左傳曰六年春鄭伯如晉拜成子游相授玉于東楹之東士貞伯曰鄭伯其死乎自棄也已視流而行速不安其位宜不能久  
 二月季文子以鞶之功立武宮非禮也聽于人取鄆言易也  
 三月晉伯宗夏陽說衛孫良夫甯相鄭人伊維之戎陸渾蠻氏侵宋以其辭會也師于鍼衛人不保說欲襲衛曰雖不可入多俘而歸有罪不及死伯宗曰不可衛唯信晉故師在其郊而不設備若襲之是棄信也雖多衛俘而晉無信何以求諸侯乃止師還衛人登陴  
 ②晉人謀去故絳諸大夫皆曰必居郇瑕氏之地沃饒而近鹽國利君樂不可失也韓獻子將新中軍且爲僕大夫公揖而入獻子從公立于寢庭謂獻子曰何如對曰不可郇瑕氏土薄水淺其惡易觀易觀則民愁民愁則墊隘於是乎有沈溺重脰之疾不如新田土厚水深居之不

疾有汾澮以流其惡且民從教十世之利也夫山澤林鹽國之寶也國饒則民驕佚近寶公室乃貧不可謂樂公說從之夏四月丁丑晉遷於新田  
 子叔聲伯如晉命伐宋  
 六月鄭悼公卒  
 秋孟獻子叔孫宣伯侵宋晉命也  
 楚子重伐鄭鄭從晉故也  
 冬季文子如晉賀遷也  
 晉欒書救鄭與楚師遇於繞角楚師還晉師遂侵蔡楚公子申公子成以申息之師救蔡禦諸桑隧趙同趙括欲戰請于武子武子將許之知莊子范文子韓獻子諫曰不可吾來救鄭楚師去我吾遂至于此是遷戮也戮而不已又怒楚師戰必不克雖克不令成師以出而敗楚之二縣何榮之有焉若不能敗爲辱已甚不如還也乃遂還於是軍帥之欲戰者衆或謂欒武子曰聖人與衆同欲是以濟事子盍從衆子爲大政將酌於民者也子之佐十一人其不欲戰者三人而已欲戰者可謂衆矣商書曰三人占從二人衆故也武子曰善鈞從衆夫善衆之主也三卿爲主可謂衆矣從之不亦可乎

- VI. 1 In his sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Ch'ung-laou].  
 2 In the second month, on Sin-sze, we set up a temple to [duke] Woo.  
 3 We took Chuen.  
 4 Sun Lëang-foo of Wei led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.  
 5 In summer, in the sixth month, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.  
 6 Kung-sun Ying-ts'e went to Tsin.  
 7 On Jin-shin, Pe, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
 8 In autumn, Chung-sun Mëeh and Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.  
 9 The Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'ing.  
 10 In winter, Ke-sun Häng-foo went to Tsin.  
 11 Lwan Shoo of Tsin led a force and relieved Ch'ing.

Par. 1. [The Chuen introduces here:—“This spring, the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin to pay his acknowledgments for the peace [to which Tsin had admitted him], Tsze-yëw [The Kung-tsze Yen in the 1st Chuen after p. 5 of last year] attending him. He delivered his mace of jade on the east of the eastern pillar [of the hall], on which Sze Ching-peh (Sze Uh-chuh) said, “The death of the earl of Ch'ing cannot be far off.” He quite forgets himself. His eyes roll about.

he walks rapidly, and does not rest in his place. We may well conclude that he will not live long!']

Par. 2. Tso-she appears to take 武宮 as meaning 'a palace of victory,' or 'a temple of war.' The Chuen is:—'In the 2d month, Ke Wán-tsze, on account of the victory at Gan, set up a temple of War;—which was contrary to rule. [A State] dependent on others to save it in its distress cannot establish a character for prowess. The establishment of that must proceed from itself, and not from others.' Too compares this with the proposal, which the viscount of Ts'oo rejected, after the battle of Peih, that he should rear a monument of his triumph. It is better, with most of the critics, to take 武 in the sense of 武公, 'duke Woo,' an earlier marquis of Loo, from 825 to 815, B.C., who had been distinguished for his military successes. They were flushed, no doubt, at this time, in Loo with the victory at Gan, and in the spirit of military enterprise, they resolved to add to the ancestral temple a shrine to this duke Woo, replacing in it his Spirit-tablet that had long been removed, thereafter to continue undisturbed. This temple or shrine-house became Loo's 武世室.

Par. 3. Chuen was a small State, attached to Loo, referred by some to the north-east of the pres. dis. of T'an-shing (郟城), dep. E-chow (沂州). Loo now extinguished its sacrifices, and incorporated it with itself. Tso-she thinks the brief record in the text intimates the ease with which the thing was accomplished.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'In the 3d month, Pih-tsung and Hsü-yang Yueh of Tsin, Sun Liang-foo and Ning Ssang of Wei, an officer of Ch'ing, the Jung of E and Loh [See the Chuen after V. xi.2], those of Loh-hwan [See the Chuen after V. xxii.2] and the Man-she, made an incursion into Sung,—because [the duke] had declined to attend the meeting [proposed at Ch'ung-laou]. When their army was at K'ên, the people of Wei were not maintaining any guard, and Yueh wished to make a dash upon its capital], saying, "Although we may not be able to enter it, yet we shall bring back many prisoners, and our offence will not be deemed a mortal one." Pih-tsung, however, said, "No. Wei is trusting Tsin; and therefore, though our army is in the outskirts of the city, it has made no preparations against an attack. If we make a dash upon it, we abandon our good faith. Though we should take many prisoners, yet having lost our faith, how could Tsin seek the leading of the States?" Yueh then gave up his purpose. When the army returned, the people of Wei manned their parapets.'

Since the nature of the attack on Sung was as here described in the Chuen, it is not easy to understand why the text should simply attribute it to Wei. Nor can we account for the sudden purpose of Yueh of Tsin to attack Wei.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about Tsin:—The people of Tsin were consulting about leaving [their capital at] old K'ang; and the great officers all said, "We must occupy the site of the [former] Sün-hea. The soil is rich and fruitful, and it

is near the salt marsh. There is profit in it for the people, and enjoyment for the ruler. Such a site is not to be lost." [At this time] Han Hên-tsze [Han K'ueh] commanded the new army of the centre, and was also high chamberlain. The marquis bowed to him to follow him, which he did to the court before the State chamber; and as they stood there, the marquis asked his opinion on the subject. Hên-tsze replied, "At Seun-hêa the soil is thin and the water shallow. The evil airs about it are easily developed. This will make the people miserable. In their misery they will become feeble and distressed; and then we shall have swollen legs, and all the diseases generated by damp. The site there is not like that of Sin-t'ên, where the soil is good and the water deep. It may be occupied without fear of disease. There are the Fun and the Kwei to carry away the evil airs; and the people, moreover, are docile. It offers advantages for ten generations. Mountains, marshes, forests, and salt-grounds are indeed most precious to a State; but when the country is rich and fruitful, the people grow proud and lazy. Where a capital is near such precious places, the ruling House becomes poor;—such a site cannot be called enjoyable." The marquis was pleased, and followed the suggestion. In summer, in the 4th month, on Ting-ch'ow, Tsin removed its capital to Sin-t'ên.]

Parr. 6, 8. Kung-sun Ying-ts'e was the son of Shuh-heih, whose death is mentioned in VII. xvii. 8. He was the grandson (公孫) of duke Wán. He is known as Tsze-shuh Shing-pih (子叔聲伯). The Chuen says:—'Tsze-shuh Shing-pih went to Tsin, and got orders [for Loo] to invade Sung. In autumn, Máng Hên-tsze and Shuh-sun Seuen-pih made an incursion into Sung, according to the orders of Tsin.'

Par. 7. Too observes that in this death of the earl of Ch'ing—duke Taou—we have the fulfilment of Sze Ching-pih's words in the Chuen after par. 1.

Par. 9. Tso-she says, 'Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, because Ch'ing was [now] following the party of Tsin.'

Par. 10. Tso says the object of this visit was to congratulate Tsin on the transference of its capital. Chaou P'ang-fei, however, thinks it was to tell Tsin of the submission of Sung, as in p. 5 of next year we find that State again confederate with Tsin against Ts'oo.

Par. 11. Kung-yang has 侵 instead of 救;—evidently an error. The Chuen says:—'Lwan Shou of Tsin [marched] to relieve Ch'ing, and at Jaou-koh, met with the army of Ts'oo which retired from the State. The army of Tsin then proceeded to make an incursion into Ts'ae, to the relief of which came the Kung-tszes. Shin and Shing, with the forces of Shin and Seih, which took up their position at Sang-suy. Chaou T'ung and Chaou Kwoh wished to risk a battle, and begged Woo-tsze [Lwan Shou] to do so. He was about to accede to their request, when Che Chwang-tsze [Sün Shou], Fan Wán-tsze [Sze Sêeh], and Han Hên-tsze [Han Keueh] remonstrated, saying, "Do not. We came to relieve Ch'ing, and when the army of Ts'oo moved away from us, we came on here. Thus we have transferred the scene of our attack; and if we

go on to attack the army of Ts'oo, shall enrage it, and be sure to lose any battle. Even should we conquer, it will not be well. We came out with all our hosts; and should we defeat the forces of two districts of Ts'oo, what glory will there be in the achievement? But should we not be able to do so, the disgrace will be extreme. Our best plan is to return." Upon this, the army returned to Tsin. At this time nearly all the leaders of the army wished to fight, and some one said to Lwan Woo-tsze, "The sages found the way to success in the agreement of their wishes and those of the multitude. Why not [now] follow the multitude? You are commander-in-chief, and should decide according to the views

of the people. Of your eleven assistant commanders there are only three who do not wish to fight;—those who wish to fight may be pronounced a great majority. One of the Books of the Shang-shoo (Shoo, V. iv. 24) says, 'When three men obtain and interpret the indications and symbols, two [consenting] are to be followed;—the two being the majority.' Woo-tsze said, "[To follow] the best is as good as to follow the multitude. The best are the lords of the multitude. Such are the three high ministers [who advise against fighting];—they may be called a majority. Am I not doing also what is proper in following them?"

### Seventh year.

七年<sup>一</sup>春,王正月,鼯鼠食郊牛角,改卜牛,鼯鼠又食其角,乃免牛。  
夏<sup>三</sup>五月,曹伯來朝。  
不<sup>四</sup>郊,猶三望。  
秋<sup>五</sup>楚公子嬰齊帥師伐鄭,公會晉侯,齊侯,宋公,衛侯,曹伯,莒子,邾子,杞伯,救鄭,八月,戊辰,同盟于馬陵。  
公<sup>六</sup>至自會。  
冬<sup>八</sup>大雩。  
衛孫林父出奔晉。  
吳<sup>二</sup>伐郟。  
吳<sup>七</sup>入州來。

左傳曰：七年春，吳伐郟，郟成季文子曰：中國不振旅，蠻夷入伐，而莫之或恤，無弔者也。夫詩曰：不弔昊天，亂靡有定，其此之謂乎？有上不弔，其誰不受亂？吾亡無日矣。君子曰：知懼如是，斯不亡矣。

鄭子良相成公以如晉，見且拜師。

夏，曹宣公來朝。

秋，楚子重伐鄭，師于汜，諸侯救鄭，鄭共仲、侯羽、軍楚師，囚鄆公鍾儀，獻諸晉。八月同盟于馬陵，尋蟲牢之盟，且莒服故也。晉人以鍾儀歸，囚諸軍府。

楚圍宋之役，師還，子重請取於申、呂，以為賞田。王許之。申公巫臣曰：不可。此申呂所以邑也，是以為賦，以御北方。若取之，是無申、呂也。晉、鄭必至于漢。王乃止。

子重是以怨巫臣。子反欲取夏姬，巫臣止之，遂取以行。子反亦怨之。及共王即位，子重、子反殺巫臣之族。子閻、子蕩及清尹弗忌及襄老之子黑要而分其室。子重取子閻之室，使沈尹與王子罷分子蕩之室。子反取黑要與清尹之室。巫臣自晉遺二子書，曰：爾以讒慝貪惓事君，而多殺不辜，余必使爾罷于奔命。以死。巫臣請使於吳，晉侯許之。吳子壽夢說之，乃通吳於晉，以兩之一卒適吳，舍偏兩之一焉，與其射御，教吳乘車，教之戰陳，教之叛楚，實其子狐庸焉，使為行人于吳。吳始伐楚，伐巢，伐徐，子重奔命。馬陵之會，吳入州來，子重自鄭奔命。子重子反於是乎一歲七奔命，蠻夷屬于楚者，吳盡取之，是以始大。邇吳於上國，衛定公惡孫林父，冬，孫林父出奔晉，衛侯如晉，晉反戚焉。

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, some field mice ate the horns of the bull for the border sacrifice. It was changed, and another divined for; but the mice again ate its horns, on which the bull was let go.
- 2 Woo invaded T'an.
- 3 In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Ts'au came to Loo on a court-visit.
- 4 There was no border sacrifice, but still we offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.
- 5 In autumn, the Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'ing. The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the mar-

quis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and the earl of Ke, in relieving Ch'ing; and in the 8th month, on Maou-shin [these princes] made a covenant together in Ma-ling.

- 6 The duke arrived from the [above] meeting.
- 7 Woo entered Chow-lae.
- 8 In winter, there was a great sacrifice for rain.
- 9 Sun Lin-foo of Wei fled from that State to Tsin.

Parr. 1, 4. Coupling these two paragraphs together, as it would seem we ought to do, we must conclude that the border sacrifice referred to was not that at the winter solstice, but that in the spring, as in V. xxxi. 3, and that the bulls whose horns were injured were those which were being fed for that somewhat distant ceremony. Many critics contend that the sacrifice was that of the solstice;—see the **春秋大事表**, 卷十五. But par. 4 is fatal to that view.

The *le* is described as the smallest of all mice. The wound of its bite is said to be poisonous, and I have heard the same affirmed in Scotland of the bite of the harvest mouse. At the same time, the pain may not be felt immediately, and hence it is called 'the mouse of the pleasant mouth (甘口鼠).' Lëw Hëang and a host of critics dwell upon the event as a mysterious figuring of the state of things in Loo, where the ruling family was coming more and more into contempt, and mean men were usurping the power of the State. Chaou P'ang-fei speaks the views of others, saying that the thing was from Heaven thus intimating its dissatisfaction with Loo's usurpation of the border sacrifice. Some more sensibly see in the narrative only the record of a remarkable fact,—though we must believe that it was superstition which prompted the undue regard which was paid to such occurrences.

On 猶三望, see on V. xxxi. 5. The offering of these sacrifices in the 5th month was an irregularity, which might be recorded and so unadverted on.

Par. 2. This is the first mention of Woo in the text, and in the Chuen it is only once before mentioned,—on VII. viii. 7. Its lords were viscounts, descended from T'ae-pih, the celebrated, self-denying, son of king T'ae, of whose virtue Confucius speaks in the Analects, VIII. i. The 1st capital of the State was called Mei-le (梅里), in the pres. dis. of Woo-seih (無錫), dep. Chang-chow (常州), Këang-soo. Afterwards, at a time subsequent to the present, the capital was removed to a place in the pres. dep. of Soo-chow. It will be seen immediately that at this time the States of the north still regarded Woo as wild and uncivilized. The simple 吳 of the text is supposed to be expressive of contempt; but there is no real ground for such a view. T'an,—see VII. iv. 1.

The Chuen says:—'Woo invaded T'an, and T'an submitted to the terms of peace [which it

imposed]. Ke Wän-tsze said, "The Middle States do not array their multitudes, and the wild tribes of the south and east enter and attack them, while there is none to pity the sufferers. [T'an] has no comforter." It is of such a case that the ode (She, II. iv. ode VII. 6) speaks,

'O un pitying great Heaven,  
There is no end to the disorders.'

When the highest State offers no condolence, what one is not liable to similar injury? We shall perish, and that soon." The superior man will say, "That he knew to be thus apprehensive was a proof that he would not perish."

[The Chuen here adds:—'Tsze-lëang of Ch'ing attended duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing on a visit to Tsin, that he might. [on his accession to the State], be introduced [to the marquis], and to give thanks for the army [of relief, of the past year].']

Par. 3. Tso-she observes that this was duke Seuen.

Par. 5. Ma-ling was in Wei,—50 *le* to the south-east of the pres. dept. city of Ta-ming. The Chuen says:—'This autumn, Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, and encamped with his army at Fan, when the States came to relieve it. Kung Chung, and How Yu of Ch'ing assaulted the army of Ts'oo, and took prisoner Chung-e, duke of Yun, whom they presented to Tsin. In the 8th month, the [assembled] States made a covenant together at Ma-ling, renewing the covenant at Ch'ung-lau [In the 5th year], and recognizing the submission of Keu [to Tsin]. The people of Tsin took Chung-e back with them, and kept him a prisoner in the arsenal.'

Par. 7. Chow-lae was a city belonging to Ts'oo,—30 *le* north of the pres. city of Show Chow (壽州), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. Immediately on its appearance on the scene of the Ch'un Ts'ew, Woo becomes the antagonist of Ts'oo, and the balance of power among the States is sensibly affected. The Chuen says:—'After the siege of [the capital of] Sung by Ts'oo [in the 14th year of duke Seuen], when the army returned, Tsze-ch'ung requested that he might receive certain lands of Shin and Leu as his reward, to which the king consented. Woo-shin, duke of Shin, however, represented the impropriety of the grant, saying, "It is these lands which make Shin and Leu the States they are. From them they derive the levies with which they withstand the States of the North. Take them away, and there will be no Shin and Leu. Tsin and Ch'ing are sure to come as far as the Han." On this the king gave up all thought of the partition, but the resentment of Tsze-ch'ung against Woo-shin was excited.

'When Tsze-fan wished to take Hëa Ke to his harem, Woo-shin interfered to prevent him, through he afterwards married her himself, and left Ts'oo [See the Chuen after p. 6 of the 2d year]. In consequence of this, Tsze-fan also resented Woo-shin's conduct; and when king Kung succeeded to his father, these two ministers put to death Tsze-yen, Tsze-tang, and Fuh-ke, commandant of Ts'ing, the kinsfolk of Woo-shin, destroying also their families. They put to death in the same way Hih-yaou, the son of Sëang-laou, and then divided the property of their victims among themselves [and their friends]. Tsze-ch'ung took the property of Tsze-yen, and made the commandant of Shin and the king's son P'e divide that of Tsze-tang, while Tsze-fan took all that had belonged to Hih-yaou and the commandant of Ts'ing. Woo-shin then sent them a letter from Tsin, saying, "You have served your ruler with slanderous malice and covetous greed, and have put to death many innocent persons. I will cause you to be weary with running about on service till you die."

'After this, Woo-shin obtained leave from the marquis of Tsin to go on a mission to Woo, the viscount of which, Show-mung, was pleased with him. In this way he opened a communication between Woo and Tsin. He went to Woo

with a hundred choice chariotmen, and he left a fourth of them [This passage is obscure] with some archers and charioteers, who taught the men of Woo how to ride in chariots, and how to form the order of battle, leading them on to revolt from Ts'oo. He [also] left his son, Hoo-yung, to be minister of Woo in its communications with other States. Woo then began to attack Ts'oo, invading Ch'au and Seu, to the relief of which Tsze-ch'ung was obliged to hurry. After the meeting at Ma-ling, when Woo entered Chow-lae, Tsze-ch'ung hurried there from Ch'ing. Thus it was that he and Tsze-fan in one year flew about on seven different commissions. The tribes of the south and east which belonged to Ts'oo were all taken by Woo, which now began to have much communication with the superior States [of the north].'

Par. 8. See on II. v. 7, et al.

Par. 9. This Sun Lin-foo was the son of Sun Léang-foo, the chief minister of Wei. The city held by the family was Ts'eih, which Lin-foo would appear to have surrendered to Tsin. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ting of Wei hated Sun Lin-foo, who left the State this winter, and fled to Tsin. The marquis went to Tsin, which restored Ts'eih to Wei.' We shall find hereafter this Lin-foo a great trouble to Wei.

叔孫 僑如 會晉 士燮 齊人 邾人 伐邾 衛人 來媵。

左傳曰：八年春，晉侯使韓穿來言汶陽之田，歸之于齊。季文子餞之，私焉。曰：大國制義，以為盟主，是以諸侯懷德畏討，無有貳心。謂汶陽之田，敝邑之舊也，而用師于齊，使歸諸敝邑，今有二命，曰：歸諸齊，信以行義，義以成命，小國所望而懷也。信不可知，義無所立，四方諸侯，其誰不解體？詩曰：女也不爽，士貳其行，士也罔極，二三其德。七年之中，一與一奪，二三孰甚焉？士之二三，猶喪妃耦，而況霸主，霸主將德是以，而二三之，其何以長有諸侯乎？詩曰：猶之未遠，是用大簡。行父懼晉之不遠，猶而失諸侯也，是以敢私言之。

晉欒書侵蔡，遂侵楚，獲申驪。楚師之還也，晉侵沈，獲沈子揖。初，從知范韓也。君子曰：從善如流，宜哉。詩曰：愷悌君子，遐不作人，求善也夫。作人斯有功績矣。是行也，鄭伯將會晉師，門于許東門，大獲焉。

聲伯如莒，逆也。

宋華元來聘，聘共姬也。

夏，宋公使公孫壽來納幣。禮也。

晉趙莊姬為趙嬰之亡故，譖之于晉侯曰：原、屏將為亂，欒、郤為徵。六月，晉討趙同、趙括、武從姬氏、畜于公宮，以其田與祁奚。韓厥言于晉侯曰：成季之勳，宣孟之忠，而無後，為善者其懼矣。三代之令王，皆數百年保天之祿，夫豈無辟王，賴前哲以免也？周書曰：不敢侮鰥寡，所以明德也。乃立武而反其田焉。

秋，召桓公來賜公命。

晉侯使申公巫臣如吳，假道于莒，與渠丘公立于池上，曰：城已惡。莒子曰：辟陋在夷，其孰以我

Eight year.

八年春，晉侯使韓穿來言汶陽之田，歸之于齊。

晉欒書帥師侵蔡。

公孫嬰齊如莒。

宋公使華元來聘。

夏，宋公使公孫壽來納幣。

晉殺其大夫趙同、趙括。

秋，七月，天子使召伯來賜公命。

冬，十月，癸卯，杞叔姬卒。

晉侯使士燮來聘。



姓諸衛帥將是貨無緩以晉故冬閉唯茂封爲  
 則侯人師復寡事貳師其士書杞况思有疆虞  
 否嫁來會之君無失文事變來聘言伐  
 女勝伐季君二信子吳故公路之  
 同共郊孫不得成不立不可公路之  
 姓姬懼事君後禮曰公路之  
 勝禮也宣也侯加命請也  
 之凡伯燮侯加命請也  
 異

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Han Ch'uen to Loo, to speak about the lands of Wän-*yang*, which were [in consequence] restored to Ts'e.
- 2 Lwan Shoo of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'ae.
- 3 Kung-sun Ying-ts'e went to Keu.
- 4 The duke of Sung sent Hwa Yuen to Loo on a friendly mission.
- 5 In summer, the duke of Sung sent Kung-sun Show to Loo, to present his marriage-offerings.
- 6 Tsin put to death its great officers, Chaou T'ung and Chaou Kwoh.
- 7 In autumn, in the seventh month, the son of Heaven sent the earl of Shaou to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-maou, [duke Wän's] third daughter, [who had been married to the earl] of Ke, died.
- 9 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Sëeh to Loo on a friendly mission.
- 10 Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo joined Sze Sëeh of Tsin, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading T'an.
- 11 An officer came from Wei, with ladies of that State to accompany to her harem [the bride of the duke of Sung.]

Par. 1. After the battle of Gan, Tsin had required Ts'e to restore to Loo the lands of Wän-*yang*, and Loo had taken possession of them, as related in p. 7 of 2d year; but now, to gratify Ts'e, Tsin exerts its authority and obliges Loo to restore the territory to it. The Chuen says:—“On this occasion, Ke Wän-taze made a feast to Han Ch'uen on the way, as he was leaving, and then privately said to him, “Your great State, by its righteous decisions, maintains its claim to preside over covenants; and on this account the [other] States cherish its favours and dread its punishments, without any thought of disaffection. As to the lands of Wän-*yang*, they were an old possession of our poor State, and after the ex-

pedition against Ts'e you caused it to restore them to us. Now you give a different command, requiring us to restore them to Ts'e. Good faith in the doing what is right, and righteousness in the carrying out its orders:—these are what the small States hope [from Tsin], and for these they cherish it. But if your good faith is not to be seen, and your righteousness is not to be found, which of all the States will not separate from you? The ode (She, I. vi. ode IV. 4) says,

‘I am not different,  
 But you are double in your ways.  
 It is you, Sir, who observe not the perfect rule,  
 Thus changeable in your conduct.’

Here in the space of 7 years, you give us [Wän-*yang*] and you take it away;—what greater changeableness could there be? The gentleman [in the ode], by his changeableness, lost [the affections of] his wife; what must not the prince who assumes to be the leader of the States lose? He is to employ the influence of virtue; but when he changes about, how can he long retain [the attachment of] the States? The ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 1) says,

‘Your plans do not reach far,  
 And therefore I strongly admonish you.’

Apprehensive lest Tsin, by the want of a far-reaching foresight, should lose the States, I have ventured privately thus to speak to you.”

Par. 2. In the Chuen on p. 11 of the 6th year we have the troops of Tsin making an incursion into Ts'ae, which was relieved by Ts'oo, when Tsin withdrew from the field. Tsin now again attacks Ts'ae, and goes on to enter Ts'oo. The Chuen says:—“Lwan Shoo of Tsin made an incursion into Ts'ae, and went on to an inroad into Ts'oo, when he captured [the great officer], Shin Le. After the army of Ts'oo withdrew [from Jaou-koh, in the 6th year], the troops of Tsin made an incursion into Shin, and captured its viscount, Tseih. This was through [Lwan Shoo's] continuing to take the advice of Che, Fan, and Han. The superior man will say, “He followed the wise and good, as on the course of a stream, and right it was [he should be so successful].” The ode (She, III. i. ode V. 3) says,

‘Our amiable, courteous prince  
 Extensively used the [good] men.’

[So did king Wän], seeking for the wise and good; and he who uses such is sure to accomplish much.”

“During this expedition, the earl of Ch'ing was going to join the army of Tsin, when he attacked the eastern gate of [the capital of] Heu, and got great spoil.”

Par. 3. Tso-she says:—“Shing-pih went to Keu, to meet his bride.” The case is analogous to that of the Kung-sun Tsze in V. v. 3. See the Chuen there.

Par. 4. Tso-she would assign to 聘 here a more definite meaning than usual. He says the object of Hwa Yuen's visit to Loo was to arrange about a marriage between the eldest daughter of duke Seuen and the duke of Sung (聘共姬). This may have been—probably was—the object of the minister's visit, but the 聘 alone gives no intimation of it.

Par. 5. Tso-she says this proceeding was according to rule. Princes of States observed only two ceremonies preliminary to their marriage;—the contract and the offerings or presents of silk. They did not themselves appear in the negotiations, being subject to the general rule that marriages should be made by the parents. Of course when a prince was not married till after his accession, there could be no father living to get his wife for him; and, as the duke of Sung appears here sending Kung-sun Show with the offerings, Maou observes that his mother also must have been dead.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—“Chaou Chwang-ke of Tsin, because of the banishment of Chaou

Ying [See the Chuen at the end of the 4th year, and after p. 1 of the 5th] slandered [his brothers] to the marquis of Tsin, saying, “[The lords of] Yuen and Ping are intending to raise rebellion, and [the chiefs of] the Lwan and Këoh [clans] can attest the fact.” In the sixth month, [therefore], Tsin put to death Chaou T'ung and Chaou Kwoh. Woo [the son of Chaou Soh] was brought up by [his mother] Chwang, the lady Ke, in the ducal palace [and so escaped]; but the marquis gave the lands [of the Chaou family] to K'e He. Han Keueh represented to him, saying, “Thus, notwithstanding the services of Ch'ing-ke [Chaou Ts'uy] and the loyalty of Sëuen-mäng [Chaou Tun], they are left without any posterity;—this is enough to make good servants of the State afraid. The good kings of the three dynasties preserved for several hundred years the dignity conferred by Heaven;—there were bad kings among them, but through the wisdom and virtue of their predecessors, they escaped [the extinction of their sacrifices]. In one of the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix. 4) it is said, “He did not dare to show any contempt to the widower and widows;—it was thus that [king Wän] displayed his virtue.” On this [the marquis] appointed, Woo [the representative of the Chaou family], and restored to him its lands.

A different account of the disasters of the Chaou family and its narrow escape from extinction is given by Sze-ma Ts'ëen;—see the Historical Records, Book XXXIII. The ‘History of the various States,’ Book LVII., embellishes the story, and makes a tale of romantic interest out of it.

Par. 7. For 賜 Kung and Kuh have 錫, but it seems impossible to establish any distinction between the meaning of those terms. They are both applied to a gift from a superior to an inferior (皆上予下之辭). Perhaps, as the K'ang-he editors think, 賜 is more appropriate

where the gift is one of favour, and 錫 where it is according to established conventions. The reader will observe the use of 天子 for the king, instead of 天王 which we have hitherto found. Tso-she tells us that the earl of Shaou in the text was duke Hwan. As to the symbol sent to duke Ch'ing, see on VI. i. 5. In duke Wän's case, however, it was sent at the proper time, immediately after he succeeded to his father. Here it comes ‘late,’ as Too Yu says (來綏也).

[The Chuen adds here:—“The marquis of Tsin sent Woo-shin, duke of Shin, on a mission to Woo. Having asked leave to pass through Keu, he was standing with duke K'eu-këw above the city-moat, and said to him, “The wall is in a bad condition.” The viscount of Keu replied, “Keu is a poor State, lying among the wild tribes of the east; who will think of taking any measures against me?” Woo-shin said, “Crafty men there are who think of enlarging its boundaries for the advantage of the altars of their State;—what State is there which has not such men? It is thus that there are so many large States. Some think [there may be such dangers]; some let things take their course.

But a brave man keeps the leaves of his door shut;—how much more should a State do so!’”  
Par. 8. See v. 1. Tso-she says the record of her death was made, because she had come back from Ke.

Par. 9, 10. The Chuen says:—‘On this occasion, Sze Sêh spoke about [Loo’s] invading T’an, because it was rendering service to Woo. The duke offered him bribes, and begged that the expedition might be delayed. Wan-tze [Sze Sêh], however, refused, saying, “My ruler’s command admits of no alteration. If I fail in my faith, I cannot stand [in Tsin]. Gifts cannot be admitted among the ceremonies due to me. The business cannot be done to please both

my ruler and you. If your lordship come after the other princes, my ruler will not be able to serve you [any more].” Sêh was about to return with the duke’s request to Tsin, when Ke-sun became afraid, and sent Seuen-pih with a force to join in the invasion of T’an.’

Par. 11. See on I. vii. 1. The bride of the duke of Sung—known as Kung Ke—was famous, it is said, for her worth; and the States contended for the privilege of sending their daughters to accompany her to the harem. The canon which Tso-she lays down, that such attendant ladies must be of the same surname as the bride, and not of a different surname, was broken down, we shall see, in her case.

Ninth year.

九年<sup>一章</sup>春王正月杞伯來逆叔姬之喪以歸。  
公會晉侯齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒子杞伯同盟于蒲。<sup>二章</sup>公至自會。  
二月伯姬歸于宋。<sup>三章</sup>夏季孫行父如宋致女。  
晉人來媵。<sup>四章</sup>秋七月丙子齊侯無野卒。  
晉人執鄭伯晉欒書帥師伐鄭。<sup>五章</sup>  
冬十有一月葬齊頃公。<sup>六章</sup>  
楚公子嬰齊帥師伐莒庚申莒潰楚人入鄆。<sup>七章</sup>  
秦人白狄伐晉。<sup>八章</sup>  
鄭人圍許。<sup>九章</sup>城<sup>十章</sup>中城。<sup>十一章</sup>

左傳曰九年春杞桓公來逆叔姬之喪請之也杞叔姬卒爲杞故也逆叔姬爲我也爲歸汶陽之田故諸侯貳于晉晉人懼會于蒲以尋馬陵之盟季文子謂范文子曰德則不競尋盟何爲范文子曰勤以撫之寬以待之堅彊以御之明神以要之柔服而伐貳德之次也是行也將始會吳吳人不至二月伯姬歸于宋  
楚人以重賂求鄭鄭伯會楚公子成於鄧  
夏季文子如宋致女復命公享之賦韓奕之五章穆姜出于房再拜曰大夫勤辱不忘先君以及嗣君施及未亡人先君猶有望也敢拜大夫之重勤又賦綠衣之卒章而入  
晉人來勝禮也  
秋鄭伯如晉晉人討其貳于楚也執諸銅鞮欒書伐鄭鄭人使伯蠲行成晉人殺之非禮也兵交使在其間可也楚子重侵陳以救鄭  
晉侯觀于軍府見鍾儀問之曰南冠而縶者誰也有司對曰鄭人所獻楚囚也使稅之召而弔之再拜稽首問其族對曰潁人也公曰能樂乎對曰先父之職官也敢有二事使與之琴操南音公曰君王何如對曰非小人之所得知也固問之對曰其爲大子也師保奉之以朝于嬰齊而夕于側也不知其他公語范文子曰楚囚君子也言稱先職不替本也樂操土風不忘舊也稱大子抑無私也名其二卿尊君也不替本仁也不忘舊信也無私忠也尊君敏也仁以接事信以守之忠以成之敏以行之事雖大必濟君盍歸之使合晉楚之成公從之重爲之禮使歸求成  
冬十一月楚子重自陳伐莒圍渠丘渠丘城惡衆潰奔莒戊申楚人入渠丘莒人囚楚公子平楚人曰勿殺吾歸而俘莒人殺之楚師圍莒莒城亦惡庚申莒潰楚遂入鄆莒無備故也君子曰恃陋而不備罪之大者也備豫不虞善之大者也莒恃其陋而不脩城郭浹辰之間而楚克其三都無備也夫詩曰雖有絲麻無棄菅蒯雖有

脩報使○城歸而爲我公不鄭諸秦可代凡姬  
好鍾公十二中君。將出孫急人侯人己言百姜  
結儀子月城。晉改師申君圍貳白已備子無  
成。之辰。書。使立以謀之。是許。伐也。不莫  
請晉。子也。必者。許。曰。則晉。不。不。萃。

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the earl of Ke came to Loo, to meet the coffin of duke Wān's third daughter, and took it back with him to Ke.
- 2 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscount of Keu, and the earl of Ke, when they made a covenant together in P'oo.
- 3 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 4 In the second month, duke [Seuen's] eldest daughter went to her home in Sung.
- 5 In summer, Ke-sun Hāng-foo went to Sung, to celebrate the completion of the above lady's union with the duke of Sung.
- 6 An officer came from Tsin with ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Sung].
- 7 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-tsze, Woo-yay, marquis of Ts'e, died.
- 8 The people of Tsin seized and held the earl of Ch'ing, and Lwan Shoo of Tsin led a force and invaded Ch'ing.
- 9 In winter, in the eleventh month, there was the burial of duke K'ing of Ts'e.
- 10 The Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Keu. On Kāng-shin the people of Keu dispersed, and the troops of Ts'oo entered Yun.
- 11 A body of men from Ts'in and the white Teih invaded Tsin.
- 12 A body of men from Ch'ing laid siege to [the capital of] Heu.
- 13 We walled Chung-shing.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'The earl of Ke came thus to meet the coffin, because we had asked him to do so. The record [in p. 8 of last year] that "Shuh Ke of Ke died" is because of [the relation the lady had sustained in] Ke; this record of the earl's meeting her [coffin], is because of [the relation she had sustained to] us.' Kung-yang says that Ke was compelled by Loo to take the divorced wife's coffin back to Ke and bury it there. The K'ang-he editors observe that this account and Tso-she's are quite reconcilable.

Par. 2. P'oo,—see II. iii. 2. The Chuen says:—'Because of the restoration of the lands of Wān-yang [See p. 1 of last year], all the States became disaffected to Tsin. The people of Tsin were afraid, and called a meeting at P'oo to renew the covenant of Ma-ling [See VII. 5]. Ke Wān-tsze said to Fan Wān-tsze, "Since your virtue is not strong, of what use is the renewal of covenants?" The other replied, "By diligence in encouraging [the States], by generosity in our treatment of them, by firm strength in withstanding [our enemies], by appealing to the intelligent Spirits to bind [our agreements], by

gently dealing with those who submit, and by punishing the disaffected, we exhibit an influence only second to that of virtue." At this meeting it was intended that Woo should for the first time meet [with the other States]; but no officer from Woo came to it.'

Par. 4. The duke of Sung ought now to have sent a high minister to meet his bride. It is supposed that he sent an officer of inferior rank, and therefore we have the bare record of the bride's going to Sung.

[The Chuen adds here:—'The people of Ts'oo sought by bribes to recover the adherence of Ch'ing, and the earl of Ch'ing had a meeting with the Kung-tsze Ch'ing of Ts'oo in Tāng.']

Par. 5. The phrase 致女 here is difficult to translate. See on II. iii. 9, where the Chuen has 致夫人,—the phrase equivalent to that in the text, when the lady spoken of is a bride or young wife in Loo. After being married three months, the young wife was introduced into the ancestral temple, and appeared before the parents of her husband, or their shrines; and the marriage was then considered complete. This was the solemn proclamation that she was *the wife*, and she could not after this be sent back to her parents, excepting there were proper grounds for divorcing her. A message from her parents at this time was called 致. It was the finishing and crowning act of her nuptials.

The Chuen says:—'When Ke Wān-tsze returned to Loo and reported the execution of his commission, the duke entertained him, and the minister sang the 5th stanza of the Han-yih (She, III. iii. ode VII.). Muh Kēang [The bride's mother, the widow of duke Seuen] then came out from her chamber, and bowed twice to him, saying, "This laborious journey you undertook mindful of our late marquis, and of his son and heir, and of me, his relict:—this was what he even still would expect from you. Let me thank you for your very toilsome service." She then sang the last stanza of the Luh-e (She, I. iii. II.), and went in.'

Par. 6. Tso-she says this was according to rule. See on p. 11 of last year.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin, the people of which, to punish him for his disaffection, and inclining to Ts'oo [See the Chuen after p. 4], seized him in T'ung-te. Lwan Shoo then invaded Ch'ing, which sent Pih-keuen to go and obtain peace. The people of Tsin, however, put him to death, which was contrary to rule;—during hostilities messengers may go and come between the parties. Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'in, in order to relieve Ch'ing.'

[The Chuen introduces here:—'The marquis of Tsin was surveying the arsenal, when he observed Chung-e [See the Chuen on VII. 5], and asked about him saying, "Who is that bound there, and wearing a southern cap?" The officer in charge said, "It is the Ts'oo prisoner, whom the people of Ch'ing delivered to

us." The marquis made them loose his bonds, called him, and spoke comfortingly to him. The man bowed twice before him, with his head to the ground, and the marquis asked him about his family. "We are musicians," said he, "Can you play?" "Music," said he, "was the profession of my father. Dared I learn any other?" The marquis made a lute be given to him, which he began to touch to an air of the south. He was then asked about the character of the king of Ts'oo, but he answered that that was beyond the knowledge of a small man like himself. The marquis urging him, he replied, "When he was prince, his tutor and his guardian trained him; and in the morning he was to be seen with Ying-ts'e, and in the evening with Tsih. I do not know anything else about him."

'The duke repeated this conversation to Fan Wān-tsze, who said, "That prisoner of Ts'oo is a superior man. He told you of the office of his father, showing that he is not ashamed of his origin. He played an air of his country, showing that he has not forgotten his old associations. He spoke of his king when he was prince, showing his own freedom from mercenariness. He mentioned the two ministers by name, doing honour to your lordship. His not being ashamed of his origin shows the man's virtue; his not forgetting his old associations, his good faith; his freedom from mercenariness, his loyalty; and his honouring your lordship, his intelligence. With virtue to undertake the management of affairs, good faith to keep it, and loyalty to complete it, he is sure to be competent to the successful conduct of a great business. Why should not your lordship send him back to Ts'oo, and make him unite Tsin and Ts'oo in bonds of peace?" The marquis followed this counsel, treated Chung-e with great ceremony, and sent him back to Ts'oo to ask that there might be peace between it and Tsin.'

Par. 10. The Yun (Kung-yang has 運) mentioned here is diff. from that in IV. 8; but it is probably the same as that which appears in VI. xii 8, as being walled by duke Wān. This was in the possession,—now of Keu, and now of Loo. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 11th month, Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo went on from Ch'in, and invaded Keu. He laid siege to K'eu-k'ew, the walls of which were so badly built, that the people all dispersed, and fled to Keu, the troops of Ts'oo entering K'eu-k'ew on Maou-shin. The people of Keu made the Kung-tsze Ping of Ts'oo a prisoner, and put him to death, notwithstanding that the enemy begged them not to do so, and promised, if they would spare him, to restore their captives. The army of Ts'oo then laid siege to the city of Keu, whose walls were in the same condition as those of K'eu-k'ew; and on Kāng-shin the people dispersed. Ts'oo went on to enter Yun, for Keu had made no preparations against an enemy. A superior man will say, "To trust to one's insignificance and make no preparations against danger is the greatest of offences; while to prepare beforehand against what may not be foreseen is the greatest of excellences. Keu trusted to its insignificance, and did not repair its walls, so that in the course of twelve days, Ts'oo subdued its three chief cities. This result was all from the want of preparation." The ode [It is now lost] says,

'Though you have silk and hemp,  
Do not throw away your grass and rushes.  
Though your wife be a Ke or a K'ang,  
Do not slight your sons of toil.  
All men  
Have their vicissitudes of want.'

This shows that preparation ought never to be  
intermitted."

Par. 11. In VII. viii. 6, we found the White  
Teih confederate with Tsin against Ts'in; here  
they are leagued with Ts'in against Tsin;—'be-  
cause,' says Tso-she, 'of the general disaffection  
of the States to Tsin.'

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'The people of  
Ch'ing laid siege to Heu, to show Tsin that  
they were not urgent about their earl, [whom  
it was keeping a prisoner]. The plan proceeded

from Kung-sun Shin, who said, "If we send  
out a force to besiege Heu, and make as if we  
would appoint another ruler, taking our time to  
send a messenger to Tsin, that State is sure to  
send back our ruler."

Par. 12. Too Yu, Maou, and others, think  
Chung-shing was the name of a city of Loo,  
which is the most natural interpretation of the  
phrase. Others think the meaning is that the  
duke now repaired the wall of the capital, or the  
walls of the cities generally. See on XI. vi. 6.  
All that Tso-she says is that the thing was done  
at the proper season.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In the 12th month,  
the viscount of Ts'oo sent the Kung-tsze Shin  
to Tsin, in return for the mission of Chung-o,  
asking that the two States should cultivate  
friendship and knit the bonds of peace.']

### Tenth year.

十年春，衛侯之弟黑背帥師侵鄭。  
夏四月，五卜郊，不從。  
五月，公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、伐鄭。  
齊人來媵。  
丙午，晉侯獮卒。  
秋七月，公如晉。  
冬十月。

左傳曰：十年春，晉侯使糴莩如  
楚，報犬宰子商之使也。  
衛子叔黑背侵鄭，晉命也。  
鄭公子班聞叔申之謀，三月，子如  
立公子繻。夏四月，鄭人殺繻，立髡  
頑。子如奔許。欒武子曰：鄭人立君，  
我執一人焉，何益？不如伐鄭而歸  
其君，以求成焉。晉侯有疾，五月，晉  
立太子州蒲以爲君，而會諸侯伐  
鄭。鄭子罕賂以襄鐘，子然盟于修  
澤。子驪爲質，辛巳，鄭伯歸。  
晉侯夢大厲，被髮及地，搏膺而踊，  
曰：殺余孫不義，余得請于帝矣。壞  
大門及寢門而入，公懼，入于室。又  
壞戶，公覺，召桑田巫，巫言如夢，公  
曰：何如？曰：不食新矣。公疾病，求醫  
于秦，秦伯使醫緩爲之，未至，公夢  
疾爲二豎子，曰：彼良醫也，懼傷我，

焉逃之。其一日，居首之上，膏  
之下，若我何？醫至曰：疾不可  
爲也。在首之上，膏之下，攻之  
不可，達之不及，藥不至焉，不  
可爲也。公曰：良醫也。厚爲之  
禮，而歸之。六月丙午，晉侯欲  
麥，使甸人獻麥，饋人爲之召  
桑田巫，示而殺之。將食，張如  
廁，陷而卒。小臣有晨夢負公  
以登天，及日中，負晉侯出諸  
廁，遂以爲殉。  
鄭伯討立君者，戊申，殺叔  
申、叔禽。君子曰：忠爲令德，非  
其人，猶不可，況不令乎？  
秋，公如晉，晉人止公，使送葬。  
于是糴莩未反，冬，葬晉景公。  
公送葬，諸侯莫在，魯人辱之，  
故不書，諱之也。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, Hih-pei, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, led a force and made an incursion into Ch'ing.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fifth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and we did not offer the sacrifice.
- 3 In the fifth month, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, and the earl of Ts'aou, in invading Ch'ing.
- 4 An officer came from Ts'e with ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Sung].
- 5 On Ping-woo, Now, marquis of Tsin, died.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke went to Tsin.
- 7 It was winter, the tenth month.

[The Chuen introduces here:—'In the 10th year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Ts'ao Fei to Ts'oo, in return for its mission of the grand-administrator, Tsze-shang (See the Chuen at the end of last year)']

Par. 1. Tso-she says that this expedition of Tsze shuh Hih-pei was undertaken by command of Tsin.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 3. There, however, and in other passages, the idea of the sacrifice is abandoned after a 4th unfavourable divination, while here a 5th was attempted. Maou thinks that during the 3d month, which was the proper season for this sacrifice, the shell had then been consulted on the 3 sin days in it; and that it was still possible to divine twice in the 4th month, before the equinox. Woo Ch'ing says that the shell had been consulted once in the last decade of the 2d month, thrice in the 3d month, and once again in the 1st decade of the 4th month;—a pertinacity which was very disrespectful to the Spirits. These differing views of really great scholars show how vague is the knowledge which can now be gleaned of this and other ancient practices.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'When the Kung-tsze Pan of Ch'ing heard of the scheme of Shuh Shin [See the Chuen on par. 12 of last year], he set up the Kung-tsze Seu. In summer, in the 4th month, the people of Ch'ing killed Seu, and

set up K'wän-wan, Tsze-joo [The Kung-tsze Pan] fleeing to Heu. Lwan Woo-tsze then said, "Since the people of Ch'ing have set up [another] earl, he whom we hold is but a common man. Of what use is it [to keep him]? We had better invade Ch'ing, restore its ruler, and thereon seek for peace." [At that time] the marquis of Tsin was ill, and the State raised his eldest son, Chow-p'oo, to his place, and assembled the other States to invade Ch'ing. Tsze-han [A son of duke Muh] bribed [Tsin] with the bell [from the temple] of [duke] S'ang. Tsze-jen [Another son of duke Muh] made a covenant with the States at S'ew-tsih; Tsze-sze [A 3d son of Muh] became a hostage [in Tsin]; and the earl returned to Ch'ing.'

According to this Chuen, the marquis of Tsin in the text was not the real marquis, but his son, whom, when upon his death-bed, he had caused to be declared marquis in his room. Many critics have been much stumbled by this account, and call Tso-she's statement in question. The K'ang-he editors reject it and say, 'Not long after this expedition, the marquis of Tsin died. Because the text does not say that "he died when with the army (卒於師),"

to meet the exigency of the text, Tso-she introduced the account of his son's being raised to the marquise, while he was still alive. But the lessons of the Ch'un Ts'ew were intended



for 10,000 ages;—could it have recognized the succession of a son while the father was yet alive, giving him his title? The former critics have all disputed this matter.' Maou, it may be observed, accepts Tso-she's statement without question.

Par. 4. Tso-she makes no remark on this paragraph. It is in contradiction of his canon at the end of the 8th year, that the ladies, the attendants of a bride to her harem, must not be of a different surname from herself. The ladies of Wei (VIII. 11), and those of Tsin (IX. 6), were all Kes like the daughter of Loo, but here are Kéangs claiming to join her company as well. Then the prince of a State was understood to be provided at once with nine partners,—the wife proper, and eight attendants; but in this case the duke of Sung was provided with twelve. There has been no end of speculation and discussion on the text, without any satisfactory conclusion. The thing may have been 'contrary to rule,' but the fact remains. There is nothing in the text to indicate that the action of Ts'e was not as proper as that of Wei and Tsin.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin saw in a dream a great demon with dishevelled hair reaching to the ground, which beat its breast, and leaped up, saying, "You have slain my descendants unrighteously, and I have presented my request to God in consequence [This would be the Spirit of the founder of the Chou clan]." It then broke the great gate [of the palace], advanced to the gate of the State chamber, and entered. The duke was afraid and went into a side-chamber, the door of which it also broke. The duke then awoke, and called for the witch of Sang-t'een, who told him everything which he had dreamt. "What will be the issue?" asked the duke. "You will not taste the new wheat," she replied.

'After this, the duke became very ill, and asked the services of a physician from Ts'in, the earl of which sent the physician Hwan to do what he could for him. Before he came, the duke dreamt that his disease turned into two boys, who said, "That is a skilful physician; it is to be feared he will hurt us; how shall we get out of his way?" Then one of them said, "If we take our place above the heart and be-

low the throat, what can he do to us?" When the physician arrived, he said, "Nothing can be done for this disease. Its seat is above the heart and below the throat. If I assail it [with medicine], it will be of no use; if I attempt to puncture it, it cannot be reached. Nothing can be done for it." The duke said, "He is a skilful physician," gave him large gifts, and sent him back to Ts'in.

'In the sixth month, on Ping-woo, the marquis wished to taste the new wheat, and made the superintendent of his fields present some. While the baker was getting it ready, they called the witch of Sang-t'een, showed her the wheat, and put her to death. As the marquis was about to taste the wheat, he felt it necessary to go to the privy, into which he fell, and so died. One of the servants that waited on him had dreamt in the morning that he carried the marquis on his back up to heaven. The same at mid-day carried him on his back out from the privy, and was afterwards buried alive with him!'

[The Chuen adds here:—'The earl of Ch'ing, punishing those who had set up other earls [in his place], on Maou-shin, put to death Shuh Shin and [his brother] Shuh K'in [See the Chuen on par. 12 of last year]. The superior man will say, "Loyalty, as a praiseworthy virtue, is still to be shown only to a proper object;—how much less should it be shown where it may not be deemed praiseworthy!"']

Par. 6. The Chuen says, 'When the duke this autumn went to Tsin, they detained him there, and made him attend the burial of the marquis. At this time T'ao Fei had not returned from Ts'oo [See the Chuen at the beginning of the year]. In winter there was the burial of duke King which was followed by the duke. No other prince of a State was present, and the historiographers of Loo, because of the disgrace connected with the thing, did not record, but concealed it.'

Par. 7. Kung-yang has not this par., and it may be doubted whether the editions of Kuhléang and Tso-she before the T'ang dynasty had it. See the note *in loc.*, in T'wan Yuh-ts'ae's 'Old Text of the Ch'un Ts'ew.'

### Eleventh year.

十有一年春，王三月，公至自晉。晉侯使卻犇來聘，己丑及卻犇。夏季，孫行父如齊。秋，叔孫僑如如。冬，十月。

左傳曰：十一年春，王三月，公至自晉。晉人以公爲貳于楚，故止公，公請受盟，而後使歸。卻犇來聘，且涖盟。聲伯之母不聘，穆姜曰：吾不以妾爲姒，生聲伯而出之，嫁於齊。晉于奚，生二子而寡，以歸。聲伯，聲伯以其外弟爲大夫，而嫁其外妹於施孝叔。卻犇來聘，求婦於聲伯，聲伯奪施氏婦以與之。婦人曰：鳥獸猶不失儷，子將若何？曰：吾不能死亡。婦人遂行，生二子於卻氏。卻氏亡，晉人歸之施氏。施氏逆諸河，沈其二子。婦人怒曰：己不能庇其伉儷而亡之，又不能字人之孤而殺之，將何以及終？遂誓施氏。

夏季，文子如晉，報聘，且涖盟也。

周公楚惡惠襄之偪也，且與伯與爭政，不勝，怒而出，及陽樊。王使劉子復之，盟于鄆而入。三日，復出奔晉。

秋，宣伯聘於齊，以修前好。

晉卻至與周爭御田，王命劉康公、單襄公、訟諸晉。卻至曰：溫，吾故也，故不敢失。劉子曰：昔周克商，使諸侯撫封，蘇忿生以溫爲司寇，與檀伯達封于河。蘇氏卽狄，又不能於狄，而奔衛。襄王勞文公，而賜之溫。狐氏陽氏先處之，而後及子，若治其故，則王官之邑也。子安得之？晉侯使卻至勿敢爭。

宋華元善於令尹子重，又善于欒武子，聞楚人既許晉，羅茂成而使歸復命矣。冬，華元如楚，遂如晉，合晉楚之成。

秦晉爲成，將會于令狐。晉侯先至焉，秦伯不肯涉河，次于王城。使史黶盟晉侯于河東，晉卻犇盟秦伯于河西。范文子曰：是盟也，何益？齊盟所以質信也，會所信之始也，始之不從，其可質乎？秦伯歸而背晉成。

- XI. 1 In his eleventh year, in spring, in the king's third month, the duke arrived from Tsin.
- 2 The marquis of Tsin sent Kéoh Ch'ow to Loo on a friendly mission; and on Ke-ch'ow the duke made a covenant with him.

- 3 In summer, Ke-sun Hāng-foo went to Tsin.
- 4 In autumn, Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo went to Ts'e.
- 5 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. The duke had thus been fully 8 months in Tsin,—more than half a year away from his own State. The Chuen says:—“The people of Tsin, thinking that the duke had been inclining to the side of Ts'oo, detained him, till he requested that he might be permitted to make a covenant with Tsin, and then they sent him home.” The duke had gone to Tsin, to offer his condolences on the death of duke King. They had charged him, we may suppose, with disaffection, and when he denied it, they wished to keep him a sort of prisoner, till they could learn from T'au Fei, on his return from Ts'oo, whether their suspicions were well grounded or not. He seems, however, to have got away before that officer returned.

Par. 2. For 驪, or without the 言, Kung-yang has 州. K'eh Ch'ow was a first cousin of K'eh K'ih. “He came to Loo,” says the Chuen, “on a friendly mission, and to make [on the part of Tsin] the covenant [which the duke had requested.]” It then proceeds to the following strange and melancholy narrative:—“The mother of Shing-pih [The Kung-sun Ying-ts'e; see on VI. 6] had been without [the regular ceremony of] betrothal; and Muh K'ang [Duke Seuen's wife; sister-in-law, therefore, to this lady] said, “I will not acknowledge a concubine as my sister-in-law.” After the birth of Shing-pih, his father [Shuh-heih of VII. xvii. 8] sent away the mother, who was afterwards married to Kwan Yu-he of Ts'e. She bore him two children, and was then left a widow. When she came back with the children to Shing-pih. Hegot his half-brother made a great officer [of Loo], and married his half-sister to She H'eaou-shuh [A descendant of duke Hwuy of Loo]. When K'eh Ch'ow came on his friendly mission, he applied for a wife to Shing-pih, who took this half-sister from She H'eaou-shuh, and gave her to him. She said [to her husband], “Even birds and beasts do not consent to lose their mates; what do you propose to do?” He said, “I am not able to die for you.” On this she went [to Tsin], where she bore two children to K'eh. After his death, they sent her back from Tsin to [her former husband] She, who met her at the Ho, and drowned in it her two children. She was angry, and said to him, “You could not protect me when I was your wife, and let me go away from you, and now you are not able to cherish another man's orphans and have killed them;—what death do you expect to die?” She then swore that she would not live again with him.”

Par. 3. Tso-she says:—“Ke Wān-tze went to Tsin on a friendly mission in return for that of K'eh Ch'ow; and to make a covenant [on the part of Loo].” This second object of his mission is not mentioned in the text. Perhaps a covenant was not made after all; or the marquis of Tsin did not make it in person, so that the historiographers of Loo purposely omitted to record it.

[The Chuen introduces here:—“Ts'oo, duke of Chow, disliked the pressure of [the clans

descended from the kings] Hwuy and S'ang, and he had a contention, moreover, about the chief place in the government with Pih-yu. Being worsted in this, he was angry and left the court, proceeding to Yang-fan. The king sent the viscount of L'ow to bring him back from there, with whom [also] he made a covenant in Keuen, before he would enter [the capital]. Three days afterwards, however, he again fled to Tsin.”]

Par. 4. Tso-she says of this visit that “S'uen-pih went on a friendly mission to Ts'e, to renew the former friendship between it and Loo.”

Par. 5. [Here we have three narratives in the Chuen:—1st, “K'eh Che [A grand-nephew of K'eh K'ih] had a contention with [the court of] Chow about the lands of How. The king commissioned duke K'ang of L'ow and duke S'ang of Shen, to dispute the question with him in Tsin. He urged that Wān was an old grant made to his family, and he dared not allow [any part of] it to be lost. The viscounts of L'ow and Shen said, “Formerly, when Chow subdued Shang, it gave the various princes the territories which they should gently rule. Soo Fun-sang received Wān, and was minister of Crime, and his territory and that of the earl of T'an extended to the Ho. One of his descendants afterwards went among the Teih, and when he could do nothing among them, he fled to Wei [See V. x.2].

“[By and by], King S'ang rewarded duke Wān with the gift of Wān [See the Chuen after V. xxv. 4]. The families of Hoo and Yang were the first to occupy it, and then it came to K'eh. If you examine its history, it was a city held by an officer of the king;—how can K'eh Che be allowed to have it? The marquis of Tsin then insisted that K'eh Che should not presume to contend about the place [any longer].”

2d, “Hwa Yuen of Sung was on good terms with Tsze-chung, the chief minister [of Ts'oo], and also with Lwan Woo-tze [of Tsin]. When he heard that the people of Ts'oo had granted the peace proposed by Tsin through T'au Fei, and had sent that officer back to give such a report of his mission, he went this winter, first to Ts'oo and then to Tsin, to cement the good understanding of the two States.”

3d, “Tsin and Tsin, having made peace, proposed to have a meeting at Ling-hoo. The marquis of Tsin came first to the place, but the earl of Tsin was then unwilling to cross the Ho. He halted in Wang-shing, and made the historiographer Ko go and make a covenant with the marquis of Tsin on the east of the river. K'eh Ch'ow of Tsin [then went and] made a covenant with the earl on the west of it. Fan Wān-tze said, “Of what use is this covenant? Two parties make a covenant to establish their good faith. But a meeting together is the first demonstration of that good faith; and if the first step be not taken to it, is it likely to be evidenced afterwards?” When the earl returned to Tsin, he broke the [treaty of] peace with Tsin.”]

Twelfth year.

十有二年，春，周公出奔晉。夏，公會晉侯、衛侯于瑣澤。秋，晉人敗狄于交剛。冬，十月。

左傳曰：十二年，春，王使以周公之難來告。書曰：周公出奔晉。凡自周無出，周公自出故也。宋華元克合晉楚之成。夏五月，晉士燮會楚公子罷，許偃。癸亥，盟于宋西門之外。凡晉楚無相加戎，好惡同之，同恤菑危，備救凶患。若有害楚，則晉伐之；在晉，楚亦如之。交贄往來，道路無壅，謀其不協，而討不庭，有渝此盟，明神殛之。俾隊其師，無克胙國。鄭伯如晉，聽成，會于瑣澤，成故也。狄人聞宋之盟，以侵晉，而不設備。秋，晉人敗狄于交剛。晉郤至如楚聘，且泄盟。楚子享之，子反相，為地室而縣焉。郤至將登，金奏作於下，驚而出。子反曰：「日云莫矣，寡君須矣。」吾子其入也。賓曰：「君不忘先君之好，施及下臣，貺之以大禮，重之以備樂，如天之福，兩君相見，何以代此？」下臣不敢子反曰：「如天之福，兩君相見，無亦唯是一矢以相加遺。」焉用樂？寡君須矣。吾子其入也。賓曰：「若讓之以一矢，禍之大者，其何福之為？」世之治也，諸侯閑于天子之事，則相朝也；于是乎有享宴之禮，享以訓共儉，宴以示慈惠，共儉以行禮，而慈惠以布政，政以禮成，民是以息，百官承事，朝而不夕，此公侯之所以扞城其民也。故詩曰：「赳赳武夫，公侯干城。」及其亂也，諸侯貪冒，侵欲不忌，爭尋常以盡其民，畧其武夫，以為己腹心，股肱，爪牙。故詩曰：「赳赳武夫，公侯腹心。」天下有道，則公侯能為民干城，而制其腹心，亂則反之。今吾子之言，亂之道也，不可以為法。然吾子主也，至敢不從，遂入。卒事，歸以語范文子。范文子曰：「無禮，必食言，吾死無日矣。」夫冬，楚公子罷如晉聘，且泄盟。十二月，晉侯及楚公子罷盟于赤棘。

- XII. 1 In the [duke's], twelfth year, in spring, the duke of Chow left and fled to Tsin.
- 2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the marquis of Wei in So-tsih.
- 3 In autumn, a body of men from Tsin defeated the Teih at Kēaou-kang.
- 4 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. See the Chuen after par. 3 of last year. The duke of Chow fled to Tsin, according to that, in the last year. Tso-she supposes his flight is entered now, because it was not till this spring that it was communicated to Loo. He says:—“This spring, the king sent the news to Loo of the troubles connected with the duke of Chow. The text says that “he went out and fled to Tsin.” Now the words “went out” are not applied in the case of parties leaving Chow, but they are used here because the duke of Chow out-cast himself.”

Tso-she's meaning is this:—A fugitive might go out from one State to another; but the whole kingdom belonged to Chow. The States were all Chow. An officer might flee from one part of Chow to another, but he could not go out from Chow. It was proper in such a case to say simply—“he fled to such and such a State;”—see X. xxvi. 1. In the text the proper style is departed from, because the duke of Chow repeated his flight, after the king had recalled him, “out-casting himself.”—After all, the canon may be called in question.

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 沙澤 for 瑣澤. The place so denominated has not been ascertained. The Chuen says:—“Hwa Yuen of Sung having succeeded in cementing the peace between Tsin and Ts'oo [See the 2d Chuen at the end of last year], this summer, in the 5th month, Sze Sēh of Tsin had a meeting with the Kung-tze P'e of Ts'oo, and Heu Yen. They made a covenant on Kwei-lae outside the west gate of [the capital of] Sung, to the following effect:—“Ts'oo and Tsin shall not go to war with each other. They shall have common likings and dislikings. They shall together compassionate States that are in calamity and peril, and be ready to relieve such as are unfortunate. Tsin shall attack any that would injure Ts'oo, and Ts'oo any that would injure Tsin. Their roads shall be open to messengers that wish to pass with their offerings from the one to the other. They shall take measures against the disaffected, and punish those who do not appear in the royal court. Whoever shall violate this covenant, may the intelligent Spirits destroy him, causing defeat to his armies, and a speedy end to his possession of his State!” [After this], the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to receive [the conditions of] the peace, in consequence of its being [thus] established at the meeting in So-tsih.”

This Chuen has occasioned a good deal of speculation among the commentators. The text says nothing of the covenant between Tsin and Ts'oo, and the Chuen says nothing of the presence of Loo and Wei in the meeting at So-tsih. The K'ang-he editors say that Chaou K'wang denies that there was such a covenant, while the frequent meetings between Kēoh Che and

the Kung-tze P'e of Ts'oo show that it must have taken place. They suppose, therefore, that the sage, condemning and disliking the treaty between those Powers, here used his pruning knife, and cut away the record of it. They say further that Lēw Ch'ang denies the truth of the Chuen's account of the meeting at So-tsih, but they preserve that account themselves out of deference to the general authority of Tso-she.

Par. 3. The situation of Kēaou-kang is, like that of So-tsih, undetermined. The Chuen says:—“A body of the Teih took the opportunity of [Tsin's being occupied with the] covenant in Sung to make an inroad into it; but not having made preparations [against a surprise], they were defeated in the autumn at Kēaou-kang.”

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative:—“Kēoh Che of Tsin went to Ts'oo on a friendly mission, and on the part of Tsin to make a covenant. The viscount of Ts'oo invited him to an entertainment, when Tsze-fan, who directed the ceremonies, had caused an apartment to be made under ground, in which the instruments of music were suspended. When Kēoh Che was ascending the hall, the bells struck up [the signal for performance] underneath, which frightened him so that he ran out. Tsze-fan said to him, “The day is wearing late; my ruler is waiting; be pleased, Sir, to enter.” The guest replied, “Your ruler, mindful of the friendship between our former princes, extends his favour to my poor self, treating me with great ceremony, even to a complete band of music. If by the blessing of Heaven our two rulers have an interview, what can take the place of this? I dare not receive [such an honour].” Tsze-fan said, “If by the blessing of Heaven our two rulers have an interview, they will have nothing but an arrow to give to each other; they will not be using music. My ruler is waiting; be pleased, Sir, to enter.” The other said, “If it be an arrow that they mutually offer and decline, that will be the greatest of evils;—there will be no blessing in that. When good order prevails, the princes, in their intervals of leisure from the king's business, visit at one another's courts. Then there are the ceremonies of entertainment and feasting; those of entertainment being a lesson of reverence and economy, those of feasting a display of indulgent kindness [Comp. the Chuen after VII. xvi. 3]. Reverence and economy are seen in the practice of ceremonies; indulgent kindness is seen in the arrangements of the government. When the business of government is perfected by ceremonies, then the people enjoy rest, and the officers receive orders about the business they have to perform in the morning [only], and not in the evening [as well]. It is in this way that the princes prove themselves the protectors of their people. Therefore the ode (She, I. i. ode VII. 1) says,

‘That bold and martial man  
Is shield and wall to his prince.’

But in a time of disorder, the princes are full of covetous greed, indulge their ambitious desires without shrinking, and for a few feet of territory will destroy their people, taking their martial officers and using them to carry out their hearts' purposes as arms and legs, as claws and teeth. Therefore the ode says (*ibid.*, stanza 3),

‘That bold and martial man  
Is the mind and heart of his prince.’

When throughout the kingdom right ways prevail, the princes are shields and walls to the

people, and repress [the selfishness of] their own hearts; but in a time of disorder, it is the reverse. Now your words, Sir, speak the ways of disorder, which cannot be taken as a pattern. But you are host here, and I will not presume to disobey you.” He entered accordingly.

‘When his business was over, and he returned, he told what had occurred to Fan Wan-tze, who said, “With such want of propriety, they are sure to eat their words. Our death will be at no distant day.” In winter, the Kung-tze P'e of Ts'oo went to Tsin on a friendly mission, and to make a covenant on the part of Ts'oo. In the twelfth month, the marquis of Tsin covenanted with him in Ch'ih-keih.’]

Thirteenth year.

十有三年春晉侯使  
郤錡來乞師。  
三月公如京師。  
夏五月公自京師遂  
會晉侯齊侯宋公衛  
侯鄭伯曹伯邾人滕  
人伐秦。  
曹伯廬卒于師。  
秋七月公至自伐秦。  
冬葬曹宣公。

左傳曰：十三年春，晉侯使郤錡來乞師，將事不敬。孟獻子曰：郤氏其亡乎？禮身之幹也，敬身之基也。郤子無基，且先君之嗣卿也，受命以求師，將社稷是衛，而惰棄君命也，不亡何為？  
三月，公如京師，宣伯欲賜，請先使，王以行人之禮禮焉。孟獻子從，王以為介，而重賄之。公及諸侯朝王，遂從劉康公，成肅公會晉侯伐秦。成子受賑於社，不敬。劉子曰：吾聞之，民受天地之中以生，所謂命也。是以有動作禮義威儀之則，以定命也。能者養之以福，不能者敗以取禍。是故君子勤禮，小人盡力，勤禮莫如敬，盡力莫如敦篤。敦篤在養神，篤在守業。國之大事，在祀與戎。祀有執膳，戎有受賑，神之大事也。今成子惰，棄其命矣，其不反乎？  
夏四月戊午，晉侯使呂相絕秦，曰：昔逮

佐之，韓厥將下軍，荀息佐之，趙旃將新軍，卻至佐之，卻縠御戎，欒鍼爲右。孟獻子曰：「晉帥乘和，師必有大功。」五月丁亥，晉師以諸侯之師及秦師戰于麻隧，秦師敗績，獲秦成差及不更父。曹宣公卒于師，師遂濟涇，及侯麗而還，迂晉侯于新楚，成肅公卒于瑕。六月丁卯夜，鄭公子班自訾求入於大宮，不能殺子印，子羽反軍于市。己巳，子駟帥國人盟于大宮，遂從而盡焚之，殺子如、子驪、孫叔、孫知。曹人使公子負芻守，使公子欣時逆曹伯之喪。秋，負芻殺其犬子而自立也。諸侯乃請討之。晉人以其役之勞，請俟他年。冬，葬曹宣公，既葬，子臧將亡國人皆將從之，成公乃懼，告罪且請焉，乃反而致其邑。

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent K'eh E to Loo, to beg the assistance of an army.  
2 In the third month, the duke went to the capital.  
3 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke, going on from the capital, joined the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, and an officer of T'ang, in invading Ts'in.  
4 Loo, earl of Ts'aou, died in the army.  
5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'in.  
6 In winter, there was the burial of duke Seuen of Ts'aou.

Par. 1. Tsin was now calling out the troops of the States which adhered to it for the invasion of Ts'in, mentioned in the 3d par. It was right therefore that it should use the phrase 乞師, and 'beg the assistance of an army,' as it had not the authority of the king in the first place, for the expedition. The Chuen says: — 'When K'eh E (The son of K'eh K'ih) came to Loo, he was not respectful in the execution of his mission. M'ang H'een-tze said, "This K'eh will [soon] perish! Propriety is the stem of character, and respectfulness is its foundation. K'eh-tze has not that foundation, and his ministry has come to him by inheritance. Having received a charge to ask for [the assistance of] an army, it must be for the defence of the altars [of Tsin], and he carries himself rudely,—throwing away the charge of his ruler. What can happen to him but to perish [soon]?"'

Par. 2. Though the duke now went to the capital, he only did so because it lay in his way, as he proceeded to join the army of Tsin. It would appear, indeed, that the other princes did the same, it being, probably, part of Tsin's policy in this way to get the king's sanction and the help of his troops to its enterprise against

Ts'in. The Chuen says: — 'When the duke was going to the capital, Seuen-pih [Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo], wishing to obtain gifts [from the king], begged to be sent on beforehand. The king, however, received him [only] with the ceremonies due to an envoy. M'ang H'een-tze [Chung-sun M'eh] came on in attendance [on the duke], and the king considered him to be the duke's director for the visit, and gave him large presents. The duke and the other princes had an audience of the king, and then followed duke K'ang of Léw and duke Suh of Ch'ing, to join the marquis of Tsin in the invasion of Ts'in. When the viscount of Ch'ing received the flesh of the sacrifice at the altar of the land, his manner was not respectful. The viscount of Léw said, "I have heard that men receive at birth the exact and correct principles of Heaven and Earth, and these are what is called their appointed [nature]. There are the rules of action, propriety, righteousness, and demeanour, to establish this nature. Men of ability nourish those rules so as to secure blessing, while those devoid of ability violate them so as to bring on themselves calamity. Therefore superior men diligently attend to the rules of propriety, and men

我獻公及穆公相好，戮力同心，申之以盟誓，重之以昏姻。天禍晉國，文公如齊，惠公如秦，無祿，獻公即世。穆公不忘舊德，俾我惠公用能奉祀於晉。又不能成大勳，而爲韓之師，亦悔於厥心，用集我文公。是穆之成也。文公躬擐甲胄，跋履山川，踰越險阻，征東之諸侯。虞、夏、商、周之胤，而朝諸秦，則亦既報舊德矣。鄭人怒君之疆場，我文公帥諸侯及秦，圍鄭。秦大夫不詢于我寡君，擅及鄭盟。諸侯疾之，將致命于秦。文公恐懼，綏靜諸侯，秦師克還無害。則是我有大造于西也。無祿，文公即世。穆爲不弔，蔑死我君，寡我襄公，送我殺地，奸絕我好，伐我保城，殄滅我費滑，散離我兄弟，撓亂我同盟，傾覆我國家。我襄公未忘君之舊勳，而懼社稷之隕，是以有殺之師。猶願赦罪于穆公，穆公弗聽。而即楚謀我，天誘其衷，成王隕命，穆公是以不克逞志於我。穆襄即世，康靈即位。康公我之自出，又欲闕剪我公室，傾覆我社稷，帥我蝥賊，以來蕩搖我邊疆。我是以有令狐之役。康猶不悛，入我河曲，伐我涑川，俘我王官，翦我羈馬。我是以有河曲之戰。東道之不通，則康公絕我好也。及君之嗣也，我君景公引領西望曰：「庶撫我乎？」君亦不惠稱盟，利吾有狄難。入我河縣，焚我箕郛，芟夷我農功，虔劉我邊陲。我是以有輔氏之聚。君亦悔禍之延，而欲徼福于先君獻穆，使伯車來命我景公曰：「吾與女同好棄惡，復修舊德，以追念前勳。」言誓未就，景公即世。我寡君是以有令狐之會。君又不祥，背棄盟誓。白狄及君同州，君之仇讐，而我之昏姻也。君來賜命曰：「吾與女伐狄。」寡君不敢顧昏姻，畏君之威，而受命于吏。君有二心於狄，曰：「晉將伐女。」狄應且憎，是用告我。楚人惡君之二三其德也，亦來告我曰：「秦晉令狐之盟，而來求盟于我，昭告昊天上帝、秦三公、楚三王曰：『余雖與晉出入，余唯利是視。不穀惡其無成德，是用宣之以懲不壹。』諸侯備聞此言，斯是用痛心疾首，暱就寡人。寡人帥以聽命，唯好是求。君若惠顧諸侯，矜哀寡人，而賜之盟，則寡人之願也。其承寧諸侯以退，豈敢微亂？君若不施大惠，寡人不佞，其不能以諸侯退矣。」敢盡布之執事，俾執事實圖利之。秦桓公既與晉厲公爲令狐之盟，而又召狄與楚，欲道以伐晉。諸侯是以睦於晉。晉欒書將中軍，荀庚佐之，士燮將上軍，卻錡



in an inferior position do their best. In regard to the rules of propriety, there is nothing like using the greatest respectfulness. In doing one's best, there is nothing like being earnestly sincere. That respectfulness consists in nourishing one's spirit; that earnestness, in keeping one's duties in life. The great affairs of a State are sacrifice and war. At sacrifices [in the ancestral temple], [the officers] receive the roasted flesh; in war they receive that offered at the altar of the land:—these are the great ceremonies in worshipping the Spirits. Now the viscount of Ch'ing by his lazy rudeness has cast from him his proper nature;—may we suppose that he will not return from this expedition?"

See an account of this visit of duke Ch'ing to the king's court in the 國語周語二, Art. 9.

Par. 3. Kuh-léang, after 五月, has 公至自京師,—evidently an error. The Chuen says:—"In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent Sëang of Leu [Known as Leu Seu-en-tsze (呂宣子), a son of Wei E (魏錡), who appears in the Chuen on the battle of Peih] to declare the end of his friendly relations with Ts'in in the following terms:—"In former times, our duke Hëen and your duke Muh were on terms of friendship, which they cultivated with all their might and with one mind, adding to it covenants and oaths, and cementing it by the affinities of marriage. When Heaven was afflicting Tsin, our duke Wän went to Ts'e, and duke Hwuy went to Tsin. When, through our evil fate, duke Hëen left the world, duke Muh was not unmindful of their old friendship, and assisted our duke Hwuy, so that he presided over the sacrifices of Tsin [See the 2d Chuen at the end of V. ix.]. But he could not complete his great service to Tsin, and there ensued the battle of Han [See V. xv. 13]. Afterwards, however, he repented of this, and secured the accession of our duke Wän;—this was accomplished for us by Muh.

"Duke Wän then donned buff-coat and helmet, traversed the plains and crossed the streams, taking his way through the most dangerous defiles, and operated against the States of the east, held by descendants of Yu, Hëa, Shang and Chow, till he brought them all with him to the court of Ts'in:—this surely was enough to repay the old kindness [of duke Muh]. And when the people of Ch'ing had been angrily troubling your borders, our duke Wän led the other States and Tsin, and laid siege to the capital of Ch'ing. Then the great officers of Ts'in, without consulting with our ruler, presumed to make a covenant with Ch'ing. The States were indignant at such conduct, and wished to risk the lives of their men against Ts'in. Duke Wän, however, afraid of the consequences, soothed and pacified them, so that the army of Ts'in effected its return, without suffering any injury. And thus we rendered the greatest service to your western State.

"Through our evil fate, duke Wän [also] left the world, and your Muh sent no message of condolence. Contemning duke Wän as dead, and slighting the youth of our duke Sëang, he assailed our territory of Hëaou, violated and broke off all friendship with us, attacked our

city of Paou-shing, cruelly extinguished our Pe, [the capital of] Hwah [See V. xxxiii. 1], scattered and dispersed our brethren, broke the covenants that were between us, and would have overthrown our State. Then our duke Sëang was not unmindful of the former service which Muh had rendered [to his father]; but he was afraid lest our altars should be cast down, and there ensued the battle of Hëaou [See V. xxxiii. 3].

"[Our Sëang], even after this, wished to seek the forgiveness of duke Muh, but the duke would not listen to him. On the contrary he applied to Ts'oo [See the 2d Chuen after VI. xiv. 7], planning against us. But through the influence which Heaven exerts on men's minds, king Ch'ing lost his life [See VI. i. 10], and duke Muh did not succeed in carrying out his hostile intentions.

"When Muh and Sëang left this world, K'ang and Ling succeeded to them. [Your] duke K'ang was the son of a daughter of Ts'in, but he still wished to uproot and cut down our House, and to overturn our altars. He gave an army to a vile insect [The Kung-tsze Yung of Tsin] to disturb our borders, in consequence of which we had the engagement at Ling-hoo [See VI. vii. 5].

"Still persisting in his hostility, K'ang entered our Ho-k'ëuh, invaded our Suh-ch'uen, captured our Wang-kwan, dismembered our Ke-ma, in consequence of which we had the battle of Ho-k'ëuh [See VI. xii. 7].

"That the way eastward was thus rendered impracticable to Ts'in was through duke K'ang's own rejection of our friendship. When your lordship succeeded to him, our ruler, duke King, looked to the west with outstretched neck, saying, 'Now, perhaps, Ts'in will have compassion on us!' But, unkindly, you would not respond to us with a covenant, and took advantage of our difficulties with the Teih. You entered our Ho-heuen, burned our Ke and Kaou, cut down and destroyed the labours of our husbandmen, and killed the people of our borders, so that we had the gathering at Foo-she [See on VII. xv. 4]. Then you also were sorry for the long continuance of our miserable hostilities; and wishing to obtain the blessing of the former rulers, Hëen and Muh, you sent Pih-keu with your commands to our duke King, saying that you and we should be friendly together, put away all evil feelings, and again cultivate the old kindness, thinking of the services that had formerly passed between our rulers. Before an oath in accordance with these words could be taken, duke King left the world, and I [寡君, here, and elsewhere in the speech, should be 寡人] went to have a meeting with you at Ling-hoo, when with an unhappy purpose you turned back, and rejected the covenant and oath [See the last Chuen after XI. 5].

"The White Teih and you are in the same province [Yung Chow]. They are your enemies, while between us and them there have been intermarriages. You sent your commands, saying that you and we should invade the Teih. I then dared not consider our affinities with them, but, in awe of your majesty, I received the command from your messenger. You, however, with a double heart, represented

to the Teih that Tsin was going to attack them; and though they responded to you, they came with indignation, and told us of your conduct. The people of Ts'oo, hating your double-dealing, also came and told me saying, "Ts'in is violating the covenant of Ling-hoo, and came to ask a covenant with us, plainly appealing to God in the great heavens, to the three dukes of Ts'in and the three kings of Ts'oo, that notwithstanding all its communications with Tsin, its only view had been to its own advantage. I, [the king of Ts'oo], hating such want of virtue, declare it to you, that such insincerity may be punished." The princes of the States, having heard these things, are pained by them in heart and head, and are come to me. I will lead them to hear your commands, seeking only your friendship. If you will show a kind consideration for them, and, in compassion for me, grant me a covenant, this is what I desire. I will then receive your wishes, quiet all the princes, and retire;—how should I dare to seek the confusion [of strife]? If you will not bestow on us your great kindness, I am a man of plain speech;—I cannot withdraw with the princes. I have presumed to declare all my mind to your servants, that they may consider what it will be best to do."

"Because duke Hwan of Ts'in, after making the covenant of Ling-hoo with duke Le of Tsin, proceeded to call on the Teih and Ts'oo, wishing to persuade them to invade Tsin, therefore the States rendered their friendly aid to the latter. Lwan Shoo commanded Tsin's army of the centre, with Seun Käng under him; Sze Sëeh the 1st army, with Këoh E under him; Han Keueh the 3d army, with Seun Ying under him; Chaou Chen the new army, with Këoh Che under him. Këoh E [Different from the Këoh E above] drove the chariot of the commander-in-chief, and Lwan K'ëen was spearman on the right. Mäng Hëen-tsze said, "The generals of Tsin and its chariot-men are harmonious;—this army will accomplish a great success."

"In the 5th month, on Ting-hae, the army of Tsin, with the armies of the States, fought with the army of Ts'in at Ma-suy. The army of Ts'in received a great defeat. Ch'ing Ch'ae of

Ts'in was taken, and the Puh-käng, Joo-foo. Duke Seu-en of Ts'au died in the army, which then crossed the King, proceeded to How-le, and returned, meeting the marquis of Tsin at Sins-oo. Duke Suh of Ch'ing [See the last Chuen] died in Hëa.

The speech of Leu Sëang in this narrative is considered one of the master-pieces of Tso K'ëw-ming. And so it is, as regards the composition; but it is sadly disfigured by its misrepresentations and falsehoods. As between Tsin and Ts'in, each State had its injuries from the other of which to complain; but the balance of right would have inclined rather on the side of Ts'in. The battle of Ma-suy, however, was very important, and kept Ts'in shut up in the west for a long time afterwards.

[The Chuen adds here:—"In the 6th month, on Ting-maou, the Kung-tsze Pan [See on X. 3.] of Ch'ing, [coming] from Tsze, sought by night to enter the grand temple, and when he was not able to do so, killed Tsze-yin and Tsze-yu [sons of duke Muh]. He then returned, and took up a position with his followers in the market place. On Ke-sze, Tsze-sze [another son of duke Muh] led the people to the temple and made a covenant with them, and afterwards burned the market place, killing Tsze-joo [Pan], [his brother] Tsze-mang, [his son] Sun-shuh, and [Tsze-mang's son], Sun-che.]

Par. 4. For 廬 Tso-she has 廬. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'au appointed the earl's son, Foo-ts'oo, to take charge [of the capital], and another son, Hin-she, to meet the coffin of the earl. In autumn, Foo-ts'oo put to death the earl's eldest son, and made himself earl. The princes begged to go and punish him, but Tsin, in consequence of the fatigues of the service [in which they had been engaged], asked them to wait till next year."

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—"In winter, after the burial of duke Seu-en, Tsze-tsang [the above Hin-she] was going to leave the State, and the people all wished to follow him. Duke Ch'ing (Foo-ts'oo) became afraid, acknowledged his offence, and begged [Tsze-tsang to remain]. The latter returned accordingly [to the capital], and surrendered his city [to the duke]."

#### Fourteenth year.

齊人婦姜氏至自  
九月，僑如以夫  
伐許。鄭公子喜帥師  
齊逆女。秋，叔孫僑如如  
晉歸于衛。夏，衛孫林父自  
正，月莒子朱卒。  
十有四年，春，王

卒。秦伯。卒。侯臧。寅。衛。月。庚。冬。十。

左傳曰十四年春衛侯如晉晉侯強見孫林父焉定公不可夏衛侯既歸晉侯使卻曄送孫林父而見之衛侯欲辭定姜曰不可是先君宗卿之嗣也大國又以爲請不許將亡雖惡之不猶愈於亡乎君其忍之安民而有宗卿不亦可乎衛侯見而復之衛侯饗苦成叔甯惠子相苦成叔傲甯子曰苦成家其亡乎古之爲享食也以觀威儀省禍福也故詩曰兕觥其觶旨酒思柔彼交匪傲萬福來求今夫子傲取禍之道也

秋宣伯如齊逆女稱族尊君命也

八月鄭子罕伐許敗焉戊戌鄭伯復伐許庚子入其郛許人平以叔申之封

九月僑如以夫人婦姜氏至自齊舍族尊夫人也故君子曰春秋之稱微而顯志而晦婉而成章盡而不汙懲惡而勸善非聖人誰能脩之

衛侯有疾使孔成子甯惠子立敬嬖之子衎以爲太子冬十月衛定公卒夫人姜氏既哭而息見太子之不哀也不內酌飲歎曰是夫也將不唯衛國之敗其必始于未亡人嗚呼天禍衛國也夫吾不獲鱣也使主社稷大夫聞之無不聳懼孫文子自是不敢舍其重器于衛盡寘諸戚而甚善晉大夫

Par. 1. We have the death of the viscount of Keu here recorded, but there is no subsequent record of his burial; for which the following reason is assigned.—The honorary title, with the style of 'duke,' is always given in mentioning the burials of princes. But the lords of Keu had no honorary titles assigned them after death, the State not being sufficiently advanced in civilization to have adopted that custom. Hence their burials are not recorded.—It may be added here that burials of the lords of Ts'oo and Woo are not given in the Ch'un Ts'ew, because they had usurped the style of king.

Par. 2. See the flight of Sun Lin-foo to Tsin in VII. 9.

The Chuen says:—'In spring, the marquis of Wei went to Tsin, where the marquis of Tsin insisted on introducing Sun Lin-foo to him; but he would not see him. In summer, when he returned to Wei, the marquis of Tsin sent K'eh Ch'ow with Lin-foo, to procure him an interview there. The marquis wanted [still] to refuse, but [his wife], Ting K'ang, said, "Do not. He is the heir of the ministers of your predecessors, scions of your own House. The great State, moreover, makes intercession for him. If you do not grant its request, you will perish. Although you hate him, is it not better [to see him] than to perish? Be pleased to endure the mortification. Is it not proper to give repose to the people, and deal leniently with a minister so related to yourself?" [On this] the marquis granted Lin-foo an interview, and restored [his office] to him.

'The marquis [also] feasted Ch'ing-shuh of K'oo [K'eh Ch'ow], Ning Hwuy-tsze directing the ceremonies. Ch'ing-shuh behaved insolently, and Ning-tsze said, "He and his family are likely to perish [soon]! Among the ancients entertainments and feasts were used to see the demeanour [of the guests], and to judge of their prosperity or calamity [in the future]. Hence it is said in the ode (She, II. vii. ode I. 4),

'There is the curved cup of rhinoceros horn, With the spirits in it, rich and soft. While it passes from one to another, they show no pride. All blessings must come to seek them.'

Now he conducts himself with pride;—it is the way to bring on himself calamity."

Par. 3. The duke was now marrying a daughter of Ts'e. The preliminary steps have not been mentioned. Tso-she says that Seu-pih now went to meet the lady, and that his clan-name is mentioned, to do honour to the duke's commission.

Par. 4. See on IV. 9. The Chuen says:—'In the 8th month, Tsze-han of Ch'ing invaded Heu, and was defeated. On Mow-shin the earl himself again invaded it, and penetrated to the outer suburbs of its capital, when Heu made peace by [surrendering] the territory with which [Ch'ing] had endowed Shuh Shin.'

Par. 5. See on VII. i. 3. The K'ang-he editors argue against Kuh-l'ang and other critics, who insist here that the duke ought to have met his bride in person. Tso-she thinks that the minister is mentioned here without his clan-name, in deference to the lady, adding, 'The superior man will say, "The Ch'un Ts'ew, in the appellations which it uses, is clear with an exquisite minuteness, distinct through obscurity, elegant by its gentle turns, and full without descending to be low, condemning what is evil, and encouraging what is good;—who but the sage could have compiled it as it is?"'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'When the marquis of Wei was ill, he made K'ung Ch'ing-tsze and Ning Hwuy-tsze appoint K'an, his son by King Sze, to be his successor. On his death in winter, in the 10th month, his wife, the lady K'ang, after she had done her weeping and lamentation, saw that K'an wore no appearance of sadness. She would not so much as drink, but sighed and said, "This fellow will not only prove the ruin of the State of Wei, but he will begin with me, his father's relict. Alas! Heaven is afflicting the State of Wei, and I could not bring it about that Chuen [A brother of K'an] should preside over its altars!" When the great officers heard that she thus expressed herself, they were all filled with dread. After this Sun Wan-tsze would not venture to leave his articles of value in the capital, but deposited them all in Ts'eih, and cultivated assiduously the friendship of the great officers of Tsin.'

Fifteenth year.

十有五年春王  
二月葬衛定公  
三月乙巳仲嬰  
齊卒  
癸丑公會晉侯  
衛侯鄭伯曹伯  
宋世子成齊國  
佐邾人同盟于  
戚

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Choo, viscount of Keu, died.  
2 In summer, Sun Lin-foo of Wei returned from Tsin to Wei.  
3 In autumn, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo went to Ts'e, to meet the [duke's] bride.  
4 The Kung-tsze He of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Heu.  
5 In the ninth month, K'ëaou-joo arrived from Ts'e with the [duke's] wife, the lady K'ang.  
6 In winter, in the tenth month, on K'ang-yin, Tsang, marquis of Wei, died.  
7 The earl of Ts'in died.

向帶爲大宰，魚府爲少宰。蕩澤弱公室，殺公子肥。華元曰：我爲右師，君臣之訓，師所司也。今公室卑而不能正，吾罪大矣，不能治官，敢賴寵乎？乃出奔晉。二華，戴族也。司城莊族也。六官者，皆桓族也。魚石將止華元，魚府曰：右師反，必討，是無桓氏也。魚石曰：右師苟獲反，雖許之討，必不敢，且多大功，國人與之，不反。懼桓氏之無祀于宋也。右師討，猶有戎在，桓氏雖亡，必偏。魚石自止華元於河上，請討許之，乃反，使華喜、公孫師帥國人攻蕩氏，殺子山。書曰：宋殺其大夫山，言督其族也。魚石向爲人，鱗朱向帶，魚府出舍於睢上，華元使止之，不可。冬十月，華元自止之，不可。乃反。魚府曰：今不從，不得入矣。右師視速而言疾，有異志焉。若不我納，今將馳矣。登丘而望之，則馳騁而從之，則決睢，閉門登陴矣。左師二司寇，二宰，遂出奔楚。華元使向戌爲左師，老佐爲司馬，樂裔爲司寇，以靖國人。

⑤晉三卻害伯宗，譖而殺之，及變弗忌。伯州犂奔楚。韓獻子曰：卻氏其不免乎？善人，天地之紀也，而驟絕之，不亡何待？初，伯宗每朝，其妻必戒之曰：盜憎主人，民惡其上，子好直言，必及於難。十一月，會吳于鍾離，始通吳也。

許靈公畏偪于鄭，請遷于楚。辛丑，楚公子申遷許于葉。

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Ting of Wei.
- 2 In the third month, on Yih-sze, Chung Ying-ts'e died.
- 3 On Kwei-ch'ow, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'aou, Ch'ing the heir-son of Sung, Kwoh Tso of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, when they made a covenant together in Ts'eih.
- 4 The marquis of Tsin seized the earl of Ts'aou, and delivered him at the capital.
- 5 The duke arrived from the meeting [at Ts'eih.]
- 6 In summer, in the sixth month, Koo, duke of Sung, died.
- 7 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.
- 8 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Kung of Sung.
- 9 Hwa Yuen of Sung left the State and fled to Tsin. From Tsin he returned to Sung. Sung put to death its great officer Shan. Yu Shih of Sung fled to Ts'oo.

晉侯執曹伯，歸于京師。公至自會。

夏六月，宋公固卒。

楚子伐鄭。

秋八月，庚辰，葬宋共公。

宋華元出奔晉，宋華元自晉歸于宋。

宋殺其大夫山，宋魚石出奔楚。

冬十有一月，叔孫僑如會晉士燮、齊高無咎、宋華元、衛孫林父、鄭公子魴、邾人、會吳于鍾離。

許遷于葉。

左傳曰：十五年春，會于戚，討曹成公也。執而歸諸京師。書曰：晉侯執曹伯，不及其民也。凡君不道于其民，諸侯討而執之，則曰某人執某侯，不然則否。諸侯將見子臧於王而立之，子臧辭曰：前志有之曰：聖達節，次守節，下失節爲君，非吾節也。雖不能聖，敢失守乎？遂逃奔宋。

夏六月，宋共公卒。

楚將北師。子囊曰：新與晉盟而脅之，無乃不可乎？子反曰：敵利則進，何盟之有？申叔時老矣，在申聞之曰：子反必不免，信以守禮，禮以庇身，信禮之亡，欲免得乎？楚子侵鄭，及暴隧，遂侵衛，及首止。鄭子罕侵楚，取新石。欒武子欲報楚，韓獻子曰：無庸，使重其罪，民將叛之，無民孰戰。

秋八月，葬宋共公。於是華元爲右師，魚石爲左師，蕩澤爲司馬，華喜爲司徒，公孫師爲司城，向戌爲人，爲大司寇，鱗朱爲少司寇。

10 In winter, in the eleventh month, Shuh-sun K'ëaou-joo joined Sze Sëeh of Tsin, Kaou Woo-k'ëw of Ts'e, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, the Kung-tsze Ts'ëw of Ch'ing, and an officer of Choo, in having a meeting with Woo at Chung-le.

11 Heu removed its capital to Sheh.

Par. 2. This Chung Ying-ts'e was a diff. person from the Kung-sun Ying-ts'e of VIII. 3, and other places. They were both duke's grandsons; but the latter was a grandson of duke Wän, the former of duke Chwang. The 仲 in the text has occasioned the commentators endless and needless difficulty. The death of duke Chwang's son, Suy, appears in VII. viii. 3 as the death of Chung Suy, from which it seemed a plain inference that duke Seuen had given him, on the news of his death, the surname or clan-name of 仲; and here accordingly his son Ying-tsze is so surnamed. Kung-yang, however, thought that Ying-ts'e was the first to get the surname of Chung. He was not the oldest son of Suy;—the oldest son was Kung-sun Kwei-foo of VII. xviii. 6, *et al.* From the Chuen on VII. xviii. 8, we learned that the other great families of Loo combined, on the death of duke Seuen, against the Chung or Tungmun family, and Kwei-foo, the Head of it, fled to Ts'e. Kung-yang says that the people of Loo, grieved that Kwei-foo should be left without a representative in the State, obtained from duke Ch'ing the recognition of his brother Ying-ts'e as such. He then became his brother's successor, and virtually his son, and their father became his (Ying-ts'e's) grand-father; and so by a rule of surnames, 仲, which was Suy's designation, became his surname! This view is followed by Too Yu and many others, while Maou rejects it with great scorn, ridiculing the idea of Ying-ts'e's being at once the son and the grandson of the Kung-tsze Suy.

Parr. 3, 4. In par. 4, for the single 歸 Kung-yang has 歸之. Ts'ëih, —see VI. i. 9. As the death of the duke of Sung appears in the 6th par., we may presume that he was ill at the time of this meeting, and that therefore his son attended it in his room. Tso-she says that the object of the meeting was 'to punish duke Ch'ing of Ts'auou [See his crime in the Chuen on XIII. 4]. Tsin, which would call the meeting, must have concealed this from Ch'ing. Tso then gives a very doubtful canon to explain its being said that the marquis of Tsin (晉侯), and not the people of Tsin (晉人), seized the culprit, saying that when a ruler has dealt with his people without any regard to what was right, and the States punish and seize him, then we read that 'the people of such and such a State seized him,' but if his wickedness has not extended to his people, it is said, 'the ruler of such and such a State seizes him.' Lëw Chang has sufficiently exploded this clumsy rule. Tso adds from his tablets:—'The princes wished to introduce Tsze-tsang [the earl's bro-

ther; see on XIII. 6] to the king, and have him appointed earl, but he refused, saying, "It is contained in books of an earlier time, that a sage is equal to the duties of all positions; that a man of the second class maintains the duty of his position; and that one of the lowest class fails in the duty of his. It is not my position to be ruler. Although I cannot attain to the sage, dare I fail to maintain [what is my duty]?" He then withdrew secretly, and fled to Sung.'

Par. 6. Tso says:—'In summer, in the 6th month, duke Kung of Sung died.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Ts'oo being about to send an expedition to the north, Tsze-nang [the Kung-tsze Ch'ing, son of king Chwang] said, "Is it not improper thus to violate the covenant, which we made so recently with Tsin?" Tsze-fan replied, "When we can gain an advantage over our enemies, we must advance, without any consideration of covenants." Shuh-she of Shin was then old and living in Shin. When he heard of Tsze-fan's speech, he said, "Tsze-fan will certainly not escape an evil end. Good faith is seen in the maintenance of propriety, and propriety is a protection to the person. If a man put away both good faith and propriety, though he wish to avoid an evil end, can he do so?"'

'The viscount made an inroad into Ch'ing as far as Paou-suy, and then went on to overrun Wei, as far as Show-che, [while, in the meantime], Tsze-han of Ch'ing made an inroad into Ts'oo, and took Sin-shih. Lwan Woo-tsze wished to repay Ts'oo [for this expedition], but Han Hëen-tsze said, "You need not do so. Let the king go on, aggravating his offences, till the people revolt from him. Without the people, who will fight for him?"'

Parr. 8, 9. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 8th month, there was the burial of duke Kung of Sung. At this time Hwa Yuen was master of the Right, and Yu Shih master of the Left; Tang Tsih was minister of War; Hwa He, minister of Instruction; Kung-sun Sze, minister of Works; Hëang Wei-jin, grand minister of Crime, and Lin Choo, the assistant minister; Hëang Tae, the grand administrator, and Yu Foo, the assistant. Tang Tsih, seeing the weakness of the ducal House, killed duke [Wän's] son, Fei, on which Hwa Yuen said, "I am master of the Right. It belongs to me as such to inculcate the duties between ruler and ministers. When the ducal House is now thus humbled, if I cannot deal with the wrong, my crime will be great. I am unable to discharge the duties of my office, and dare I rely on the favour [of the duke]?" With this, he left the State, and fled to Tsin.'

'The two Hwa were descended from duke Tae; the minister of Works from duke Chwang; and the other six ministers were all sprung from duke Hwan. Yu Shih was going to stop Hwa

Yuen, when Yu Foo said, "If the master of the Right return, he is sure to set about punishing, and the clan of Hwan will perish." Yu Shih said, "If the master of the Right get to return, although we should allow him to punish, he will certainly not dare to do so. His services, moreover, have been many and great, so that the people of the State are all with him. If he do not return, I am afraid that the Hwans will not be allowed to maintain their sacrifices in Sung. Should he set about punishing, there is [Hëang] Seuh. It is only a small portion of the Hwans that will perish." [On this] Yu Shih went himself and stopped Hwa Yuen at the Ho. Yuen said that he must be allowed to punish, and when this was granted, he returned, and made Hwa He and Kung-sun Sze lead the people to attack the Tang family, when they put to death Tsze-shan [Tang Tsih]. When it is said in the text that "Sung put to death its great officer Shan," the style intimates that he was rebelling against the ducal House of which he was a scion.

[After this], Yu Shih, Hëang Wei-jin, Lin Choo, Hëang Tae, and Yu Foo, went out [from the capital] and halted near the Suy. Hwa Yuen sent to stop them, but they refused to stop. In winter, in the 10th month, he went to them himself, but returned with the like result. Yu Foo said, "If we do not now [immediately] follow him, we shall not be able to enter [the capital] again. His glances were rapid and his words also;—his purposes towards us were hostile, as if he would not receive us again. He will now be driving off rapidly." They ascended a mound and saw [that Yuen was doing so], on which they took to their chariots, and hurried after him. The waters of the Suy, however, had been let out on the country, the gates of the city were shut, and the parapets were manned. The master of the Left, the two ministers of Crime, and the two administrators, were obliged to flee to Ts'oo. Yuen then appointed Hëang Seuh master of the Left, Laou

Tso minister of War, and Yoh E minister of Crime, thus quieting the people.'

Kung and Kuh give 宋殺其大夫山 and 宋魚石出奔楚 as distinct paragraphs. The integrity of the whole of the paragraph, indeed, has been called in question. The text says that Hwa Yuen had fled to Tsin and that he returned to Sung from Tsin, whereas, acc. to the Chuen, he was brought back to Sung before he reached Tsin. The double occurrence of 宋華元, and the use of 宋 five times in so short a space, certainly look suspicious. See Maou *in loc.*

[The Chuen adds here about Tsin:—'The three Këoh [Ch'ow, Che, and E] of Tsin injured Pih-tsung slandering him and procuring his death, and also that of Lwan Fuh-ke, on which [Tsung's] son Pih Chow-le fled to Ts'oo. Han Hëen-tsze said, "Those Këoh will not escape an evil end! Good men are appointed for government by Heaven and Earth. If destroying in this way one and another of them be not sufficient to ruin those who do so, what [greater offence] is to be waited for?" Whenever Pih-tsung went to court, his wife had been accustomed to say to him, "Thieves are angry with the master [they want to rob], and the people hate their superiors. You are fond of straightforward speaking, but it will bring you into difficulties."']

Par. 10. Chung-le belonged to Ts'oo,—in the pres. dis. of Fung-yang, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hway. 'This,' says Tso, 'was the first instance of communication between the States of the north and Woo.'

Par. 11. Sheh,—see Analects, VII. xviii. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ling of Heu, dreading the [constant] pressure of Ch'ing, asked leave of Ts'oo to remove its capital [into its territory]. Accordingly, on Sin-ch'ow, the Kung-tsze Shin of Ts'oo removed Heu's chief city to Sheh.'

Sixteenth year.

鄭師敗績。甲午晦，晉侯使欒黶來乞師。六月丙寅朔，日有食之。鄭公子喜帥師侵宋。夏四月辛未，滕子卒。雨，木冰。十有六年春，王正月，



曰師其何如。對曰：德、刑、詳、義、禮、信，戰之器也。德以施惠，刑以正邪，詳以事神，義以建利，禮以順時，信以守物，民生厚而德正，用利而事節，時順而物成，上下和睦，周旋不逆，求無不具，各知其極，故詩曰：立我烝民，莫匪爾極。是以神降之福，時無災害，民生敦龐，和同以聽，莫不盡力，以從上命，致死以補其闕，此戰之所由克也。今楚內棄其民，而外絕其好，潰齊盟，而食話言，奸時以動，而疲民以逞，民不知信，進退罪也。人恤所底，其誰致死？子其勉之，吾不復見子矣。姚句耳先歸，子駟問焉，對曰：其行速，過險而不整，速則失志，不整喪列，志失列喪，將何以戰？楚懼不可用也。五月，晉師濟河，聞楚師將至，范文子欲反，曰：我偽逃楚，可以紓憂，夫合諸侯，非吾所能也，以遺能者，我若羣臣輯睦，以事君多矣。武子曰：不可。六月，晉楚遇於鄢陵，范文子不欲戰，卻至曰：韓之戰，惠公不振旅，箕之役，先軫不反命，邲之師，荀伯不復從，皆晉之恥也。子亦見先君之事矣，今我辟楚，又益恥也。文子曰：吾先君之亟戰也，有故，秦、狄、齊、楚，皆彊，不盡力，子孫將弱，今三彊服矣，敵楚而已，唯聖人能外內無患，自非聖人，外寧必有內憂，盍釋楚以爲外懼乎？甲午晦，楚晨壓晉軍而陳，軍吏患之，范句趨進，曰：塞井夷竈，陳於軍中，而疏行首，晉楚唯天所授，何患焉？文子執戈逐之，曰：國之存亡，天也，童子何知焉？樂書曰：楚師輕窺，固壘而待之，三日必退，退而擊之，必獲勝焉。卻至曰：楚有六間，不可失也，其二卿相惡，王卒以舊，鄭陳而不整，蠻軍而不陳，陳不違晦，在陳而囂，合而加囂，各顧其後，莫有鬪心，舊必不良，以犯天忌，我必克之。楚子登巢車以望晉軍，子重使大宰伯州犂侍于王後，王曰：騁而左右，何也？曰：召軍吏也，皆聚於中軍矣。曰：合謀也。張幕矣。曰：度卜於先君也。徹幕矣。曰：將發命也。甚囂，且塵土矣。曰：將塞井夷竈而爲行也。皆乘矣。左右執兵而下矣。曰：聽誓也。戰乎？曰：未可知也。乘而左右皆下矣。曰：戰禱也。伯州犂以公卒告王，苗賁皇在晉侯之側，亦以王卒告，皆曰：國土在，且厚，不可當也。苗賁皇言於晉侯曰：楚之良，在其中軍，王族而已，請分良以擊其左右，而三軍萃於王卒，必大敗之。公筮之，史曰：吉，其卦遇復，曰：南國蹇蹇，射其元，王中厥目，國蹇王傷，不敗何待？公從之，有淖於前，乃皆左

楚殺其大夫公子側。

秋公會晉侯、齊侯、衛侯、宋華元、邾人、于沙隨，不見公。

公至自會。

公會尹子、晉侯、齊國佐、邾人伐鄭。

曹伯歸自京師。

九月，晉人執季孫行父，舍之于茗丘。

冬十月乙亥，叔孫僑如出奔齊。

十有二月乙丑，季孫行父及晉卻犢盟于扈。

公至自會。

乙酉，刺公子偃。

左傳曰：十六年春，楚子自武城，使公子成以汝陰之田，求成于鄭，鄭叛晉，子駟從楚子盟于武城。夏四月，滕文公卒。鄭子罕伐宋，宋將鉏、樂懼敗諸洧，退舍於夫渠，不做，鄭人覆之，敗諸洧陵，獲將鉏，樂懼、宋恃勝也。衛侯伐鄭，至于鳴鴈，爲晉故也。晉侯將伐鄭，范文子曰：若逞吾願，諸侯皆叛，晉可以逞，若唯鄭叛，晉國之憂，可立俟也。樂武子曰：不可以當吾世而失諸侯，必伐鄭。乃與師，樂書將中軍，士燮佐之，卻鞫將上軍，荀偃佐之，韓厥將下軍，卻至佐新軍，荀偃居守，卻犢如衛，遂如齊，皆乞師焉。樂驥來乞師，孟獻子曰：有勝矣。戊寅，晉師起，鄭人聞有晉師，使告於楚，姚句耳與往，楚子救鄭，司馬將中軍，令尹將左右，尹子辛將右，過申，子反入見，申叔時

周書曰：惟命不予，常有德之謂。

楚師還，及瑕王使謂子反曰：先大夫之覆師，徒者君不在，子無以爲過，不穀之罪也。子反再拜稽首曰：君賜臣死，死且不朽，臣之卒實奔臣之罪也。子重使謂子反曰：初，隕師徒者而亦聞之矣，盍圖之。對曰：雖微先大夫有之，大夫命側，側敢不義，側亡君師，敢忘其死。王使止之，弗及而卒。

戰之日，齊國佐高無咎至於師，衛侯出於衛，公出於壞隤，宣伯通於穆姜，欲去季孟而取其室，將行，穆姜送公而使逐二子，公以晉難告曰：請反而聽命。姜怒，公子偃、公子鉏趨過，指之曰：汝不可，是皆君也。公待於壞隤，申宮備備設守而後行。是以後，使孟獻子守於公宮，秋會于沙隨，謀伐鄭也。宣伯使告卻曄曰：魯侯待於壞隤，以待勝者，卻曄將新軍，且爲公族大夫，以主東諸侯，取貨於宣伯而訴公於晉侯，晉侯不見公。

○曹人請於晉曰：自我先君宣公卽世，國人曰：若之何？憂猶未弭，而又討我寡君，以亡曹國，社稷之鎮，公子是大泯曹也。先君無乃有罪乎？若有罪，則君列諸會矣。君唯不遺德刑，以伯諸侯，豈獨遺諸敝邑，敢私布之。

七月，公會尹武公及諸侯伐鄭，將行，姜又命公如初，公又申守而行。諸侯之師次於鄭西，我師次於督揚，不敢過鄭。子叔聲伯使叔孫豹請逆於晉師，爲食於鄭郊，師逆以至，聲伯四日不食以待之，食使者而後食。諸侯遷於制田，知武子佐下軍，以諸侯之師侵陳，至於鳴鹿，遂侵蔡，未反，諸侯遷於潁上。戊午，鄭子罕宵軍之，宋齊衛皆失軍。

曹人復請於晉，晉侯謂子臧反，吾歸而君，子臧反，曹伯歸，子臧盡致其邑與卿而不出。

宣伯使告卻曄曰：魯之有季孟，猶晉之有欒范也。政令於是乎成，今其謀曰：晉政多門，不可從也，寧事齊，楚有亡而已，蔑從晉矣。若欲得志於魯，請止行父而殺之，我斃蔑也，而事晉，蔑有貳矣。魯不貳，小國必睦，不然，歸必叛矣。九月，晉人執季文子于荅丘，公還待於鄆，使子叔聲伯請季孫於晉，卻曄曰：苟去仲孫蔑，而止季孫行父，

右相違於淖，步毅御晉厲公，欒鍼爲右，彭名御楚共王，潘黨爲右，石首御鄭成公，唐苟爲右，欒范以其族夾公行，陷於淖，欒書將載晉侯，鍼曰：書退，國有大任，焉得專之，且侵官，冒也，失官，慢也，離局，姦也，有三罪焉，不可犯也。乃掀公以出於淖。癸巳，潘尫之黨與養由基躡甲而射之，徹七札焉。以示王曰：君有二臣如此，何憂於戰？王怒曰：大辱國，詰朝爾射死藝。呂錡夢射月中，退入於泥，占之曰：姬姓，日也，異姓，月也，必楚王也。射而中之，退入於泥，亦必死矣。及戰，射共王，中目，王召養由基與之兩矢，使射呂錡，中項伏弢，以一矢復命。卻至三遇楚子之卒，見楚子必下，免胄而趨風，楚子使工尹襄問之以弓曰：方事之殷也，有韎韐之跗注，君子也，識見不穀而趨，無乃傷乎？卻至見客，免胄承命曰：君之外臣至，從寡君之戎事，以君之靈，閒蒙甲冑，不敢拜命，敢告不寧。君命之辱，爲事之故，敢肅使者。三肅使者而退。晉韓厥從鄭伯，其御杜溷羅曰：速從之，其御屢顧，不在馬，可及也。韓厥曰：不可以再辱國君，乃止。卻至從鄭伯，其右聃翰胡曰：諜略之余從之，乘而俘以下。卻至曰：傷國君有刑，亦止。石首曰：衛懿公唯不其旗，是以敗于熒，乃內旌於弢中，唐苟謂石首曰：子在君側，敗者壹大，我不如子，子以君免，我請止。乃死。楚師薄於險，叔山冉謂養由基曰：雖君有命，爲國故，子必射。乃射，再發，盡殪。叔山冉搏人以投，中車折軾，晉師乃止。囚楚公子伐，欒鍼見子重之旌，請曰：楚人謂夫旌，子重之麾也，彼其子重也。日臣之使於楚也，子重問晉國之勇，臣對曰：好以衆整，曰：又何如？臣對曰：好以暇。今兩國治戎，行人不使，不可謂整。臨事而食言，不可謂暇，請攝飲焉。公許之，使行人執榼承飲，造於子重曰：寡君之使，使鍼御持矛，是以不得犒從者，使某攝飲。子重曰：夫子嘗與吾言於楚，必是故也，不亦識乎？受而飲之，免使者而復鼓，且而戰，見星未已，子反命軍吏察夷傷，補卒乘，繕甲兵，展車馬，雞鳴而食，唯命是聽。晉人患之，苗賁皇徇曰：蒐乘補卒，秣馬利兵，修陳固列，辱食申禱，明日復戰。乃逸楚囚。王聞之，召子反謀，穀陽暨獻飲於子反，子反醉而不能見。王曰：天敗楚也夫，余不可以待。乃宵遁，晉入楚軍，三日穀。范文子立於戎馬之前，曰：君幼，諸臣不佞，何以及此？君其戒之。

吾與子國親於公室。對曰：僑如之情，子必聞之矣。若夫茂與行父，是大棄魯國而罪寡君也。若猶不棄，而惠微周公之福，使寡君得事晉君，則夫二人者，魯國社稷之臣也。若朝亡之，魯必夕亡。以魯之密邇仇讐，亡而爲讐，治之何及？卻犇曰：吾爲子請邑。對曰：嬰齊，魯之常隸也，敢介大國以求厚焉。承寡君之命，以請若得所請，吾子之賜多矣。又何求？范文子謂欒武子曰：季孫於魯，相二君矣。妾不衣帛，馬不食粟，可不謂忠乎？信讒慝而棄忠良，若諸侯何？子叔嬰齊奉君命無私，謀國家不貳，圖其身不忘其君，若虛其請，是棄善人也。子其圖之。乃許魯平，赦季孫。冬十月，出叔孫僑如而盟之。僑如奔齊。十二月，季孫及卻犇盟于扈，歸刺公子偃。召叔孫豹於齊而立之。

齊聲孟子通僑如，使立於高國之間。僑如曰：不可以再罪。奔衛，亦間於卿。

晉侯使卻至獻楚捷於周，與單襄公語，驥稱其伐。單子語諸大夫曰：溫季其亡乎？位於七人之下，而求掩其上，怨之所聚，亂之本也。多怨而階亂，何以在位？夏書曰：怨豈在明，不見是圖。將慎其細也，今而明之，其可乎？

- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, it rained, and the trees became encrusted with ice.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-we, the viscount of T'ang died.
- 3 Duke [Muh's] son, He, of Ch'ing led a force, and made an inroad into Sung.
- 4 In the sixth month, on Ping-yin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 5 The marquis of Tsin sent Lwan Yin to Loo, to ask the assistance of an army.
- 6 On K'eah-woo, the last day of the moon, the marquis of Tsin fought with the viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing at Yen-ling, when the viscount of Ts'oo and the army of Ch'ing received a great defeat.
- 7 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Tsih.
- 8 In autumn, the duke [went to have] a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the marquis of Wei, Hwa Yuen of Sung, and an officer of Choo, in Sha-suy; [but the marquis of Tsin] would not see him.

- 9 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 10 The duke went to join the viscount of Yin, the marquis of Tsin, Kwoh Tso of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 11 The earl of Ts'aou returned from the capital.
- 12 In the ninth month, the people of Tsin seized Ke-sun H'ang-foo, and lodged him in T'eaou-k'ew.
- 13 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo fled to Ts'e.
- 14 In the twelfth month, on Yih-ch'ow, Ke-sun H'ang-foo and K'eh Ch'ow of Tsin made a covenant in Hoo.
- 15 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 16 On Yih-y'ew we put to death the duke's half-brother, Yen.

Par. 1. The critics bring all their powers of interpretation into the field to find the moral and political significance of this phenomenon in the State of Loo and of the kingdom generally;—very needlessly. We have simply the record of a striking fact;—it had rained heavily, and immediately after came a severe frost, so that the ice lay on and hung from the trees. Kung and Kuh both explain the text by saying, 雨而木冰, 'There was rain, and the trees became all over ice.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'In spring, the viscount of Ts'oo sent the Kung-tsze Ch'ing from Woo-shing to seek for peace with Ch'ing by the offer of the lands of Joo-yin. [On this], Ch'ing revolted from Tsin, and Tsze-sze went to the viscount, and made a covenant in Woo-shing.']

Par. 2. Tso tells us this was duke Wan (文公). He had held T'ang 10 years, and was succeeded by his son Yuen (原),—duke Ch'ing (成公).

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-han of Ch'ing invaded Sung, and was defeated at Choh-pe by Ts'ang Ts'oo and Yoh Keu. [The conquerors then] retired and halted at Foo-keu, where they were not on their guard. The men of Ch'ing [consequently] overthrew and defeated them at Choh-ling, taking both the leaders;—as Sung had been relying on its previous victory.'

The above attack by Ch'ing on Sung was probably at the instigation of Ts'oo. The return for it was not long in coming, for the Chuen adds:—'The marquis of Wei invaded Ch'ing, and advanced as far as Ming-yen;—in behalf of Tsin.'

Par. 4. This eclipse, visible at noon, took place on the 1st May, B. C. 574.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin was going to invade Ch'ing. Fan Wan-tsze said, "To satisfy my desires, all the States would revolt from Tsin, and then Tsin might be satisfied [Wan-tsze saw great evils in Tsin itself, which he thought could only be kept in check by apprehensions from without, and their removal was necessary in his view to the prosperity of the State]. If only Ch'ing revolt from it,

the sorrow of Tsin will not have to be waited for long." Lwan Woo-tsze said, "We must not in my time lose the States. We must invade Ch'ing." On this the armies were called out. Lwan Shoo commanded that of the centre, with Sze S'eh as assistant; K'eh E the 1st army, with Seun Yen as assistant; Han Keueh, the 3d; K'eh Che acted as assistant-commander of the new army, Seun Ying remaining and keeping guard in Tsin. K'eh Ch'ow went to Wei, and then on to Ts'e, to ask the assistance of their armies. Lwan Yin came to Loo to ask the aid of an army from it. Mang H'een-tsze said, "He will be victorious."

Par. 6. Yen-ling was in Ch'ing. The name remains in the dis. so called, in the dep. of K'ae-fung. There had been a State of Yen, which was extinguished and incorporated with Ch'ing by duke Woo.

The Chuen says:—'On Mow-yin, the armies of Tsin commenced their march; and Ch'ing, hearing of their approach, sent word to Ts'oo, Yaou Kow-urh going with the messenger. The viscount of Ts'oo marched to the relief of Ch'ing. The minister of War [Tsze-fan] commanded the army of the centre; the chief minister [Tsze-ch'ung] commanded on the left, and Tsze-sin, minister of the Right, on the right. As they passed by Shin, Tsze-fan entered the city, to see Shin Shuh-she [see on XV. 7], and asked him what he thought of the expedition. The other replied, "Virtuous goodness, punishments, religion, righteousness, propriety, and good faith, all are the appliances of war. Virtuous goodness appears in the exercise of kindness; punishment in the correction of what is wrong; religion in the service of the Spirits; righteousness in the establishment of what is beneficial; propriety in doing things at the proper times; and good faith in the watchful keeping of everything. [When these things obtain], the people live well off, and their virtue is correct; all movements are with advantage, and affairs are rightly ordered; the seasons are all accorded with, and everything is prosperous; harmony prevails between superiors and inferiors; all movements are made without insubordinate opposition; whatever the superiors require is responded to; everyone knows his duty. Hence it is said in the ode (She, IV. i. [i.] X.).

'Thou didst establish [and nourish] the multitudes of our people,—  
The immense gift of thy goodness.'

In consequence of this, [in that ancient time], the Spirits sent down their blessing, and the seasons all passed without calamity or injury. The wants of the people were abundantly supplied, and with consenting harmony they received the orders of their superiors. They all did their utmost to obey those orders, and would devote themselves to death to supply the places of any that were lacking. This was the way to secure victory in battle. But now [the government of] Ts'oo abandons the people in the State itself, and it breaks off its friendships with other States; it irreligiously violates its covenants, and eats its words; it moves in the season when it ought not to do so, and wearies its people to gratify [its ambition]. The people have lost their confidence in its good faith; let them advance or retire, they will be held guilty. When men are thus anxious about what will come to them, who will be prepared to go to the death? Do you, Sir, do your utmost, but I shall not see you again." Yaou Kow-urh returned [to Ch'ing] before the messenger, and Tsze-sze asked him [about the army of Ts'oo]. He replied, "Its march is rapid, and it passes through dangerous passes without order. The rapidity of its march leads to the want of proper thought, and its neglect of order disorganizes its ranks. Without thought and with its ranks disordered, how can it fight? I am afraid that Ts'oo will be of no use to us."

"In the 5th month, the army of Tsin crossed the Ho, and heard of the approach of that of Ts'oo. Fan Wän-tsze wished that they should return, and said, "If we make as if we were avoiding Ts'oo, it may lighten [our own] sorrow. We cannot unite the States in allegiance to Tsin. Let us leave that to some one who can unite and hold them all. If we, the ministers of Tsin, can harmoniously serve our ruler, we may be well content." Woo-tsze refused to take this counsel; and in the 6th month, Tsin and Ts'oo met at Yen-ling. [Then] Fan Wän-tsze did not want to fight, but K'eh Che said to him, "At the battle of Han [See V. xv. 13], duke Hwuy could not marshal his troops; at the battle of Ke [See V. xxxiii. 8], S'een Chin [died, and] could not return with an account of his commission; at the battle of Peih [See VII. xii. 3], Seun Pih could not return by the way he had advanced. These battles were all to the disgrace of Tsin;—you, Sir, are yourself acquainted with the history of our former rulers. If we now avoid Ts'oo, it will be an additional disgrace." Wän-tsze replied, "There was reason for the frequent battles of our former rulers. [In their times], Tsin, the Teih, Ts'e, and Ts'oo were all powerful enemies; and if they had not exerted their strength, their descendants would have been reduced to weakness. But now three of those strong ones have submitted, and we have only to cope with Ts'oo. It is only a sage ruler who can safely be without trouble either from abroad or within his State. Excepting under a sage ruler, when there is quietness abroad, sorrow is sure to spring up at home; why should we not leave Ts'oo to be an occasion of apprehension to us from abroad?"

"On K'eah-woo, the last day of the month, the army of Ts'oo came close up to that of Tsin,

and drew up in order of battle. The officers of Tsin were perplexed by this movement, when Fan K'ae [A lad, son of Wän-tsze] ran forward, and said, "Stop up the wells, and level the cooking places, marshal the army within the encampment, and make room for the heads of the columns to issue. Between Tsin and Ts'oo victory must be the gift of Heaven;—what necessity is there for being perplexed?" Wän-tsze took a lance and chased [his son], saying, "The preservation or ruin of the State depends on Heaven; what does a boy like you know?" Lwan Shoo said, "The army of Ts'oo is full of levity. Let us keep firm within our entrenchments, and in 3 days it will be sure to withdraw. If we then attack it, we shall get the victory." K'eh Che said, "Ts'oo affords us six advantages, which should not be lost:—the two ministers [commanding it] hate each other; the king's soldiers are old; the army of Ch'ing is marshalled, but not in good order; the wild tribes of the south are there, but their forces are not marshalled; the army of Ts'oo has been marshalled without regard to its being the last day of the month; there was a clamour during the marshalling, and there is still more now that it is effected, each man looking behind him, without any heart for fighting. The old soldiers cannot be good; and with them to violate the day which Heaven requires men to stand in awe on,—we shall surely conquer."

"The viscount of Ts'oo got up on a carriage with a look-out on it to survey the army of Tsin; and Tsze-ch'ung sent the grand-administrator, Pih Chow-le [See the Chuen after p. 9 of last year] to wait behind him. The king said, "There are men running to the left and to the right. What does that mean?" "They are calling the officers," replied Chow-le. "They are all collected in the army of the centre." "They are met to take counsel." "They are pitching a tent." "It is reverently to divine before the Spirit-tablets of Tsin's former rulers," "They are removing the tent." "The commands of the marquis are about to be given forth." "There is a great clamour, and there are clouds of dust." "They are shutting up the wells and levelling the cooking places in order to form their ranks." "They had mounted their carriages, and now the men on the left and right descend, with their weapons in their hands." "It is to hear the speech of the general." "Will they fight?" "I cannot yet tell." "They had [again] mounted their carriages, and [again] those on the left and right descend." "It is to pray in reference to the battle." Chow-le [also] told the king about the marquis's own men.

"[At the same time], Méau Fun-hwang [A fugitive from Ts'oo, a son of Tow Ts'au; see the Chuen after VII. iv. 6], was by the side of the marquis of Tsin, and told him about the king's own men. On both sides [the armies] said, "There is an officer of our State [with the enemy], and their number is great, not to be resisted." Méau Fun-hwang said to the marquis, "The best soldiers of Ts'oo are in the army of the centre, which is made up of clans descended from the kings of Ts'oo. Divide your best soldiers and attack the left and right armies of Ts'oo, and then bring all your three armies together against the king's men; in this way you will inflict on Ts'oo a great defeat." The mar-

quis consulted the milfoil about it when the diviner said, "The result is fortunate. The diagram found is *fuh* (䷗), which indicates that the southern State is reduced to extremity; its great king is shot, and hit in his eye. If this,—the State reduced to extremity and its king wounded—does not intimate defeat, what would you wait for?"

"The marquis accordingly [determined to fight]. In front of his entrenchments there was a slough, and to avoid it the chariots separated, some going to the left, and some to the right. E of Poo (K'eh E) was charioteer to the marquis, and Lwan K'een was spearman on the right. P'ang Ming drove king Kung of Ts'oo, with P'wan Tang on the right. Shih Show drove duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing, with T'ang Kow on the right. Lwan [Woo-tsze] and Fan [Wän-tsze], with their clansmen, advanced on either side of the marquis, whose carriage sank in the slough. Lwan Shoo came to take him into his, but K'een said, "Retire, Shoo. You have the great charge from the State, and how can you take it on you [to abandon it for another]? Moreover, to encroach on the office of another is presumption; to abandon your own office is an act of disrespect; to leave your own game is treachery. Here are three offences, which you must not incur." [With these words] he dragged [the carriage of] the marquis out of the slough.

"On Kwei-sze, Tang, [the son] of P'wan Wang and Yang Y'ew-ke had set buff-coats and shot at them, their arrows going through seven at once. [The spectators] took [the proof of their skill and strength] to show it to the king, saying, "Since you have two officers like these, you need not be anxious about the battle." The king, however, was angry, and said [to the archers], "You are a great disgrace to the State. To-morrow morning, your archery will be found the art that will cause your death."

"E of Leu [Wei E] dreamt that he discharged an arrow at the moon, and hit it, but that, on retiring, he got into the mire. An interpreter told him, "[Princes of] the surname Ke are represented by the sun; those of other surnames, by the moon. Your dream must respect the king of Ts'oo,—you shall shoot and hit him; but the getting into the mire, as you retired, shows that you will also die." In the battle, accordingly, E shot king Kung in the eye. The king called for Yang Y'ew-ke, and gave him two arrows, that he might shoot Leu E. [The first] hit him in the neck, so that he fell dead on his quiver, and Y'ew-ke returned the other arrow, and reported the execution of his commission.

"K'eh Che three times met the viscount's soldiers; and whenever he saw the viscount, he dismounted from his chariot, took off his helmet, and ran like the wind. The viscount sent S'ang, minister of Works, to salute him, and present him with a bow, saying, "In a time of so much business and excitement as the present, that man with the gaiters of red leather shows himself a superior man. [Say that] I am afraid lest, running as he does when he recognizes me, he should hurt himself." When K'eh Che saw the stranger, he took off his helmet, received his message, and then said, "I, Che, the minister of another State, following my ruler to the wars, by the powerful influence of your ruler find myself among the buffcoats and helmets. I do

not dare to kneel in acknowledgment of your message, but I venture to say how the condescension of it from your ruler makes me feel not at ease. In consequence of present circumstances, I will venture with my hands to the ground to salute his messenger." And thus he saluted the messenger three times, and then withdrew.

"Han K'ueh of Tsin was pursuing the earl of Ch'ing, when his charioteer, Too Hwän-lo, said to him, "Let us make haste after him. His driver often looks round, and has not his mind upon his horses. He can be overtaken." Han K'ueh, however, said, "I ought not a second time to disgrace the ruler of a State [See the account of the battle of Gan in the 2d year];" and desisted from the pursuit.

"K'eh Che [then] pursued the earl, and the spearman on his right, Fuh Han-hoo, said to him, "Let some runners get before and intercept him, and I will get into his chariot from behind, capture him, and descend." K'eh Che said, "He who injures the ruler of a State gets punished;" and also gave up the pursuit. Shih Show [The earl's charioteer; see above] then said, "It was only because duke E of Wei would not take down his flag, that he was defeated at Yung [See on IV. ii. 7. The present passage shows that we should there read 去其旗]" and he put the earl's flag into the quiver. T'an Kow [the spearman] said to Shih Show, "You are by our ruler's side. Our defeat is great. I am not so important as you. Do you make your escape with the earl, and let me remain here." And there he died.

"The army of Ts'oo drew near to a dangerous pass, and Shuh-shan Jen said to Yang Y'ew-ke, "Notwithstanding the king's command, it being for the State, you must shoot." Y'ew-ke shot two arrows, each of which killed its man. Shuh-shan Jen seized a man, and hurled him against the cross bar in front of his chariot which was broken by the force; and the army of Tsin, [seeing such archery and such strength], stopped its pursuit, having made a prisoner of Fei, a son of the viscount of Ts'oo.

"Lwan K'een, seeing the flag of Tsze-ch'ung, made a request to the marquis, saying, "The people of Ts'oo say that flag is the signal flag of Tsze-ch'ung. That then is Tsze-ch'ung. Formerly, when I was sent on a mission to Ts'oo, he asked me in what the valour of Tsin was seen. I told him it was seen in our love of orderly arrangement, and when he asked in what besides, I said, in our love of being leisurely. Now his State and ours have engaged in battle, without any messenger having gone from us;—that is not what can be called orderly arrangement. And if in the time of action I eat my words, that cannot be called acting leisurely. Allow me to send a drink to him." The marquis granted the request, and K'een then sent a messenger with a vessel of spirits to Tsze-ch'ung, and to say for him self, "My ruler, through want of other officers, has employed me to be in attendance on him with my spear, so that I cannot in person dispense bounty to your followers, and have sent So-and-So with a drink to you in my room." Tsze-ch'ung said, "This must be in consequence of what he said to me in Ts'oo;—do I not remember his words?" He then received the vessel and drank, let the



messenger go, and resumed the beating of his drum.

"It was morning when the fighting began, and when the stars appeared, it was not over. Tsze-fan ordered the officers of the army to examine the wounded, to supply from the reserves the place of those who had fallen, to repair the buff-coats and weapons, to inspect the chariots and horses, and that all should take a meal at cock-crow, so as to be ready for orders. On the side of Tsin they were troubled about these arrangements, and Mēaou Fun-hwang went round the host, saying, "Review the reserves, and supply the place of the fallen; feed your horses and sharpen your weapons; maintain the same array, and strengthen your ranks; take a meal in your tents, and repeat your prayers;—to-morrow we will resume the engagement." At the same time they let go some of their prisoners.

"When the king heard this, he called Tsze-fan to him to consult, but Tsze-fan's servant, Kuh-yang, had supplied him with spirits till he was now drunk, and not able to see. The king said, "Heaven is defeating Ts'oo. We must not remain here." He withdrew accordingly during the night, and Tsin entered the camp of Ts'oo, and found grain in it sufficient for three days. Fan Wān-tsze stood before the marquis's horses, and said, "With your lordship so young, and your officers so wanting in ability, however did we attain to this? Let your lordship beware [of being lifted up]. It is said in one of the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix, 23) that 'the appointments of Heaven are not constant,' indicating that it is virtue [which secures them]."

Par. 7. See on V. xxviii. 6. The remarks made there on Tih-shin's death are applicable here to that of Tsze-fan. He is called the Kung-tsze, being a son of duke Muh. The Chuen says:—"The army of Ts'oo returned, and when it had got as far as Hēa, the king sent a messenger to Tsze-fan saying, "When a former great officer of our State [Tih-shin] caused the overthrow of his army, the ruler was not present. Do not consider [the present disaster] as your fault;—the guilt of it belongs to me." Tsze-fan bowed twice, with his head to the ground, and said, "The king grants me death, and I will die without shrinking from it. My soldiers did really flee, and I feel that the guilt is mine." [At the same time], Tsze-ch'ung sent a message to Tsze-fan, saying, "You have heard the case of him who formerly lost his army; why should you not consider and act accordingly?" He replied, "Though there had not been such a case, dare I do anything but approve of your command [thus conveyed]? Having lost our ruler's army, dare I forget to die?" The king sent to stop him from his purpose, but, before the messenger arrived, he had died [by his own hand]."

Par. 8. Sha-suy was in Sung,—6 *le* to the west of the pres. dis. city of Ning-ling (寧陵), dep. Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. If we translate 會 by 'had a meeting,' as in other cases, then the beginning and ending of the par. would not agree. The duke was disgraced, say the critics, by the marquis of Tsin; and if there had been reason for the disgrace, then Confucius would have concealed it, as his duty to his native State required him to do. But as in this case Loo

was in the right and Tsin in the wrong, the text does not shrink from intimating the disgrace! It must be confessed that the disgrace is intimated in a very indefinite manner.

The Chuen says:—"On the day of the battle, Kwoh Tso and Kaou Woo-k'ew of Ts'e reached the army [of Tsin]; the marquis of Wei commenced his march [to join it] from his capital; and the duke proceeded from Hwae-t'uy. Seu-en-pih [Shuh-sun K'ēaou-joo] had an intrigue with Muh Kēang [the duke's mother], and wanted to make away with Ke and Māng [Ke-sun Hāng-foo or Ke Wān-tsze, and Māng Hēen-tsze or Chung-sun Mēeh] and appropriate their property. When the duke was commencing his march, Muh Kēang escorted him, and urged him to drive out those two ministers; but he represented to her his difficulties with Tsin, and begged [that the matter might be in abeyance] till his return, when he would hear her commands. She was angry; and the duke's two half brothers Yen and Ts'oo [just then] hurrying past, she pointed to them, and said, "If you refuse, either of these may be our ruler." The duke waited at Hwae-t'uy, renewing his orders for a careful watch to be maintained in the palace, and appointed officers to guard [the city]. After this he marched, but the delay made him too late [for the battle]. He had appointed Māng Hēen-tsze to keep guard in the palace.

"The meeting in autumn at Sha-suy was to take measures for the invasion of Ch'ing. Seu-en-pih sent information to Kēoh Ch'ow that the duke had waited in Hwae-t'uy, till he should see which side conquered. [Now] Kēoh Ch'ow commanded the new army, and was president of [his branch of] the ducal relatives, with the management of the States of the east. He took bribes from Seu-en-pih, and accused the duke to the marquis of Tsin, who consequently refused to see him."

Par. 9. [The Chuen appends here:—"The people of Ts'aou made a petition to Tsin, saying, "Since our last ruler, duke Seu-en, left the world, our people have been saying, 'How is it that our sorrows do not ever come to an end?' And now you have further punished our present ruler, so as to send into exile his brother [See on XV. pp. 3, 4], the guardian of the altars of Ts'aou [See on p. of last year]? Thus you are greatly destroying Ts'aou. Is it not because our former ruler was chargeable with offences? If [our present one] be guilty, yet he had taken his place in an assembly [of the States]. Your lordship is chief and leader of the States, because the punishments you have inflicted have not been contrary to virtue;—how is it that your dealings with our poor State should be the single exception to this? We venture thus privately to set forth our case.""]

Par. 10. The viscount of Yin was a noble and minister of the royal court, his city of Yin being, probably, in the pres. dis. of E-yang (宜陽), dep. of Ho-nan. That Tsin should call out a minister of Chow to accompany it in the invasion of another State shows how low the royal authority was now reduced.

The Chuen says:—"In the 7th month, the duke joined duke Woo of Yin and the States in an invasion of Ch'ing. When he was about to set out, Muh Kēang laid her commands on him in the same way as before, while he also repeat-

ed his arrangements for keeping guard, and went his way. The armies of the other States halted on the west of Ch'ing, and our army halted at Tuh-yang, not daring to pass through that State. Tsze-shuh Shing-pih [The Kung-sun Ying-ts'e] sent Shuh-sun Paou [brother of K'ēaou-joo] to ask a party from the army of Tsin to come and meet us, saying he would remain without eating, in the borders of Ch'ing, till it arrived. When the party did come to meet us, Shing-pih had been waiting for it 4 days without eating anything; and then he gave food to Paou's messenger [also], before he ate himself. The States then removed [with their forces] to Ch'e-t'ēn. Che Woo-tsze (Seun Ying) was acting as the assistant-commander of the 3d army; and with it and some forces of the States, he made an incursion into Ch'in, as far as Ming-luh. Thence he went on into Ts'ae; and before he returned, the States had removed to Ying-shang. There, on Mow-woo, Tsze-lan of Ch'ing attacked them in the night, and the leaders of the armies of Sung, Ts'e, and Wei all got separated from them."

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'aou again begged Tsin [to return to them their earl]. The marquis said, "If Tsze-tsang return, I will send back your ruler." Tsze-tsang did return [from Sung] [See on p. 4 of last year], and then the earl returned to Ts'aou. Tsze-tsang surrendered [to his brother] his city and his office of minister, and did not leave [his house to engage in the public service]."

Par. 12. We must understand that Ke-sun Hāng-foo was in attendance on the duke in the invasion of Ch'ing. T'ēaou-k'ew was a city of Tsin, but its situation is not known. Kung-yang has 招丘.

The Chuen says:—"Seu-en-pih [K'ēaou-joo] sent word to Kēoh Ch'ow, saying, "Ke and Māng are in Loo what Lwan and Fan are in Tsin;—by them is all the action of the govt. determined. Now they have consulted together, and say, "The govt. of Tsin issues from many gates; Tsin is not to be followed. We had better serve Ts'e or Ts'oo. [In any wise] we can only perish; we will not follow Tsin." If you wish to get your will in Loo, let me ask you to detain Hāng-foo, and put him to death. I will [here] cut off Mēeh, and serve Tsin with an unwavering fidelity. When Loo does not waver in its adherence to Tsin, the smaller States are sure to agree in their service. If you do not do as I request, when he returns, he is sure to revolt from you." In the 9th month, the people of Tsin seized and held Ke Wān-tsze in T'ēaou-k'ew."

"The duke, returning [from the expedition], waited in Yun, while he sent Tsze-shuh Shing-pih to ask Tsin to liberate Ke-sun. Kēoh Ch'ow said to him, "If you will take off Chung-sun Mēeh, and we detain [here] Ke-sun Hāng-foo, I will be more friendly with your State than with our own ducal House." Shing-pih replied, "You must have heard all about K'ēaou-joo. If you take away Mēeh and Hāng-foo, it will be a great casting away of Loo, and will involve my ruler in guilt [towards you]. But if you will not cast Loo away, but bestow on it your favour as a blessing of the duke of Chow, so that my ruler can [continue to] serve yours, then these two men are the ministers on

whom Loo's altars depend. Destroy them in the morning, and in the evening Loo is lost to you, for it lies near to the States that are hostile to you. If it be once lost to you and become hostile, how can you remedy such an issue?" Kēoh Ch'ow urged, "I will ask a city for you." The other replied, "I am but an ordinary underling of Loo; dare I seek to become great through your great State? I have received my ruler's order to present to you this request. If I obtain it, your gift will be great; what more should I seek for?"

"Fan Wān-tsze said to Lwan Woo-tsze, "Ke-sun has been minister to two marquises of Loo, yet his concubines have never worn silk, and his horses have not fed on grain. If we believe the slanderous and bad, and cast away the loyal and good, how shall we appear to the States? Tsze-shuh Ying-ts'e has discharged his ruler's commission without any selfishness. He consulted for his State, without swerving from his purpose; consideration for himself did not make him forget his ruler. If we deny his request, we shall be abandoning a good man. You ought to take measures accordingly." [On this], they agreed to peace with Loo, and liberated Ke-sun."

Par. 13. On the liberation of Ke Wān-tsze, the scale turned against K'ēaou-joo. The Chuen says:—"In winter, in the 10th month, [the people drove] away Shuh-sun K'ēaou-joo, and [the great officers] entered into a covenant regarding him. He fled to Ts'e."

Par. 14. The Chuen says:—"In the 12th month, Ke-sun and Kēoh made a covenant in Hoo. [Ke-sun] then returned to Loo, and put to death the duke's half brother Yen [see on p. 8]. [Loo subsequently] called Shuh-sun Paou from Ts'e, and made him the representative [of the Shuh-sun family];—see in the 2d year of next Book." Hoo.—see III. xliii. 10.

Par. 15. [The Chuen gives here two narratives:—1st, "Shing Māng-tsze [the mother of the marquis of Ts'e, a daughter of the House of Sung; the eldest daughter by a concubine] began an intrigue with K'ēaou-joo, and gave him a position between that of Kaou and Kwoh. He said, however, "I must not be charged with such an offence a second time," and fled to Wei, where also his position was between that of its ministers." 2d, "The marquis of Tsin sent Kēoh Che to Chow to present the spoils of Ts'oo; and there, in talking with duke Sēang of Shen, he frequently boasted of his services. The viscount of Shen said to the great officers of the court, "Ke of Wān [Kēoh Che; see the Chuen at the end of the 11th year] will come to an evil end! His position is below that of seven others, and he seeks to hide the merit of those above him. When resentments gather round a man, there is the root of all disorder. How can he who excites many resentments and prepares the steps of disorder continue in a high position? One of the Books of Hēa (Shoo, III. iii. 5) says,

'Should resentment be waited for till it appears?  
It must be cared for before it is seen;'

showing how cautious we should be in small things, but now he publishes what must occasion resentment. Can that end well?"']

Par. 16. The execution of Yen is ascribed in the Chuen on p. 14 to Ke Wán-tsze, while here it would appear to be the action of the duke. The duke, no doubt, ordered it under the direction of the minister. The critics are puzzled to

account for the execution of Yen, while his brother Ts'oo was spared [See on p. 8], and they vex themselves also with the force of the 刺 [See on V. xxviii. 2].

Seventeenth year.

十有七年春，衛北宮括帥師侵鄭。  
夏，公會尹子單子，晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、邾人伐鄭。  
秋，公至自會。齊高無咎出奔莒。  
九月辛丑，用郊。晉侯使荀營來乞師。  
冬，公會單子、晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、齊人、邾人伐鄭。  
十有一月，公至自伐鄭。  
壬申，公孫嬰齊卒于狸脈。  
十有二月，丁巳，朔，日有食之。邾子貜且卒。  
晉殺其大夫卻錡、卻犇、卻至。楚人滅舒庸。

左傳曰：十七年春，王正月，鄭子駟侵晉，盧滑衛北宮括救晉，侵鄭，至於高氏。夏五月，鄭大子髡頑、侯孺爲質於楚。楚公子成、公子寅、戌鄭公。會尹武公、單襄公及諸侯伐鄭，自戲童至於曲洧。  
○晉范文子反自鄆陵，使其祝宗祈死曰：君驕侈而克敵，是天益其疾也，難將

作矣。愛我者唯祝我，使我速死，無及於難。范氏之福也。六月，戊辰，士燮卒。  
乙酉，同盟于柯陵，尋戚之盟也。  
齊慶克通於聲孟子，與婦人蒙衣乘輦，而入于閼。鮑牽見之，以告國武子。武子召慶克而謂之：慶克久不出，而告夫人曰：國子謫我。夫人怒。國子相靈公以會，高、鮑處守，及還，將至，閉門而索客。孟子訴之曰：高、鮑將不納君，而立公子角。國子知之。秋七月壬寅，別鮑牽而逐高無咎。無咎奔莒。高弱以盧叛，齊人來召鮑國而立之。初，鮑國去鮑氏而來，爲施孝叔臣。施氏卜宰匡句須吉。施氏之宰有百室之邑，與匡句須邑，使爲宰，以讓鮑國，而致邑焉。施孝叔曰：子實吉。對曰：能與忠良，吉孰大焉。鮑國相施氏忠，故齊人取以爲鮑氏後。仲尼曰：鮑莊子之知不如葵、葵猶能衛其足。  
冬，諸侯伐鄭。十月庚午，圍鄭。  
楚公子申救鄭，師于汝上。十一月，諸侯還。  
初，聲伯夢涉洹，或與己瓊瑰，食之，泣而爲瓊瑰，盈其懷。從而歌之曰：濟洹之水，贈我以瓊瑰。歸乎，瓊瑰盈吾懷乎。懼不敢占也。還自鄭，壬申，至於狸脈，而占之曰：余恐死，故不敢占也。今衆繁而從余三年矣，無傷也。言之之莫而卒。  
○齊侯使崔杼爲大夫，使慶克佐之。帥師圍盧。國佐從諸侯圍鄭，以難請而歸，遂如盧師，殺慶克，以穀叛。齊侯與之盟於徐關而復之。十二月，盧降，使國勝告難於晉，待命於清。  
晉厲公侈，多外嬖，反自鄆陵，欲盡去羣大夫，而立其左右胥童以胥克之廢也。怨卻氏，而嬖於厲公。卻錡、奪夷陽五田，五亦嬖於厲公。卻犇與長魚矯爭田，執而梏之，與其父母妻子同一轅。既矯亦嬖於厲公。變書怨卻至。

以其不從己而敗楚師也。欲廢之，使楚公子茂告公曰：「此戰也，卻至實召寡君，以東師之未至也，與軍帥之不具也。」曰：「此必敗，吾因奉孫周以事君。」公告欒書，書曰：「其有焉，不然，豈其死之未至也，受敵使乎？君盍嘗使諸周而察之。」卻至聘於周，欒書使孫周見之，公使覘之，信，遂怨卻至。厲公田，與婦人先殺而飲酒，後使大夫殺之。卻至奉豕，寺人孟張奪之，卻至射而殺之。公曰：「季子欺余，厲公將作難，胥童曰：『必先三卻，族大多怨，去大族，不偏，敵多怨，有庸。』」公曰：「然，卻氏聞之，卻錡欲攻公，曰：『雖死，君必危。』」卻至曰：「人所以立，信，知勇也，信不叛君，知不害民，勇不作亂，失茲三者，其誰與我？死而多怨，將安用之？君實有臣而殺之，其謂君何？我之有罪，吾死後矣，若殺不辜，將失其民，欲安得乎？待命而已。」受君之祿，是以聚黨，有黨而爭命，罪孰大焉？壬午，胥童、夷羊五、帥甲八百，將攻卻氏，長魚矯請無用衆，公使清沸魋助之，抽戈結衽，而偽訟者，三卻將謀於榭，矯以戈殺駒伯，苦成叔，於其位。溫季曰：「逃威也。」遂趨，矯及諸其車，以戈殺之，皆尸諸朝。胥童以甲劫欒書，中行偃於朝，矯爲軌，御姦以德，御軌以刑，不施而殺，不可謂德。臣偪而不討，不可謂刑，德刑不立，姦軌並至，臣請行，遂出奔狄。公使辭於二子，曰：「寡人有討於卻氏，卻氏既伏其辜矣，大夫無辱，其復職位，皆再拜稽首。」曰：「君討有罪，而免臣於死，君之惠也。」二臣雖死，敢忘君德，乃皆歸。公使胥童爲卿，公遊於匠麗氏，欒書中行偃，遂執公焉。召士曰：「士句辭，召韓厥，韓厥辭曰：『昔吾畜於趙氏，孟姬之讒，吾能違兵，占人有言曰：『殺老牛，莫之敢尸，而况君乎？』』」二三子不能事君，焉用厥也。舒庸人以楚師之敗也，道吳人圍巢，伐駕，圍釐廬，遂恃吳而不設備。楚公子橐師襲舒庸，滅之。

閏月，乙卯晦，欒書中行偃殺胥童，民不與卻氏，胥童道君爲亂，故皆書曰：「晉殺其大夫。」

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei led a force, and made an incursion into Ch'ing.  
2 In summer, the duke joined the viscount of Yin, the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the marquis of Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the

earl of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.

- 3 In the sixth month, on Yih-y'ew, they made a covenant together in Ko-ling.
- 4 In autumn, the duke arrived from his meeting [with the other princes].
- 5 Kaou Woo-k'ew of Ts'e fled to Keu.
- 6 In the ninth month, on Sin-ch'ow, we offered the border sacrifice.
- 7 The marquis of Tsin sent Seun Ying to Loo to ask the assistance of an army.
- 8 In winter, the duke joined the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, an officer of Ts'e, and an officer of Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 9 In the eleventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.
- 10 On Jin-shin, Kung-sun Ying-ts'e died in Le-shin.
- 11 In the twelfth month, on Ting-sze, the sun was eclipsed.
- 12 Keoh-tseu, viscount of Choo, died.
- 13 Tsin put to death its great officers, K'eh E, K'eh Ch'ow, and K'eh Che.
- 14 The people of Ts'oo extinguished Shoo-yung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This year, in spring, in the king's 1st month, Tsze-sze of Ch'ing made an incursion into [the districts of] Heu and Hwah in Tsin, when Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei, to relieve Tsin, made an incursion into Ch'ing, as far as Kaou-she.' For 括 Kung-

yang has 結. Pih-kung Kwoh is also known as Pih-kung E-tse (北宮懿子). Too says he was a great-grandson of duke Ch'ing of Wei. Many of the critics insist upon a canon here regarding the use of 侵, that it is used

instead of 伐 when the invasion was made by a State at the command of the larger one whose superiority it acknowledged. The canon is without foundation, and would only mystify the text.

Par. 2. See on par. 10 of last year. In VI. xiv. 11, *et al.*, we have 'the earl of Shen'; here 'the viscount.' The title had been reduced. The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 5th month, K'wan Wan, the eldest son of the earl of Ch'ing, and How Now, became hostages in Ts'oo, and the two Kung-tszes of Ts'oo, Ch'ing and Yin, came to guard the territory of Ch'ing. The duke joined duke Woo of Yin, duke S'ang of Shen, and [the forces of] other States, in invading Ch'ing, from He-t'ung to K'eh-wei.'

[The Chuen introduces here:—'When Fan Wan-tsze returned from Yen-ling, he made the priest of his ancestral temple pray that he might die, saying, "Our ruler is haughty and extravagant, and, by this victory over his enemies, Heaven is increasing his disease. Troubles will soon arise. Let him that loves me curse me, so that I may

soon die, and not see those troubles;—that will be my happiness.' In the 6th month, on Mow-shin, Sze S'eh [Wan-tsze] died.' Too says that he committed suicide (自裁); but I do not know on what authority.]

Par. 3. Too says that Ko-ling was in the west of Ch'ing. Nothing more is known of it. The object of the covenant, acc. to Tso-she, was to renew that of Ts'eih in the past year. The parties to the covenant were of course the princes and ministers mentioned in the former par. The omission of them here is unimportant, though many critics dwell on it, as intended to conceal the part taken in the covenant by the representatives of the king.

Par. 4. The duke returned so soon, the coalition having been foiled. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-ch'ung of Ts'oo relieved Ch'ing, and took post with his army at Show-che, on which [the armies of] the States returned.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'K'ing K'ih of Ts'e had an intrigue with Shing Mang-tsze [See the 1st Chuen after p. 14 of last year], and was carried through a street leading to the palace in a carriage along with a woman, himself disguised as a woman. Paou K'een [A great-grandson of Paou Shuh-ya of duke Hwan's time] saw him, and told Kwoh Woo-tsze [Kwoh Tso], who sent for K'ih, and spoke to him. K'ih [in consequence] for a long time kept in his house, but he informed the duchess that Kwoh-tsze had been reproving him, which enraged her. When duke Ling went to join [the other princes], Kwoh-tsze attended him, while Kaou and Paou remained in charge of the capital. When he was returning, before his arrival,

these officers kept the gates of the city shut, and made inquisition for strangers [who might attempt to enter]. On this Mäng-tse accused them, saying that they had meant not to admit the duke, but to appoint duke K'ing's son, K'eh, in his room, and that Kwoh-tse was privy to their design. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Jin-shin, [duke Ling] caused Paou K'een's feet to be cut off, and drove out Kaou Woo-k'ew, who fled to Keu. [His son], Kaou Joh held [their city of] Loo against the State; and the people of Ts'e called Paou Kwoh [K'een's brother] from Loo, and appointed him the Head of his family.

Before this, Paou Kwoh had left the Paou family in Ts'e, and come to Loo, where he became a servant to She H'eaou-shuh [See the Chuen on XI.2]. She was consulting the tortoise-shell about a steward, and K'wang K'eu-seu was indicated for the appointment. Now the steward of the She family had a town of 100 houses, which was assigned to K'wang Ken-seu. He, however, declined the appointment in favour of Paou Kwoh, and gave the town up to him. She H'eaou-shuh said, "The divination gave a favourable response for you." K'wang replied, "And what could be a greater proof of its being favourable than my giving the office to a faithful, good man?" Paou Kwoh served the She family faithfully, and therefore the people of Ts'e now chose him to be the representative of the Paou family. Chung-ne said, "The wisdom of Paou Chwang-tse (Paou K'een) was not equal to that of a sunflower. Though but a flower, it is able to protect its roots!—This certainly is not like one of Confucius' remarks; and the critics unanimously agree in protesting against the ascription of it to him."

Par. 6. The 9th month of Chow was the 7th of H'ea, when there ought to have been no border sacrifice. The use of 用 before 郊 is singular, and has given rise to much speculation. Many critics, after Kung-yang, would make a canon, that 用 is always used to indicate disapprobation of that to which it is applied (用者不宜用也). Some, especially L'ew Ch'ang, think that it indicates the use of a human victim at this sacrifice, and the K'ang-he editors have needlessly given an elaborate refutation of that view. Maou thinks the text is defective.

Par. 7, 8, 9. Foiled in its previous expedition, Ts'in makes another attempt, equally unsuccessful, to regain its authority over Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—"In winter, the States invaded Ch'ing; and in the 10th month, on Käng-woo, they laid siege to its capital. Kung-tse Shin of Ts'oo came to its relief, and took post, with his army, on the Joo, on which [the forces of] the States withdrew."

Par. 10. For 賑 Kung-yang has 軫, and Kuh-l'ang has 蜃. Where Le-shin was has not been ascertained. There is a difficulty about the day Jin-shin, which cannot have been in the 11th month of this year. Jin-shin is only two days after Käng-woo, when, according to the last Chuen, the allies laid siege to the capital of Ch'ing;—some time in the 10th month. Calculating back from Ting-tse, as the 1st day of the

12th month, we must conclude likewise that the 11th month contained no Jin-shin day. The critics, since Kung and Kuh and their earliest editors, make Jin-shin to have been the 15th day of the 10th month; but this is in conflict with the '11th' month of the previous paragraph. Too says that 'the day is wrong (日誤),' meaning that either the 壬 or the 申 is wrong;—in the 11th month of this year there were the days 壬辰, 壬寅, and 壬子, and also 丙申 and 戊申.

The Chuen says:—"Before this, Shing-pih (the Kung-sun Ying-tse) dreamt that he was crossing the Hwan, when some one gave him a *k'ëung* gem and a fine pearl, which he ate. He then fell a-crying, and his tears turned to *k'ëung* gems and fine pearls, till his breast was filled with them. After this he sang:—

"Crossing the waters of the Hwan,  
They gave me a pearl and a gem.  
Home let me go! Home let me go!  
My breast with pearls and gems is full."

[When he awoke], he was afraid and did not venture to have the dream interpreted. Returning [now] from Ch'ing, on Jin-shin he arrived at Le-shin, and had the dream interpreted, saying, "I was afraid it indicated my death, and did not venture to have it interpreted. Now the multitude with me is great, and the dream has followed me three years. It cannot hurt me to tell it." He did so; and in the evening of that day he died."

[The Chuen here returns to the affairs of Ts'e in p. 5:—"The marquis of Ts'e sent Ts'ny Ch'oo [See the Chuen on VII. x. 5.] as great officer in command, with K'ing K'ih under him, to lead a force and besiege Loo. Kwoh Tso was then with the States at the siege of the capital of Ch'ing, but leave was asked and obtained for him to return to Ts'e, on account of the difficulties of the State. He then went to the army at Loo, and put K'ing K'ih to death, revolting also from the marquis in [his own city of] Kuh. The marquis made a covenant with him at Seu-kwan, and restored him. In the 12th month, Loo surrendered, and the marquis sent Kwoh [Tso's son] Shing to inform Ts'in of the troubles, having charged him to wait [for his further] orders in Ts'ing."

Par. 11. This eclipse took place 17th Oct., B. C. 573, and was visible in Loo in the morning.

Par. 12. This was duke Ting. He had been viscount of Choo for 40 years. As from the 7th year of Ch'ing we find the troops of Choo, when engaged in expeditions with other States, always led by an officer or minister, we may presume that K'eh-tseu was too old to take the field in person.

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—"Duke Le of Ts'in was extravagant, and had many favourites besides the ladies of his harem. When he returned from Yen-ling, he wished to put out of their situations all the great officers, and to appoint in their room the individuals who were always about him. One of his favourites was

Seu T'ung, who cherished resentment against the K'eh family, because of the dismissal from office of [his father] Seu K'ih [See the Chuen after VII. viii. 8]. Another of them was E-yang Woo, from whom K'eh E had taken away some fields. A third was K'eaou of Ch'ang-yu, with whom, at a former time, K'eh Ch'ow had had a quarrel about some fields; and Ch'ow had also seized and hand-cuffed him, and bound him with his parents, wife, and children to one of the thills of a carriage.

[These three were all enemies of the K'ehs, and] Lwan Shoo also resented the conduct of K'eh Che, who had opposed him, thereby leading to the defeat of the army of Ts'oo [When Lwan Shoo wished that the army of Ts'in should keep within its entrenchments, Che insisted that they should go forth and fight which brought on the battle of Yen-ling.] He wanted to procure Che's dismissal from office, and got Fei, the son of the viscount of Ts'oo [who had been taken prisoner], to inform the duke, saying, "My ruler was really called to that battle [of Yen-ling] by K'eh Che, on the ground that the eastern armies had not arrived, and that the commanders of your own diff. armies were not all there. He said, "We are sure to be defeated, and I will then raise Sun-chow [A great-grandson of duke S'ang of Ts'in] to the rule of Ts'in, and serve you?" The duke told this to Lwan Shoo, who said, "It is the truth. If it were not so, how should he have been so regardless of death [in the battle], and have received a message from the enemy? Why should not your lordship try the thing by sending him on a mission to Chow, and examining his conduct there?" [Accordingly], K'eh Che went on a friendly mission to Chow, where Lwan Shoo had sent word to Sun-chow to see him. This was spied out by an agent of the duke, who concluded that the whole charge against him was true, and cherished resentment against K'eh Che.

When the duke was hunting, he would let his women shoot and drink first, and then make the great officers come after them. [Once], K'eh Che was bringing [to the duke] a boar [which he had shot], when Mäng-chang, the chief of the eunuchs, snatched it away, and was shot to death by K'eh Che in consequence, [irritating] the duke, [who] said, "Ke-tse despises me."

When duke Le wanted to take action against [the great officers], Seu T'ung said to him, "You must begin with the three K'ehs. Their clan is large, but they have many enemies. Removing so large a clan will relieve you of pressure, and your action will be easy against those who have so many enemies." The duke approved of this plan. The K'ehs heard of it, and E proposed to attack the duke, saying, "Though we may die, he will be put in peril." K'eh Che, however, said, "The things which set a man up are fidelity, wisdom, and valour. A faithful man will not revolt against his ruler; a wise man will not injure the people; a valiant man will not raise disorder. If we lose those three qualities, who will be with us? If by our death we increase the number of our enemies, of what use will it be? When a ruler puts a minister to death, what can the latter say to him? If we are really guilty, our death comes late; if he put us to death, being innocent, he will lose the people, and have no repose afterwards, however much he may wish it. Let

us simply wait our fate. We have received emoluments from our ruler, and by means of them have collected a party; but what offence could be greater than if with that party we should strive against his order [for our death]?"

On Jin-woo, Seu T'ung and E-yang Woo wished to lead eight hundred men-at-arms to attack the K'ehs; but K'eaou of Ch'ang-yu begged leave [to attempt their death] without using many followers, and the marquis sent Ts'ing Fei-t'uy with him to help him. Taking their spears and tucking up their skirts, they pretended to have some dispute together, [and went on to where the three K'ehs were]. These had planned to take counsel together in the archery hall, and there K'eaou with his spear killed Keu-pih (K'eh E) and Ch'ing-shuh of K'oo (K'eh Ch'ow), where they were sitting. Ke of Wän said, "Let me flee from the danger," and ran off. K'eaou, however, overtook his carriage, killed him with his spear, took his body and those of the two others, and exposed them in the court. In the meantime Seu T'ung with the men-at-arms seized Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen (Seun H'een-tse) in the court, and K'eaou asked that they might be put to death, or sorrow would come to the marquis. The marquis, however, said, "I have exposed the corpses of three ministers in one morning, and I cannot bear to add more to them." K'eaou replied, "They will bear to deal with you. I have heard that disorder occasioned by another State is hostility, while that which takes its origin within the State is treason. Hostility is to be met with virtue; treason with punishment. When you put [your enemy] to death without showing [any leniency], it cannot be said there is virtue in such a course; when your ministers exercise a pressure on you, and you do not cut them off, it cannot be said that there is punishment. There being neither virtue nor punishment, hostility and treason will come together. I beg to be allowed to leave the State." Accordingly he fled to the Teih.

The duke then sent to the two officers that they were at liberty to go, saying, "I have punished the K'ehs, and they have suffered for their guilt. No disgrace is intended you. Resume your offices and places." The two bowed twice with their heads to the ground, and replied, "Your lordship has punished the guilty; and that you have further granted us an escape from death,—this is your kindness. Till death we shall not forget it." They then went to their homes.

The duke made Seu T'ung a high minister; and [not long after], he was rambling and enjoying himself in the neighbourhood of the family of Ts'ang-le, when Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen seized and kept him prisoner. They called Sze K'ae to join them, but he refused. They called Han Keueh, but he also refused, saying, "Formerly I was brought up in the Chao family; and during the slanders of Mäng Ke [See the Chuen on VII. 6], I declined to use my sword. There is a saying of the ancients, that "no one likes to preside at the slaying of an old ox;" how much less would one do so at the slaying of a ruler! You, gentlemen, are not able to serve our ruler; what use could you make of me?"

Par. 14. The State of Shoo-yung was near that of Shoo-l'eaou;—see on VII. viii. 7. The



Chuen says:—'The people of Shoo-yung, in consequence of the defeat of the army of Ts'oo [at Yen-ling], led the people of Woo to besiege Ch'ao, to attack K'ea, and to besiege Le and Hwuy. Trusting in Woo, they made no preparations against Ts'oo, and the Kung-tze T'oh-tse surprised their city, and extinguished their State.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'In the intercalary month, on Yih-maou, the last day of it, Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen put to death Seu T'ung. The people were not for the [three K'eh], and Seu T'ung had led on his ruler to commit disorder; and the text therefore says in both cases that "Tsin put its great officers to death."']

Eighteenth year.

十有八年春王正月晉殺其大夫胥童。  
庚申晉弑其君州蒲。  
齊殺其大夫國佐。  
公如晉。夏楚子鄭伯伐宋宋魚石復入于彭城。  
公至自晉。晉侯使士匄來聘。  
秋杞伯來朝。八月邾子來朝。  
築鹿囿。己丑公薨于路寢。  
冬楚人鄭人侵宋。晉侯使士魴來乞師。  
十有二月仲孫蔑會晉侯宋公衛侯邾子齊崔杼  
同盟于虛朶。丁未葬我君成公。

左傳曰十八年春王正月庚申晉欒書中行偃使程滑弑厲公葬之於翼東門之外以車一乘使荀息士魴逆周子於京師而立之生十四年矣大夫逆於清原周子曰孤始願不及此雖及此豈非天乎抑人之求君使出命也立而不從將安用君二三子用我今日否亦今日共而從君神之所福也對曰羣臣之願也敢不唯命是聽庚午盟而入館於伯子同氏辛巳朝于武宮逐不臣者七人周子有兄而無慧不能辨菽麥故不可立齊爲慶氏之難故甲申晦齊侯使士華免以戈殺國佐於內宮之朝師逃於夫人之宮書曰齊殺其大夫國佐棄命專殺以穀叛故也使清人殺國勝國弱來奔王湫奔萊慶封爲大夫慶佐爲司寇既齊侯反國弱使嗣國氏禮也

二月乙酉朔晉悼公卽位於朝始命百官施舍已責逮鰥寡振廢滯匡乏困救災患禁淫慝薄賦斂宥罪戾節器用時用民欲無犯時使魏相士魴魏頡趙武爲卿荀家荀會欒黶韓無忌爲公族大夫使訓卿之子弟共儉孝弟使士渥濁爲大傅使修范武子之法右行辛爲司空使修士蒦之法弁糾御戎校正屬焉使訓諸御知義荀賓爲右司士屬焉使訓勇力之士時使卿無共御立軍尉以攝之祁奚爲中軍尉羊舌職佐之魏絳爲司馬張老爲候奄鐸遏寇爲上軍尉籍偃爲之司馬使訓卒乘親以聽命程鄭爲乘馬御六騶屬焉使訓羣騶知禮凡六官之長皆民譽也舉不失職官不易方爵不踰德師不陵正旅不偪師民無謗言所以復霸也

公如晉朝嗣君也

夏六月鄭伯侵宋及曹門外遂會楚子伐宋取朝郟楚子辛鄭皇辰侵城郛取幽丘同伐彭城納宋魚石向爲人鱗朱向帶魚府焉以三百乘戍之而還書曰復入凡去其國國逆而立之曰入復其位曰復歸諸侯納之曰歸以惡曰復入宋人患之西鉏吾曰何也若楚人與吾同惡以德於我吾固事之也不敢貳矣大國無厭鄙我猶憾不然而收吾憎使贊其政以閒吾讐亦吾患也今將崇諸侯之姦而披其地以塞夷庚逞姦而攜服毒諸

侯而懼吳，晉，吾庸多矣，非吾憂也。且事晉何爲，晉必恤之。公至自晉，晉范宣子來聘，且拜朝也。君子謂晉於是乎有禮。秋，杞桓公來朝，勞公，且問晉故。公以晉君語之，杞伯於是驟朝於晉，而請爲昏。

○七月，宋老佐、華喜、圍彭城，老佐卒焉。八月，邾宣公來朝，卽位而來見也。築鹿囿，書不時也。

己丑，公薨于路寢，言道也。冬，十一月，楚子重救彭城，伐宋，宋華元如晉告急，韓獻子爲政，曰：「欲求人，必先勤之。」成霸安疆，自宋始矣。晉侯師於台谷，以救宋，遇楚師於靡角之谷，楚師還。

晉士魴來乞師，季文子問師數於臧武仲，對曰：「伐鄭之役，知伯實來，下軍之佐也。今歲季亦佐下軍，如伐鄭，可也。事大國，無失班爵，而加敬焉，禮也。從之。」

十二月，孟獻子會于虛，打謀救宋也。宋人辭諸侯，而請師以圍彭城。孟獻子請於諸侯，而先歸會葬。

丁未，葬我君成公，書順也。

- XVIII. 1 In the duke's [eighteenth] year, in spring, in the king's first month, Tsin put to death its great officer, Seu T'ung.
- 2 On Käng-shin, Tsin murdered its ruler, Chow-p'oo.
- 3 Ts'e put to death its great officer, Kwoh Tso.
- 4 The duke went to Tsin.
- 5 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung; [when] Yu Shih of Sung again entered P'äng-shing.
- 6 The duke arrived from Tsin.
- 7 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze K'ae to Loo on a mission of friendly enquiries.
- 8 In autumn, the earl of Ke paid a court-visit to Loo.
- 9 In the eighth month, the viscount of Choo paid a court-visit to Loo.
- 10 We enclosed the deer park.
- 11 On Ke-ch'ow, the duke died in the state-chamber.
- 12 In winter, a body of men from Ts'oo and one from Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung.
- 13 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Fang to ask the help of an army.

- 14 In winter, in the twelfth month, Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the viscount of Choo, and Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, when they made a covenant together in Heu-ting.
- 15 On Ting-we, we buried our ruler, duke Ch'ing.

Par. 1. The death of Seu T'ung, as related in the last Chuen, took place in the 12th month, intercalary, of the last year. It appears now, acc. to Tso, because it was only now announced to Loo. Tsin followed the calendar of Hëa, instead of that of Chow.

Par. 2. See the Chuen on par. 13 of last year. The Chuen here says:—This spring, in the 1st month, on Käng-shin, Lwan Shoo and Chung-hang Yen made Ch'ing Hwah murder duke Le, whom they buried outside the east gate of Yih, with a single carriage in attendance. They then sent Seun Ying and Sze Fang to the capital to meet Chow-tsze, and declared him duke Le's successor. Chow-tsze was [only] 14 years old; but when the great officers met him in Ts'ing-yuen, he said, "At first, I had no wish to arrive at this estate; and [now], though I have arrived at it, is it not to be ascribed to Heaven? When men seek a ruler, it is to have one who shall give out his orders. If, when they have called him to the head of the State, they do not follow his orders, what use have they for him? If you mean to obey me, say so to-day; if not, say so to-day. If you will reverently follow your ruler, then the Spirits will bless us." They replied, "It is your servants' desire. We dare not but hearken to your commands." He then made a covenant with them on Käng-woo, and entered [the capital], lodging in the house of Pih Tsze-t'ung. On Sin-sze he presented himself in the temple of [duke] Woo, and banished seven men, who were unworthy to be ministers.

Chow-tsze had a brother who was devoid of intelligence, so that he could not distinguish beans from wheat, and consequently could not be made marquis.

The K'ang-he editors enter here again on the subject which they discussed on VI. xvi. 7. The murder of duke Le is ascribed to Tsin, while it was really the work of two of the great officers of the State. Kuh-lëang thought the style of the record intimated that the ruler had been very bad. The general view of the critics is, that the style of the entry does in a measure distribute the guilt of the murder among the people, to whom Le was an object of abhorrence. The editors denounce this attempt to screen the deed of the two rascal ministers, and share their guilt among the people. The entry is given in consequence of the nature of the announcement from Tsin, where there was now no inflexible historiographer like Tung Hoo, who recorded the guilt of Chaou Tun. The announcement must have concealed the real criminals by attributing the deed to other parties; but the Ch'ün Ts'ew would not so cover the guilt, and therefore attributed the deed to the State itself, that so curiosity might be excited, inquiry made, and the true criminals not escape from the net! It is impossible to lay down any 'canons,' or offer any satisfactory explanation of the phraseology in

cases like the present. We have the 13th par. of last year, and the first three paragraphs of this year, all occupied with executions or murders that cannot be judged of by the same standard, and yet the record of them is identical.

Par. 3. See the Chuen on par. 5 of last year, and that after par. 10. The Chuen says:—Because of the troubles about K'ing [K'ih] in Ts'e, on Këah-shin, the last day of the moon, the marquis of Ts'e made the judge Hwa Mëen kill Kwoh Tso with a spear, at an audience which he gave him in the inner palace, there being soldiers concealed in the palace of the marquis. The language of the text, "Ts'e put to death its great officer Kwoh Tso," is because he had paid no respect to his ruler's charge, and had taken it on himself to kill [K'ing K'ih], and had held Kuh in rebellion. [At the same time], the marquis made the people of Tsing kill Kwoh Shing. Kwoh Joh [A younger brother of Shing] then fled to Loo, and Wang Tsëaou to Lae. K'ing Fung was made a great officer, and K'ing Tso minister of Crime [Both these were sons of K'ih]. After this the marquis recalled Kwoh Joh, and appointed him heir and representative of the Kwoh family;—which was according to rule.

[The Chuen continues here the narrative in that on p. 2:—In the 2d month, on Yih-yëw, on the 1st day of the moon, duke Taou [Sun-chow] of Tsin took the place of Le in the court, and for the first time gave their charges to the various officers. He bestowed [favours], remitted [burdensome requirements], and forgave debts [due to the govt.]; he extended his kindness to the solitary and to widows; he redressed the cause of officers who had been dismissed from employment, and of those who had been kept back; he delivered the needy and distressed; he relieved the sufferers from calamity and misfortune; he laid prohibitions on dissoluteness and wickedness; he lightened taxes; he dealt gently with offenders; he employed the people at the proper times, endeavouring not to interfere with the seasons. He appointed Wei Sëang, Sze Fang, Wei Këeh, and Chaou Woo, to be high ministers; Seun Këa, Seun Hwuy, Lwan Yin, and Han Woo-ke, to be great officers over the different branches of the ducal kindred, requiring them to teach the sons and younger brothers of the ministers the duties of reverence, economy, filial piety, and fraternal submission. He appointed Sze Uh-chuh [Sze Ching-tsze] to be grand-master, requiring him to revise and revive the laws of Fan Woo-tsze; and Yëw-hang Sin to be minister of Works, requiring him to revise and revive the laws of Sze Wei. Këw of Pëen was principal charioteer, with all the head grooms under him, and was required to instruct all the charioteers in the principles of righteousness. Seun Pin was principal spearman on the right, with all the other spearmen under him, and was required to instruct those strong men-at-arms

in the service at any time required of them. Ministers [Being generals] were not allowed a special charioteer, his duty being discharged by one of the ordinary officers. K'e He was tranquillizer of the army of the centre, with Yang-sheli Chih under him; Wei K'ang was marshal, and Chang Laou was scout-master. Toh Ngoh-k'ow was tranquillizer of the 1st army, with Tsih Yen as marshal, and was required to teach the soldiers and chariot-men to aid one another in obeying the commands which they received. Ch'ing Ch'ing was chief equerry, with the grooms of the six studs under him, whom he was required to instruct in the rules of propriety. The chiefs of all the six official departments were the objects of the people's praise. Not one was unequal to the office to which he was raised; no one interfered with the duties of another's department. Their dignities did not surpass their virtues. The assistant-commanders did not trench on the authority of the generals, nor did their subordinates press upon them. No word of dissatisfaction or reviling was heard among the people, and thus the place of Tsin as the leader of the other States was restored.]

Parr. 4, 6. 'The duke,' says Tso-she, 'went to Tsin, to appear at the court of the new ruler'

Par. 5. P'ang-shing was in the pres. dis. of T'ung-shan (銅山), dep. Seu-chow, K'ang-soo. The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 9th month, the earl of Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung, and proceeded as far as the out-side of the Ts'ao gate. He then joined the viscount of Ts'oo who was invading Sung, and they took Ch'iao-k'eah. Tsze-sin of Ts'oo and Hwang Shin of Ch'ing made an incursion to Shing-kaou, and took Yew-k'ew. They then joined in attacking P'ang-shing, in which they placed Yu Shih, H'ang Wei-jin, Lin Choo, H'ang T'ae, and Yu Foo [See the Chuen on XV., pp. 8.9.], left 300 chariots to guard the country, and returned. The text says that [Yu Shih] "again entered" [P'ang-shing]. Now, in the case of parties who have left their State, when the State sends and meets them [to bring them back], they are said "to enter it." When they have the places which they formerly held restored to them, they are said "to be restored again." When they are re-instated by the prince of another State, they are said "to be restored." When their restoration is effected by violence, they are said "to enter again."

'The people of Sung were afflicted by these proceedings, but Se Ts'oo-woo said, "Why be afflicted? If the people of Ts'oo had regarded those wicked men as we do, [and dealt with them] so as to do us a favour, then we should have served Ts'oo without daring to waver in our adherence. Then that great State, in its insatiable ambition would have treated us as a border of its own, and still been angry [that our State was not larger]. This would have been a cause [for affliction]. Or if in another way it had received those objects of our detestation, and made them help it in its measures, so as to spy out the opportunities which we might afford it [to attack us], this also would have been an affliction. But now, Ts'oo has exalted these traitors to their prince, and apportioned to them a part of our territory, so as to stop the plain route [of communication be-

tween Tsin and Woo];—it has satisfied the traitors' wishes, and will thereby separate from itself its own adherents; it has poisoned the States against itself, and filled with apprehension Woo and Tsin. Our course becomes much easier. This should be no sorrow to us. And for what have we served Tsin? It will be sure to pity us."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'When the duke arrived from Tsin, Fan Seu-en-tsze (Sze Kae) came to Loo with friendly inquiries, and to acknowledge the duke's visit to the court of Tsin. The superior man will say that in this Tsin behaved with propriety.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'The earl of K'e now came to congratulate the duke on the accomplishment of his journey, and to ask about Tsin. The duke in consequence told him all about the [new] marquis. The earl on this went off quickly on a court-visit to Tsin, and begged an alliance of marriage with it.'

[There is a note here about Sung:—'In the 7th month, Laou Tso of Sung and Hwa He laid siege to P'ang-shing, when the former died.']

Par. 9. Tso-she says this visit was made by duke Seu-en of Choo, on occasion of his succeeding to the State, to have an interview with duke Ch'ing.

Par. 10. Tso-she says this entry is made because of the unseasonableness of the proceeding.

Par. 11. Sec VII. xviii. 7; *et al.* 'The record,' says Tso, 'shows that he died where he should have done.'

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'In the 11th month, Tsze-chung of Ts'oo came to relieve P'ang-shing, and invaded Sung. Hwa Yuen of Sung went to Tsin to report the urgency of their distress. Han H'een-tsze was then Tsin's chief minister, and said, "It we wish to win men, we must first be earnest in their behalf. To establish our leadership, and secure our strength, we must begin with Sung." The marquis of Tsin then took post with an army at T'ae-kuh, to relieve Sung, and [his generals] met with the army of Ts'oo in the valley of Me-koh. It withdrew before them.'

Par. 13. For 魴 Kung has 彭. The Chuen says:—'When Sze Fang asked for the help of an army, Ke Wan-tsze asked Tsang Woo-chung what should be its numbers. Tsang replied, "In the expedition against Ch'ing, Che pih [Seun Ying] came to us, the assistant-commander of the 3d army. Now Che Ke [Sze Fang, a son of Sze Hwuy] is in the same position. Send the same number of troops which we did to the invasion of Ch'ing. In serving a great State, we must not fail to observe the rank and titles of its envoys, and to be very respectful." Ke Wan-tsze followed this counsel.'

Par. 14. Heu-ting was probably in Sung; but its situation is not known. The Chuen says:—'In the 12th month, M'ang H'een-tsze [M'eh] joined [the other commanders] in Heu-ting, to consult about the relief of Sung. The people of Sung declined the presence of the princes, and begged the service of their armies to besiege P'ang-shing. M'ang H'een-tsze asked leave of the princes, and returned to Loo, to be present at the duke's burial.'

Par. 15. 'This entry,' says Tso-she, 'intimates that everything [about the death, burial, and succession] was natural and proper.'

# THE CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES,  
PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY

JAMES LEGGE, D.D., LL.D.,

OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

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THE CH'UN TS'EW;  
WITH THE TSO CHUEN.

BOOK IX. DUKE SEANG.

*First year.*

春秋 附左傳

襄公

<sup>一章</sup>元年春王正月公卽位。  
<sup>二章</sup>仲孫蔑會晉欒黶宋華元衛甯殖  
 曹人莒人邾人滕人薛人圍宋彭  
<sup>三章</sup>城。  
<sup>四章</sup>夏晉韓厥帥師伐鄭仲孫蔑會齊  
 崔杼曹人邾人杞人次于鄆。  
<sup>五章</sup>秋楚公子壬夫帥師侵宋。  
 九月辛酉天王崩。

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來荀侯聘剽公侯冬來邾  
聘營使晉來孫使衛朝子

左傳曰：元年春，己亥，圍宋彭城。非宋地，追書也。於是為宋討魚石。故稱宋且不登叛人也。謂之宋志。彭城，晉人，以宋五大夫在彭城。晉人以為討。二月，齊人子光為質於晉。夏五月，晉韓厥、荀偃帥諸侯之師，伐鄭，入其郛，敗其徒兵於洧上。於是東諸侯之師次於鄆，以待晉師。晉師自鄆以鄆之師侵楚焦夷，及陳、晉侯、衛侯、次於戚，以為之援。秋，楚子辛救鄭，侵宋呂、留。鄭子然侵宋，取犬丘。九月，邾子來朝。禮也。冬，衛子叔晉知武子來聘。禮也。凡諸侯即位，小國朝之，大國聘焉。以繼好結信，謀事補闕，禮之大者也。

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 Chung-sun Mëeh joined Lwan Yin of Tsin, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Ning Ohih of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Keu, an officer of Choo, an officer of T'ang, and an officer of Sëeh, in besieging P'ang-shing in Sung.
- 3 In summer, Han Keueh of Tsin led an army, and invaded Ch'ing. Chung-sun Mëeh joined Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, and an officer of K'e, and halted, [with their forces], in Tsäng.
- 4 In autumn, the Kung-tsze Jin-foo of Ts'oo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.
- 5 In the ninth month, on Sin-yëw, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.
- 6 The viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.
- 7 In winter, the marquis of Wei sent the Kung-sun P'ëaou to Loo on a visit of friendly inquiries. So did the marquis of Tsin send Sëun Ying.

TITLE OF THIS BOOK.—襄公, 'Duke Sëang.' Duke Sëang's name was Woo (午). He was the son of duke Ch'ing, and as we learn from the Chuen after IX. 6, at the time of his accession was only 4 years old. His mother was not the daughter of Ts'e, of whose marriage with Ch'ing we have an account in his 14th year, but of a Sze (嬖), a lady of K'e, whose death appears in the 4th year. His posthumous title Sëang denotes—'Successful in his conduct of affairs' (因事有功曰襄).

Sëang's 1st year synchronized with the 14th of king Këen (簡王); the 1st of Taou (悼) of Tsin; the 10th of Ling (靈) of Ts'e; the 5th of Hëen (獻) of Wei; the 20th of King of Ts'ae; the 13th of Ch'ing (成) of Ch'ing; the 6th of Ch'ing (成) of Ts'aou; the 27th of Ch'ing of Ch'in; the 65th of Hwan of K'e; the 4th of P'ing (平) of Sung; the 5th of King (景) of Ts'in;

the 19th of Kung (共) of Ts'oo; and the 14th of Show-mung of Woo (吳壽夢).

Par. 1. See on VIII. i. 1; *et al.*

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'This year, in spring, on Ke-hae, there was the siege of P'ang-shing. It did not now belong to Sung;—the text calls it Sung's retrospectively. At this time [the States] were punishing Yu Shih for Sung, and therefore the city is called Sung's, and moreover the text would not sanction the exaltation of a rebel. The language has respect to the wishes of Sung [in the matter].'

'P'ang-shing surrendered to Tsin, and the people of Tsin took the five great officers of Sung who were in it back with them, and placed them in Hoo-k'ëw. The troops of Ts'e were not present at [the siege of] P'ang-shing, which Tsin thought was a ground for punishing [that State], and in the 2d month the eldest son of [the marquis of] Ts'e became a hostage in Tsin.'

According to Tso-she's own remarks in the above Chuen, the 宋 before 彭城 in this par. is Confucius' own,—an instance not of his pruning, but of his correcting pencil. But the reasons for his view are very shadowy. Ts'oo had not taken P'ang-shing from Sung, and appropriated it to itself. King Kung had indeed placed Yu Shih in it, as a thorn in the side of Sung, and had supplied him with a force to enable him to maintain his position, but he had not made him its ruler with the title of baron, or viscount, or any higher dignity. Nothing had occurred which should make the historians not speak of the city as Sung's.

Par. 3. Tsäng was a city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. Suy Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. It must not be confounded with the State of Tsäng, V. xiv. 2; *et al.* For 厥 Kung-yang has 屈, and for 鄆合.

The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 5th month, Han Keueh and Seun Yen of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, with the forces of [several of] the States, and entered its outer suburbs. They defeated its infantry near the Wei. At this time the armies of the [other] States were halting at Tsäng, waiting for the army of Tsin. When that came from Ch'ing, it made a junction with them, and made an incursion into Tsëaou-e of Ts'oo, and into Ch'in. The marquis of Tsin and the marquis of Wei remained in Ts'eih, to render any aid that might be needed.'

Chao P'ang-fei says on this paragraph:—'Tsin, as chief among the States, invaded Ch'ing many times. The reason why it thought

it necessary to maintain its grasp of it with the forces of the other States was not the strength of Ch'ing, but the fear of Ts'oo. Had there been no Ts'oo to come to the help of Ch'ing, Tsin might have penetrated to its outer suburbs with a small force. The manner in which it now took its measures in reference to Ch'ing may be pronounced prudent and skilful. With Han Keueh alone attacking the capital of Ch'ing in front, and the soldiers of the five States ready to succour him in the rear, if the forces of Ts'oo did not come forth, the single Han Keueh was abundantly able to take the city; if they did come forth, the armies of the five States were sufficient to fight them without fear. These arrangements showed the care with which Tsin made use of the other States, and did not lightly expose their people in battle. Therefore the sage by the terms "invaded" and "halted" indicated his admiration of its measures in dealing with the offending Ch'ing. Expositors, regarding only the statement in the next paragraph, that an army of Ts'oo made an incursion into Sung, say that the States halted at Tsäng to save Sung. But it was not till the autumn that Ts'oo made that incursion;—how should the States have halted here beforehand with a view to save Sung? Such a view shows no consideration of the order of the paragraphs. Moreover, Tsäng was in the territory of Ch'ing;—would they have halted in Ch'ing to save Sung?'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, Tsze-sin of Ts'oo went to succour Ch'ing, and made an incursion on Leu and Lëw of Sung. Tsze-jen of Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung, and took K'ëuen-k'ëw.'

Par. 5. This was king Këen (簡). He was succeeded by his son, king Ling (靈).

Par. 6. Tso-she says this visit was 'proper,'—to congratulate, I suppose, the child-marquis on his accession.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'In winter Tsze-shuh of Wei, and Che Woo-tsze of Tsin, came to Loo, with friendly inquiries; which was proper. On the accession of any prince, smaller States appeared [by their princes] at his court, and larger ones sent friendly missions;—for the continuance of their friendship, and cementing their good faith, to take counsel on affairs, and to repair deficiencies. These were the greatest of ceremonies.'

These courtesies to Loo, it must be supposed, were sent before the States had heard the news of the king's death, because after such an event there was an intermission for a time of those observances.

Second year.

一章二年春王正月葬簡王。  
二章鄭師伐宋。三章夏五月庚寅夫人姜氏薨。  
四章六月庚辰鄭伯踰卒。  
五章晉師宋師衛甯殖侵鄭。  
六章秋七月仲孫蔑會晉荀瑩宋華元衛孫林父曹人邾人于戚。  
七章己丑葬我小君齊姜。  
八章叔孫豹如宋。  
九章冬仲孫蔑會晉荀瑩齊崔杼宋華元衛孫林父曹人邾人滕人薛人小邾人于戚遂城虎牢。  
十章楚殺其大夫公子申。

左傳曰二年春鄭師侵宋楚令也。  
 齊侯伐萊萊人使正輿子賂夙沙衛以索馬牛皆百匹齊師乃還君子是以知齊靈公之爲靈也。  
 夏齊姜薨初穆姜使擇美櫬以自爲櫬與頌琴季文子取以葬君子曰非禮也禮無所逆婦養姑者也虧姑以成婦逆莫大焉詩曰其惟哲人告之話言順德之行季孫於是爲不哲矣且姜氏君之妣也詩曰爲酒爲醴烝畀祖妣以洽百禮降福孔偕。  
 鄭成公疾子駟請息肩於晉公曰楚君以鄭故親集矢於其目非異人任寡人也若魯之是棄力與言其誰暇我免寡人唯二三子秋七月庚辰鄭伯踰卒。  
 於是子罕當國子駟爲政子國爲司馬晉師侵鄭諸大夫欲從晉子駟曰官命未改會于戚謀鄭故也孟獻子曰請城虎牢以偪鄭知武子曰善鄆之會吾子聞崔子之言今不來矣滕薛小邾之不至皆齊故也寡君之憂不唯鄭將復於寡君而請於齊得請而告吾子之功也若不得請事將在齊吾子之請諸侯之福也豈惟寡君賴之。  
 齊侯使諸姜宗婦來送葬召萊子萊子不會故晏弱城東陽以偪之。  
 穆叔聘于宋通嗣君也。  
 冬復會于戚齊崔武子及滕薛小邾之大夫皆會知武子之言故也遂城虎牢鄭人乃成。  
 楚公子申爲右司馬多受小國之賂以偪子重子辛楚人殺之故書曰楚殺其大夫公子申。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of king K'een.
- 2 An army of Ch'ing invaded Sung.
- 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on K'ang-yin, [duke Ch'ing's] wife, the lady K'ang, died.
- 4 In the sixth month, on K'ang-shin, Kw'än, earl of Ch'ing, died.
- 5 An army of Tsin, an army of Sung, and Ning Chih of Wei, made an incursion into Ch'ing.

- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with Sëun Ying of Tsin, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, and an officer of Choo, in Ts'eh.
- 7 On Ke-ch'ow, we buried our duchess, Ts'e Këang.
- 8 Shuh-sun P'aou went to Sung.
- 9 In winter, Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with Seun Ying of Tsin, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, an officer of T'ang, an officer of Sëeh, and an officer of Little Choo, in Ts'eh, when they proceeded to wall Hoo-laou.
- 10 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Shin.

Par. 1. This burial, 5 months after death, was sooner than 'the rule' prescribed.

Par. 2. Acc. to Tso, this 'invasion' was merely 'an incursion,' at the command of Ts'oo.

[The Chuen appends here:—The marquis of Ts'e invaded Lae, the people of which sent Ching Yu-tsze to bribe Suh Sha-wei [Chief eunuch in Ts'e] with a hundred choice horses and as many oxen. On this the army of Ts'e returned. From this the superior man might know that duke Ling of Ts'e was indeed *ling* (A play on the meaning of the term as a posthumous epithet).]

Par. 3. This was duke Ch'ing's wife *proper*, called the 'wife-mother (嫡母)' of duke Sëang. The Chuen says:—Before this, Muh Këang [Duke Ch'ing's mother] had caused some fine *këa* trees to be chosen, to make for herself a coffin and a *sung* lute. Ke Wän-tsze now took the coffin to bury Ts'e Këang in. The superior man will pronounce this proceeding contrary to propriety. Propriety admits of nothing unreasonable. A wife should nourish her mother-in-law;—nothing could be more unreasonable than to take from the mother-in-law to supply the wife. The ode (She, III. iii. ode II. 9.) says,

"There is indeed a wise man;—  
I tell him good words,  
And he yields to them the practice of  
docile virtue."

But Ke-sun in this showed himself not wise. And [Ts'e] Këang was the duke's mother. The ode (She, IV. i. Bk. ii. ode IV.), says,

"With spirits and sweet spirits,  
To present to our deceased parents,  
And in supply for all ceremonies;—  
Very abundant is the blessing conferred  
upon us."

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing was ill, and Tsze-sze begged him to ease

his shoulder upon Tsin, but he said, "For the sake of Ch'ing, the ruler of Ts'oo received an arrow in his eye. It was for me he underwent this, and for no other man. If I revolt from him, I cast away his efforts in our behalf and my own promise;—who in such a case would care for my friendship? It is for you, my officers, to save me from such a course." In autumn, in the 7th month, on Käng-shin, Kwän, earl of Ch'ing, died.'

In this last sentence of the Chuen, Käng-shin, the day of the earl's death, is said to have been in the 7th month, and not in the 6th as in the text. And the Chuen must be correct, for Käng-yin of par. 3 being in the 5th month, there cannot have been a Käng-shin day in the 6th. Acc. to Tso's scheme of the calendar, Käng-shin was the 9th day of the 7th month.

There is no mention subsequently of the burial of the earl of Ch'ing; 'because,' acc. to K'aou K'ang, 'he had joined the party of Ts'oo, and the other States therefore did not observe the usual measures at his funeral.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'At this time, Tsze-han [of Ch'ing] had charge of the State, Tsze-sze was chief minister, and Tsze-kwoh was minister of War. All the other great officers wished to give in the adhesion of the State to Tsin, but Tsze-sze said, "The charge to us officers is not yet changed."'

Tsin was now taking advantage of the death of the earl of Ch'ing to attack the State. The other officers wanted to submit to it, but Tsze-sze held that the charge of the deceased earl, that they should adhere to Ts'oo, was binding on them, till his successor should give them different instructions, and it was too early for him to have done so. To attack a State when suffering from the death of its ruler was contrary to the rule and practice of those times. The commentators have much to say on this point.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'This meeting at Ts'eh was to consult in reference to Ch'ing. Mäng Hëen-tsze (Mëeh) proposed that they should fortify Hoo-laou, to bring a pressure to bear on Ch'ing. Che Woo-tsze said, "Good. At the meeting in Tsäng (the year before), you [mentioned] some remarks of the minister Ts'uy which you had heard; and now he is not here. Neither have T'ang, Sëeh, and Little Choo come;—all in consequence of Ts'e's [disaffection], and to the grief of my ruler. I will report the thing to him, and we will ask Ts'e [to join in the fortification]. If it accede, and we give notice accordingly, the merit will be yours. If it do not accede, our business will lie in Ts'e. This proposal of yours is for the happiness of all the States. Not our ruler only is indebted to you for it.'"

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ts'e made the wives of all his great officers of his own surname come to Loo to attend the funeral. He sent for the viscount of Lae also to come; but he was not present. On this account Gan Joh walled Tung-yang to exert a pressure on Lae.'

Par. 8. Shuh-sun P'aou,—see the Chuen on VIII. xvi. 14. Tso says:—'This friendly mission of Muh-shuh (P'aou) to Sung was to open communications between it and the young marquis.'

Par. 9. Little Choo;—see V. vii. 2. The Chuen says:—'In winter there was a second meeting at Ts'eh, when Ts'uy Woo-tsze of Ts'e, and great officers of T'ang, Sëeh, and Little Choo were all present, in consequence of the words of Che Woo-tsze [at the former meeting]. They then proceeded to fortify Hoo-laou, and the people of Ch'ing tendered their submission [to Tsin]. Hoo-laou was a city which had belonged to Ch'ing, but was now held by Tsin. It was in the pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy, dept. K'ae-fung. The K'ang-he editors say that the fortifying of this city was 'grasping Ch'ing by the throat, so that it could not look towards the south.'

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'The Kung-tsze Shin of Ts'oo was marshal of the right, and by means of the bribes which he received from many of the small States exercised a pressure on Tsze-chung and Tsze-sin till the people of Ts'oo put him to death. Hence the language of the text, "Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Shin."'

### Third year.

三年<sup>一章</sup>春<sup>二章</sup>楚公子嬰齊帥師伐吳<sup>三章</sup>。  
公如晉<sup>四章</sup>。夏四月壬戌公及晉侯<sup>五章</sup>盟于長檣<sup>六章</sup>。  
六月公會單子晉侯宋公衛侯鄭<sup>七章</sup>伯莒子邾子齊世子光己未同盟<sup>八章</sup>。  
于雞澤<sup>九章</sup>。  
陳侯使袁僑如會<sup>十章</sup>。  
戊寅叔孫豹及諸侯之大夫及陳<sup>十一章</sup>袁僑盟<sup>十二章</sup>。  
秋公至自會<sup>十三章</sup>。  
冬晉荀瑩帥師伐許<sup>十四章</sup>。

敬君師不武，執事不敬，罪莫大焉。臣懼其死，以及揚干，無所逃罪，不能致訓，至於用鉞，臣之罪重，敢有不從，以怒君心，請歸死於司寇。公跣而出，曰：寡人之言，親愛也，吾子之討，軍禮也。寡人有弟，弗能教訓，使干大命，寡人之過也。子無重寡人之過，敢以爲請。晉侯以魏絳爲能以刑佐民矣，反役與之禮食，使佐新軍。張老爲中軍司馬，士富爲候奄。

○楚司馬公子何忌侵陳，陳叛故也。

許靈公事楚，不會于雞澤，冬，晉知武子帥師伐許。

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, the Kung-tsze Ying-ts'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo.
- 2 The duke went to Tsin.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Jin-seuh, the duke and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant in Chang-ch'oo.
- 4 The duke arrived from Tsin.
- 5 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e; and on Ke-we they made a covenant together at Ke-tsih.
- 6 The marquis of Ch'in sent Yuen K'ëaou to be present at the meeting.
- 7 On Mow-yin, Shuh-sun P'aou, and the great officers of the various princes, made a covenant with Yuen K'ëaou of Ch'in.
- 8 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.
- 9 In winter, Seun Ying of Tsin led a force, and invaded Heu.

Par. 1. We have here the commencement of those hostilities between Ts'oo and Woo, which did more than all the power of the northern States to repress the growth of Ts'oo. Tsin had fostered the jealousy and ambition of Woo, until Ts'oo saw that the most prudent course for itself was to take the initiative in making war.

The Chuen says:—“This spring, Tsze-chung of Ts'oo invaded Woo with an army selected for the purpose. He subdued K'ew-tsze, and proceeded as far as mount Häng. Thence he sent Täng Léaou to make an incursion into the country, with a force of 300 men, wearing buff-coats lacquered as if made of strings, and 3,000, whose coats were covered with silk. The people of Woo intercepted and attacked him. Täng Léaou himself was taken, and of the men who e buff-coats looked as if made of strings only 80 escaped, and of the others only 300. Tsze-chung had returned [to Ying]; and three days after he had drunk his arrival [in the ancestral temple], the people of Woo invaded Ts'oo, and took K'ëa. K'ëa was a good city, as Täng Léaou was a good officer of Ts'oo. Superior men observed that what Tsze-chung gained in this expedition was not equal to what he lost. The people of Ts'oo on this account blamed Tsze-chung, who

was so much distressed, that he fell into mental trouble, and died.”

Par. 2—4. Tso says that this court-visit was made as being proper on the duke's accession to the State. Of course the child was in the hands of his ministers, and did as they directed him. His guide at this time was Chung-sun M'eh. As the duke had gone to the capital of Tsin, and the name of the place where the marquis and he covenanted is given, it is supposed by Tso that the latter had courteously left the city, and met his young guest outside. Hence Ying-tah says that Chang-ch'oo was a place near the wall of the capital of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—“At the covenant in Chang-ch'oo, Mäng H'ëen-tsze directed the duke, who bowed with his head to the ground. Che Woo-tsze said, “The son of Heaven is alive; and for your ruler to bow his head to the ground before him makes my ruler afraid.” H'ëen-tsze replied, “Considering how our poor State stands there in the east, in proximity to our enemies, all our ruler's hope is in yours;—dare he but bow his head to the ground?”

[The Chuen appends here:—“K'e He (see the Chuen after VIII. xviii. 3) asked leave to resign his office on account of age. The marquis of

左傳曰：三年春，楚子重伐吳，爲簡之師，克鳩茲，至於衡山，使鄧廖帥組甲三百，被練三千，以侵吳。吳人要而擊之，獲鄧廖，其能免者，組甲八十，被練三百而已。子重歸，既飲至，三日，吳人伐楚，取駕，駕良邑也。鄧廖亦楚之良也。君子謂子重於是役也，所獲不如所亡。楚人以是咎子重，子重病之，遂遇心疾而卒。

公如晉，始朝也。

夏，盟于長樗，孟獻子相，公稽首。知武子曰：天子在，而君辱稽首，寡君懼矣。孟獻子曰：以敝邑介在東表，密邇仇讐，寡君將君是望，敢不稽首。

○祁奚請老，晉侯問嗣焉。稱解狐，其讐也，將立之而卒。又問焉，對曰：午也可。於是羊舌職死矣。晉侯曰：孰可以代之？對曰：赤也可。於是使祁午爲中軍尉。羊舌赤佐之。君子謂祁奚於是能舉善矣。稱其讐，不爲詔，立其子，不爲比，舉其偏，不爲黨。商書曰：無偏無黨，王道蕩蕩。其祁奚之謂矣。解狐得舉，祁午得位，伯華得官，建一官而三物成，能舉善也夫。唯善故能舉其類。詩云：惟其有之，是以似之。祁奚有焉。

晉爲鄭服故，且欲修吳好，將合諸侯，使士匄告於齊曰：寡君使匄，以歲之不易，不虞之不戒，寡君願與一二兄弟相見，以謀不協，請君臨之，使匄乞盟。齊侯欲勿許，而難爲不協，乃盟於郕。外六月，公會單頃公及諸侯，己未，同盟于雞澤。晉侯使荀息逆吳子於淮上，吳子不至。

楚子辛爲令尹，侵欲於小國，陳成公使袁倫如會求成，晉侯使和組父告於諸侯。

秋，叔孫豹及諸侯之大夫及陳袁僑盟，陳請服也。

○晉侯之弟揚干，亂行於曲梁，魏絳戮其僕。晉侯怒，謂羊舌赤曰：合諸侯以爲榮也，揚干爲戮，何辱如之？必殺魏絳，無失也。對曰：絳無貳志，事君不辟難，有罪不逃刑，其將來辭，何辱命焉？言終，魏絳至，授僕人書，將伏劍。士魴張老止之，公讀其書曰：日君之使，使臣斯司馬，臣聞師衆以順爲武，軍事有死無犯爲敬，君合諸侯，臣敢不



Tsin asked him about his successor, and he recommended Hsiao Hoo, who was his enemy. Hoo, however, died, as he was about to be appointed, and the marquis consulted He again. He replied, "Woo (his own son) may do." About the same time Yang-sheh Chih died, and the marquis asked He who should take his place, when he replied, "Ch'ih (Chih's son) will do." Accordingly K'e Woo was appointed tranquillizer of the army of the centre, and Yang-sheh Ch'ih assistant to him.

The superior man will say that K'e He thus showed himself capable of putting forward good men. He recommended his enemy;—evidently no flatterer; he got his own son appointed;—but from no partiality; he advanced his subordinate;—but with no partizanship. One of the Books of Shang (Shoo, V. iv. 14) says,

"Without partiality, and without deflection,  
Broad and long is the royal path;"

—words which may be applied to K'e He. Hsiao Hoo, was recommended; K'e Woo got his position; and Pih-hwa (Yang-sheh Ch'ih) got his office:—in the filling up of one office three things were accomplished. He was indeed able to put forward good men. Good himself, he could put forward those who were like him. The ode (She, II. vi. ode X. 4) says,

"They have the ability,  
And right is it their actions should  
show it;"—

so was it with K'e He!

Par. 5. Ke-tsih was in Ts'in, in the north-east of the pres. dep. of Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. The Chuen says:—"In consequence of the submission of Ch'ing, and wishing to cultivate the friendship of Woo, Ts'in proposed to call a meeting of the States, and therefore [the marquis] sent Sze Kae to inform Ts'e, saying, "My ruler has sent me, because of the difficulties of every year, and the want of preparation against evils that may arise, [to say that] he wishes to have an interview with his brethren, to consult about the case of States that are not in harmony with us, and begs your lordship to come to it. He has sent me to beg a covenant with you." The marquis of Ts'e wanted to refuse, but felt the difficulty of appearing to be among the discordant, and made a covenant [with Kae], beyond the E. In the 6th month, the duke met duke K'ing of Shen and the various princes; and on Ke-we they made a covenant together at Ke-tsih. The marquis of Ts'in sent Seun Hwuy to meet the viscount of Woo on the Hwai, who, however, did not come [to the meeting]."

Most of the critics condemn this covenant on the ground that it was derogatory to the king to associate his representative, the viscount of Shen, in it. Too, however, and others think the viscount may have been specially commissioned to take part in it, to establish the leadership of duke Taou among the States. The heir-son of Ts'e was a hostage in Ts'in (see on i. 2), and was therefore present at the meeting. Par. 6, 7. Here is another proof that the power of Ts'oo had received a check, and that the States which had adhered to it were now seeking the alliance of Ts'in. The Chuen says:—"Tsze-sin of Ts'oo, being made chief minister of the State, was exorbitant in his desire [for bribes] from the small States. [In conse-

quence], duke Ching of Ch'in sent Yuen K'iaou to the meeting [of the States], to seek for reconciliation and peace. The marquis of Ts'in made Ho Tsoo-foo inform the princes of it. In the autumn, Shuh-sun P'ao and the great officers of the [other] States made a covenant with Yuen K'iaou;—on Ch'in's thus begging to tender its submission.' No stress is to be laid on the two 及 in p. 7, as Kuli and Kung would do.

[The Chuen appends here:—"Yang-kan, a brother of the marquis of Ts'in, having thrown the ranks into confusion at K'eh-l'ang (near Ke-tsih), Wei K'ang (marshal of the army of the centre) executed his charioteer. The marquis was angry, and said to Yang-sheh Ch'ih, "We assembled the States for our glory, and now this execution has been done on Yang-kan;—the disgrace is extreme. You must put Wei K'ang to death without fail." Ch'ih replied, "K'ang is not a man of double purpose. He will avoid no difficulty in the service of his ruler, and will evade no punishment due to any offence he may commit. He will be here to state his case; why should you send such an order about him?" When he had done, Wei K'ang arrived, gave a written statement to one of the [marquis's] attendants, and was about to fall upon his sword, but was stopped by Sze Fang and Chang Laou. The marquis read the statement, which said, "Formerly, being in want of servants, you gave to me this office of marshal. I have heard that in a host submission to orders is the soldier's duty, and that when the business of the army may require the infliction of death, not to shrink from inflicting it is the officer's reverential duty. Your lordship had assembled the States, and I dared not but discharge my reverential duty. If your lordship's soldiers had failed in their duty, and your officers in theirs, the offence would have been extreme. I was afraid that the death which I should incur would also extend to Yang-kan; I do not dare to escape from the consequences of guilt, for I was unable to give the necessary instructions previously, and proceeded to use the axe. My offence is heavy, and I dare not shrink from accepting the due, so as to enrage your mind. Allow me to return, and die at the hands of the minister of Crime."

The duke ran out barefoot, saying, "I spoke out of my love for my brother; you punished in accordance with military law. I was not able to instruct my brother, which made him violate your great orders;—that was my fault; do not you render it still heavier. Let me presume to request this of you." The marquis [now] considered that Wei K'ang was able by his use of punishments to aid [in the govt. of] the people. When then they returned from the service, he gave him a feast of ceremony, and made him assistant-commander of the new army]. Chang Laou was made marshal of the army of the centre, and Sze Foo was made scout-master."

There follows another brief notice:—"The Kung-tsze Ho-ke, minister of War of Ts'oo, made an incursion into Ch'in, because of the revolt of that State]."

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"Duke Ling of Heu adhered to Ts'oo, and was not present at the meeting in Ke-tsih. In winter Che Woo-tsze of Ts'in led a force, and invaded Heu."

Fourth year.

四年春王三月  
己酉陳侯午卒  
夏叔孫豹如晉  
秋七月戊子夫  
人妣氏薨  
葬陳成公  
八月辛亥葬我  
小君定姒  
冬公如晉  
陳人圍頓

左傳曰四年春楚師爲陳叛故猶在繁陽韓獻子患之言於朝曰文王帥殷之叛國以事紂惟知時也今我易之難哉三月陳成公卒楚人將伐陳聞喪乃止陳人不聽命臧武仲聞之曰陳不服於楚必亡大國行禮焉而不服在大猶有咎而況小乎夏楚彭名侵陳陳無禮故也穆叔如晉報知武子之聘也晉侯享之金奏肆夏之三不拜工歌文王之三又不拜歌鹿鳴之三三拜韓獻子使行人子員問之曰子以君命辱於敝邑先君之禮藉之以樂以辱吾子吾子舍其大而重拜其細敢問何禮也對曰三夏天子所以享元侯也使臣弗敢與聞文王兩君相見之樂也臣不敢及鹿鳴君所以嘉寡君也敢不拜嘉四牡君所以勞使臣也敢不重拜皇皇者華君教使臣曰必諮於周臣聞之訪問於善爲咨咨親爲詢咨禮爲度咨事爲諏咨難爲謀臣獲五善敢不重拜秋定姒薨不殯于廟無櫬不虞匠慶謂季文子曰子爲正卿而小君之喪不成不終君也君長誰受其咎初季孫爲己樹六櫬於蒲圃東門之外匠慶請木季孫曰略匠慶用蒲圃之櫬季孫不御君子曰志所謂多行無禮必自及也其是之謂乎冬公如晉聽政晉侯享公公請屬鄧晉侯不許孟獻子曰以寡君之密邇於仇讐而願固事君無失官命鄧無賦於司馬爲執事朝夕之命敝邑敝邑褊小而爲罪寡君是以願借助焉晉侯許之

楚人使頓問陳，而侵伐之，故陳人圍頓。  
 伐之，魏絳曰：諸侯新服，陳新來和，將觀於我，我德則睦，否則攜貳。勞師於我，而楚伐陳，必弗能救。是棄陳也。諸華必叛。戎禽獸也，獲戎失華，無乃不可乎？夏訓有之曰：有窮后羿，公曰：后羿何如？對曰：昔有夏之方衰也，后羿自鉏遷於窮石，因夏民以代夏政，恃其射也，不修民事，而淫於原獸，棄武羅，伯因熊羆，龍圍，而用寒浞。寒浞，伯明氏之讎子弟也，伯明后寒棄之，夷羿收之，信而使之，以爲己相，浞行媚於內，而施賂於外，愚弄其民，而虞羿于田，樹之詐慝，以取其國家，外內咸服，羿猶不悛，將歸自田，家衆殺而亨之，以食其子，其子不忍食諸，死於窮門，靡奔有鬲氏，浞因羿室，生澆及豷，恃其讎慝，詐僞而不德於民，使澆用師，滅斟灌及斟尋氏，處澆於過，處豷於戈，靡自有鬲氏，收二國之燼，以滅浞，而立少康。少康滅澆於過，后杼滅豷於戈，有窮由是遂亡，失人故也。昔周辛甲之爲大史也，命百官官箴王闕，於虞人之箴曰：芒芒禹迹，畫爲九州，經啟九道，民有寤廟，獸有茂草，各有攸處，德用不擾，在帝夷羿，冒於原獸，亡其國恤，而思其麀牡，武不可重，用不恢於夏家，獸臣司原，敢告僕夫，虞箴如是，可不懲乎？於是晉侯好田，故魏絳及之。公曰：然則莫如和戎乎？對曰：和戎有五利焉。戎狄荐居，貴貨易土，土可賈焉，一也。邊鄙不聳，民狎其野，穡人成功，二也。戎狄事晉，四鄰振動，諸侯咸懷，三也。以德綏戎，師徒不勤，甲兵不頓，四也。鑒于后羿，而用德度，遠至邇安，五也。君其圖之。公說，使魏絳盟諸戎，修民事，田以時。  
 冬十月，邾人莒人伐鄆，滅紇，救鄆，侵邾，敗於狐貍。國人逆夷者皆髡，魯於是乎始髡。國人誦之曰：滅之狐貍，敗我於狐貍，我君小子，朱儒是使，朱儒朱儒，使我敗於邾。

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Woo, marquis of Ch'in, died.  
 2 In summer, Shuh-sun P'ao went to Tsin.  
 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-tsze, [duke Ch'ing's] wife, the lady Sze, died.  
 4 There was the burial of duke Ch'ing of Ch'in.

- 5 In the eighth month, on Sin-hae, we buried our duchess, Ting Sze.  
 6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin.  
 7 A body of men from Ch'in laid siege to the capital of Tun.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—“This spring, the army of Ts'oo, in consequence of the revolt of Ch'in, was still in Fan-yang. Han Hên-tsze was troubled about it, and said in the court [of Tsin], “When king Wán led on the revolted States of Yin to serve Show, he knew the time. It is different now with our course. Alas!” In the 3d month, duke Ch'ing of Ch'in died; and when the people of Ts'oo, who were then about to invade Ch'in, heard of the event, they stayed their movement. Nevertheless, the people of Ch'in would not hearken to Ts'oo's commands. When Tsang Woo-chung heard of it, he said, “Ch'in, thus refusing to submit to Ts'oo, is sure to perish. When a great State behaves with courteous consideration, not to submit to it would be deemed blameworthy in [another] great State; how much more must it be deemed so in a small one!” In summer, P'ang Ming of Ts'oo made an incursion into Ch'in, because of the want of propriety which Ch'in had manifested.” The K'ang-he editors are indignant at the remarks which Ts'oo's persistence in attacking Ch'in elicited from the two statesmen of Tsin and Loo. Now, they think, was the time to have taken the field in force against Ts'oo.

Par. 2. Tso-she thinks this visit of P'ao to Tsin was in return for that of Seun Ying in the 1st year; but that courtesy of Tsin had been already more than responded to. We do not know what now took P'ao to Tsin.

The Chuen says:—“Muh-shuh went to Tsin, in return for the friendly mission of Che Woo-tsze. The marquis gave him an entertainment; and when the bells gave the signal, [there were sung] three pieces of the Kae-hêa, but he made no bow in acknowledgment. The musicians then sang the first three pieces in the first Book of the Greater odes of the kingdom; but neither did he bow in acknowledgment of these. They sang finally the first three pieces in the 1st Book of the Minor odes, in acknowledgment of which he bowed three times. Han Hên-tsze sent the inter-nuncius Tsze-yun to him, saying, “You have come by the command of your ruler to our poor State. We have received you with the ceremonies appointed by our former rulers, adding the accompaniment of music. Where the honour was the greatest, you overlooked it; and where it was the least, you acknowledged it:—I presume to ask by what rules of propriety you were guided.” The envoy replied, The first three pieces were those proper to an occasion when the son of Heaven is entertaining a chief among the princes; I did not presume to seem as if I heard them. The second three were those proper to the music at an interview between two princes; I did not presume to appear as if I had to do with them. But in the first of the last three, your ruler was complimenting mine;—I could not but presume to acknowledge the compliment. In the second, your ruler was cheering me for the toil of my embassy;—I dared not decline deeply to acknowledge [his kindness]. In the third, your ruler was instructing me, and telling me to be prosecuting my inquiries among the good. I

have heard that to inquire about goodness is [the proper] questioning; to inquire about relative duties is [the proper] seeking for information; to inquire about propriety is [the proper] deliberation; to inquire about governmental affairs is [the proper] consultation; to inquire about calamities is [the proper] devising:—thus I obtained five excellent instructions, and I dared not but deeply to acknowledge [the favour].”

Par. 3, 5. Here Kung-yang makes the surname of the lady to have been 弋 and not 姒. It is plain from the Chuen that she was the mother of duke Seang. The death of duke Ch'ing's wife—Ts'e Kêang—appears in the second year. The Sze could only have been a concubine; yet she appears here as if she had been his wife, and was buried as such. The K'ang-he editors cannot help calling attention to this impropriety, and they suppose that the entries were made just to call attention to it! The whole thing is the more remarkable, as it appears from the Chuen that it was not thought necessary at first to bury Ting Sze with any distinguished ceremonies at all. It says:—“In autumn, Ting Sze died, and [it was proposed] that her coffin should not be carried into the ancestral temple on occasion of her interment; that there should be no [double] coffin; and that the subsequent ceremony of lamentation should be omitted. The artificer K'ing said to Ke Wán-tsze, “You are our chief minister, and in making the funeral rites of the duchess thus incomplete, you are not doing your duty to our ruler. When he is grown up, who will receive the blame?”

“Before this, Ke-sun had planted for himself six k'ea trees in the P'oo orchard outside the east gate. K'ing asked him for some trees [to make the coffin], and when he gave a half assent, the other used the k'ea in that orchard, without Ke-sun's forbidding him. The superior man will say, “Might not what we find in an [old] book, that he who is guilty of many breaches of propriety will find his conduct recoil upon himself, be spoken of Ke-sun?” The funeral must have been hurried on.

Par. 4. The State of Ch'in had revolted from Ts'oo, and was now on the side of Tsin. Loo in consequence, as one of the northern party, now sent an officer to be present at the burial of the marquis.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—“The duke now went to Tsin, to receive its orders (as to the services to be rendered to the leading State). The marquis of Tsin entertained him, and the duke requested that Tsang might be attached to Loo. The marquis not agreeing to this, Máng Hên-tsze said, “Our ruler in Loo is in proximity to your adversaries, and wishes to serve your lordship firmly, without failing in any of the requirements of your officers. Tsang contributes no levies to your minister of War. Your officers are continually laying their commands on our poor State, which being of small dimensions is liable to fail in discharging them, and may be

Fifth year.

五年<sup>一章</sup>春，公至自晉。夏<sup>二章</sup>鄭伯使公子發來聘<sup>三章</sup>。叔孫豹<sup>四章</sup>鄆世子巫如晉。仲孫蔑<sup>五章</sup>衛孫林父會吳于善道。秋<sup>六章</sup>大雩。楚殺其大夫公子壬夫。公會晉侯<sup>七章</sup>宋公陳侯衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒子邾子滕子薛伯齊世子光吳人鄆人于戚<sup>八章</sup>。公至自會<sup>九章</sup>。冬<sup>十章</sup>成陳。公會晉侯宋公<sup>十一章</sup>衛侯鄭伯曹伯齊世子光救陳<sup>十二章</sup>。辛未<sup>十三章</sup>季孫行父卒。

左傳曰：五年春，公至自晉。王使王叔陳生憩戎於晉，晉人執之。士魴如京師，言王叔之貳於戎也。夏，鄭子國來聘，通嗣君也。穆叔觀鄆大夫子於晉，以成屬鄆。書曰：叔孫豹，鄆大夫子巫如晉，言比諸魯大夫也。吳子使壽越如晉，辭不會于雞澤之故，且請聽諸侯之好。晉人將為之合諸侯，使魯衛先會吳，且告會期，故孟獻子孫文子會吳于善道。秋，大雩，旱也。楚人討陳叛故，曰：由令尹子辛，實侵欲焉。乃殺之。書曰：楚殺其大夫公子壬夫，貪也。君子謂楚共王於是不刑。詩曰：周道挺挺，我心翼翼。講事不令，集人來定。

the throne. Shaou-k'ang extinguished K'eaou in Ko, and [his son], the sovereign Ch'oo, extinguished He in Kor. The princes of K'ung thus perished because they had lost the people. Formerly, in the times of our own Chow, when Sin K'eah was grand historiographer, he ordered each of the officers to write some lines reproving the king's defects. In the lines of the forester it was said,

'Wide and long Yu travelled about,  
When the nine regions he laid out,  
And through them led the nine-fold route.  
The people then safe homes possessed;  
Beasts ranged the grassy plains with zest.  
For man and beast sweet rest was found,  
And virtue reigned the empire round.  
Then took E E the emperor's place,  
His sole pursuit the wild beasts' chase.  
The people's care he quite forgot.  
Of does and stags alone he thought.  
Wars and such pastimes kings should flee;  
Soon passed the power of H'ea from E.  
A forester, these lines I pen,  
And offer to my king's good men.'

Such were the lines of the forester;—is there not matter of admonition in them? At this time the marquis of Ts'in was fond of hunting, and therefore Wei K'ang took the opportunity to touch on the subject. The marquis then said, "Well then, will it not be our best plan to be on good terms with the Jung?" K'ang replied, "To be on good terms with the Jung has five advantages. The Jung and Teih are continually changing their residence, and are fond of exchanging land for goods. Their lands can be purchased;—this is the first advantage. Our borders will not be kept in apprehension. The people can labour on their fields, and the husbandmen complete their toils;—this is the second. When the Jung and Teih serve Ts'in, our neighbours all round will be terrified, and the States will be awed and cherish our friendship;—this is the third. Tranquillizing the Jung by our goodness, our armies will not be toiled, and weapons will not be broken;—this is the fourth. Taking warning from the sovereign E, and using only measures of virtue, the remote will come to us, and the near will be at rest;—this is the fifth." The marquis was pleased, and sent Wei K'ang to make a covenant with all the Jung. He also attended to the business of the people, and hunted [only] at the proper seasons.

There is another narrative regarding Loo and Choo:—In winter, in the 10th month, a body of men from Choo and another from Keu invaded Ts'ang. Ts'ang-sun Heih succoured Ts'ang, and made an incursion into Choo, when he was defeated at Hoo-t'ae. The people of the State went to meet the dead [who were being brought back], and all had their hair tied up with sack-cloth. It was now that this style commenced in Loo. The people sang these lines on the occasion:—

"The fox-fur robe of Ts'ang,  
Caused our loss at Hoo-t'ae.  
Our ruler a child;  
Our general a dwarf.  
O dwarf, O dwarf,  
You caused our defeat in Choo!"

charged with some offence. Our ruler therefore wished to borrow the assistance [of Ts'ang]. On this the marquis assented to the application.

Par. 7. Tun,—see V. xxv. 5. It was one of the many small States acknowledging the supremacy of Ts'oo. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'oo made Tun watch for opportunities in Ch'in, and attack it or make inroads into it. In consequence, the people of Ch'in laid siege to its principal city."

[The Chuen gives here a long narrative about Ts'in and the Jung. 'K'ea-foo, viscount of Woo-chung (a tribe of the Hill Jung) sent M'ang Loh to Ts'in, and through Wei Ch'wang-tsze (Wei K'ang) presented a number of tiger and leopard skins, begging that Ts'in would agree to be in harmony with the various tribes of the Jung. The marquis said, "The Jung and Teih know nothing of affection or friendship, and are full of greed. The best plan is to attack them." Wei K'ang said, "The States have only recently declared their submission to Ts'in, and Ch'in has recently sought our friendship. They will all be watching our course. If that be one of kindly goodness, they will maintain their friendship with us; if it be not, they will fall off and separate from us. If we make a toilsome expedition against the Jung, and Ts'oo [in the mean time] invade Ch'in, we shall not be able to relieve that State;—we shall be throwing Ch'in away. The States also will be sure to revolt from us;—shall we not be acting an impolitic course, if we lose the States, though we gain the Jung? And in the Book of Instructions of H'ea (Shoo, III. iii. 2) mention is made of "E, prince of K'ung." The marquis said, "What about the prince E?" He replied, "Formerly, when the princes of H'ea were in a decaying State, prince E removed from Seu to K'ung-shih, and took advantage of [the dissatisfaction of] the people to supersede the line of H'ea. Relying [afterwards] on his archery, he neglected the business of the people, and abandoned himself to the pursuit of the beasts of the plains. He put away from him Woo Lo, Pih Yin, H'ung K'wan, and M'ang Yu, and employed Tsuh of Han. This Tsuh was a slanderous scion of the House of Pih-ming, prince of Han, who cast him out. E, [prince of K'ung], received him, trusted him, and made him his chief minister. Tsuh then fell to flatter all inside the palace, and gave bribes to all outside it. He cajoled the people, and encouraged E in his fondness for hunting. He plied more and more his deceit and wickedness to take from E his kingdom, until inside and outside the palace all were ready to acknowledge him. Still E made no change in his ways; and as he was [on one occasion] on his return from the field, his own servants killed him, boiled him, and gave his flesh to his sons to eat. They could not bear to eat it, and all died in the gate of K'ung. Mei then fled to the State of Y'ew-kih. Tsuh took to himself E's wife, and by her had K'eaou and He. Relying on his slanderous villanies and deceit, he displayed virtue in governing the people, and made K'eaou with an army extinguish the States of Chin-kwan and Chin-sin. He then placed K'eaou in Ko (過),

and He in Ko (戈). [In the meantime], Mei went from Y'ew-kih, and collected the remnant of the people of those two States, with whom he extinguished Tsuh, and raised Shaou-k'ang to

無私積可不謂忠乎。之忠於公室也。相三君矣。而重器備君子是以知季文子。妾無食粟之馬。無藏金玉。無宰庖家器為葬備。無衣帛之季文子卒。大夫入斂。公在位。會於城棣以救之。戌陳子囊伐陳。十一月甲午。吾事也。無之而後可。冬。諸侯必改行。而疾討陳。陳近於楚。喪陳矣。楚人討貳。而立子囊。楚子囊為令尹。范宣子曰。我戌陳也。穆叔以屬鄆為不利。使鄆大夫聽命于會。九月丙午。盟于戚。會吳。且命難乎。夏。書曰。成允成功。己則無信。而殺人以逞。不亦

- V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
2 In summer, the earl of Ch'ing sent the Kung-tsze Fah to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.  
3 Shuh-sun P'ao and Woo, heir-son of Ts'ang, went to Tsin.  
4 Chung-sun M'eh and Sun Lin-foo of Wei had a meeting with Woo at Shen-taou.  
5 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Jin-foo.  
7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'ao, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earl of S'eh, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, an officer of Woo, and an officer of Ts'ang, in Ts'eih.  
8 The duke arrived from the meeting.  
9 In winter, we went to guard Ch'in.  
10 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'in.  
11 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'ao, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in relieving Ch'in.  
12 In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from the relief of Ch'in.  
13 On Sin-we, Ke-sun H'ang-foo died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here:—'The king sent Wang-shuh Ch'in-sang to accuse the Jung to Tsin. The people of Tsin seized and held him prisoner, while Sze Fang went to the capital, to tell how Wang-shuh was playing double with the Jung.']

Par. 2. Tso-she says:—'This mission of Tsze-kwoh of Ch'ing was to open communication between Loo and the new earl of Ch'ing.' The new earl of Ch'ing had succeeded to that State in the duke's 2d year; he might have sent a mission to Loo before this, but through Ch'ing's long adherence to Ts'oo, its intercourse with the northern States had become irregular. Fah was son of duke Muh, and was styled Tsze-kwoh. He was the father of the famous Tsze-ch'an (子產).

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Muh-shuh (P'ao) procured an interview with [the marquis of] Tsin for the eldest son of [the viscount of] Ts'ang, in order to complete the attaching of Ts'ang [to Loo]. The style of the text, joining Shuh-sun P'ao and Woo of Ts'ang together, [without a conjunction between their names], exhibits the latter as a great officer of Loo.'

Par. 4. Shen-taou was in Woo. Kung and Kuh make the name 善稻. It appears to have been in the pres. Sze-chow (泗州), dep. Fung-yang, Ngan-hwuy. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Woo sent Show-yueh to Tsin, to explain the reason of his not attending the meeting at Ke-tsih, and to ask for another opportunity of joining the alliance of the other

States. The people of Tsin proposed on his account to assemble the States, and made Loo and Wei have a meeting with Woo beforehand, and convey to it the time of the [general] meeting. On this account M'ang H'ien-tsze and Sun W'an-tsze had a meeting with Woo at Shen-taou. The names of Chung-sun M'eh and Sun Lin-foo are joined together like those of Shuh-sun P'ao and the prince of Ts'ang in the previous par., because they went to Woo by orders of Tsin,—indeed, as its officers.

Par. 5. See on II. v. 7. Tso adds here that the sacrifice was offered because of a prevailing drought.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'oo were inquiring into the cause of the revolt of Ch'in, and it was said, "It was in consequence of exorbitant demands upon it of our chief minister Tsze-sin;" and on this they put him to death. The words of the entry show that it was his covetousness [which brought his fate on Jin-foo]. The superior man will say that king Kung of Ts'oo here failed in his use of punishment. The ode (a lost ode) says:—

"The great way is level and straight;  
My mind is exact and discriminating.  
In deliberating on things which are  
not good,  
We should collect the [wise] men to  
determine them."

He himself did not keep faith, and he put others to death to gratify his resentment;—was it not hard to have to do with him? One of the Books of H'ea (Shoo, II. ii. 14) says, "When one's good faith is established, he can accomplish his undertakings."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'In the 9th month, on Ping-woo, there was a covenant at Ts'eih, the business being—the presence of Woo at the meeting, and giving charge [to the States] about the guarding of Ch'in. Muh-shuh, considering that to have Ts'ang attached to Loo was not advantageous, made a great officer of Ts'ang receive the charge [from Tsin] at the meeting.' This last sentence would seem to be added to

explain the presence of a representative of Ts'ang at the meeting. As attached to Loo, that State could not be separately represented at such a time; but Muh-shuh thus publicly renounced the superiority which Loo had a short time obtained over it.

Par. 9. Not Loo alone sent forces to guard the territory of Ch'in; but the other States had also received orders from Tsin at Ts'eih to do the same. There must have been a gathering of troops from several of them.

Parr. 10, 11. Between 曹伯 and 齊 the text of Kung and Kuh adds 莒子, 邾子, 滕子, 薛伯. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-

ang became chief minister of Ts'oo, on which Fan Seuen-tsze said, 'We shall lose Ch'in. The people of Ts'oo, having found the cause of its disaffection and made Tsze-nang minister, are sure to change their ways with it. And they are rapid in their measures to punish. Ch'in is near to Ts'oo;—is it possible that the people, distressed morning and night, should not go to it? It is not ours to hold command of Ch'in. Let us let it go, as our best plan.' In winter, the States commenced to guard the territory of Ch'in, and Tsze-nang invaded it. In the 11th month, on K'eah-woo, [Tsin and its allies, all] met at Shing-te to relieve it.'

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—'When Ke W'an-tsze died, the great officers went to his coffin, and the marquis was present in his proper place. The steward had arranged the furniture of the house in preparation for the burial. There was not a concubine who wore silk, nor a horse which ate grain. There were no stores of money and gems, no valuable articles accumulated. The superior man hereby knows that Ke W'an-tsze was loyal to the ducal House. He acted as chief minister to three dukes, and yet he had accumulated nothing for himself;—is he not to be pronounced loyal?'

W'an-tsze was succeeded by his son Suh (宿), known as Ke Woo-tsze (季武子).

Sixth year.

六年春，王三月，壬午，杞伯姑容卒。夏，宋華弱來奔。秋，葬杞桓公。滕子來朝。莒人滅鄆。冬，叔孫豹如邾。季孫宿如晉。十有二月，齊侯滅萊。



左傳曰六年春杞桓公卒始赴以名同盟故也。宋華弱與樂轡少相狎長相優又相謗也子蕩怒以弓楛華弱於朝平公見之曰司武而楛於朝難勝矣遂逐之夏宋華弱來奔司城子罕曰同罪異罰非刑也專戮於朝罪孰大焉亦逐子蕩子蕩射子罕之門曰幾日而不我從子罕善之如初。秋滕成公來朝始朝公也。莒人滅鄆鄆恃賂也。冬穆叔如邾聘且修平。晉人以鄆故來討曰何故亡鄆季武子如晉見且聽命。十一月齊侯滅萊萊恃謀也於鄭子國之來聘也四月晏弱城東陽而遂圍萊甲寅堙之環城傳於堞及杞桓公卒之月乙未王湫帥師及正輿子棠人軍齊師齊師大敗之丁未入萊萊共公浮柔奔棠棠正輿子王湫奔莒莒人殺之四月陳無宇獻萊宗器於襄宮晏弱圍棠十一月丙辰而滅之遷萊於鄆高厚崔杼定其田。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Jin-woo, Koo-yung, earl of Ke, died.  
 2 In summer, Hwa Joh of Sung came a fugitive to Loo.  
 3 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ke.  
 4 The viscount of T'ang came to Loo on a court-visit.  
 5 The people of Keu extinguished Tsang.  
 6 In winter, Shuh-sun P'au went to Choo.  
 7 Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin.  
 8 In the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts'e extinguished Lae.

Par. 1. Tso-she says:—'When duke Hwan of Ke died this spring, the announcement of his death was made with his name for the 1st time [on occasion of the death of a prince of Ke], the reason being that he and our dukes had covenanted together.' This canon is applicable in the case of the only previous notice which we have of the death of a prince of Ke, where no name is given;—see V. xxiii. 4. Generally, however, throughout the classic, it will not apply. E.g., in I. viii. 4, we have the name of the marquis of Ts'ae in the record of his death, though duke Yin had never covenanted with him. Again, in VIII. xiv. 7, we have the death of an earl of Ts'in without his name, tho' in ii. 10 there is the record of a covenant made by Loo with Ts'in.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'Hwa Joh of Sung (a grandson of Hwa Ts'au, in the Chuen on VII. xii. 5) and Yoh Pe, were great companions when young, and when grown up they made

sport together, and went on to revile one another. [Once], Tsze-tang (Yoh Pe), in a passion with the other, twisted his bow [-string] about his neck in the court. Duke Ping saw the thing, and said, "It would be strange if a minister of War, who is dealt with thus in the court, were equal to his office." He then drove Joh out of the State; and in summer he came, a fugitive, to Loo. Tsze-han, minister of Works, said, "To inflict different penalties on parties guilty of the same offence is improper punishment. What offence could be greater than [for Pe] to take it on himself [so] to disgrace [Joh] in the court?" [Accordingly he proposed] also to drive out Tsze-tang, who shot an arrow at his door, saying, "In a few days, shall you not be following me?" Tsze-han then became friendly with him as before.'

Par. 3. Loo had not before this sent an officer to attend the burial of a prince of Ke. The State was small and at a distance. But

duke Hwan had married a daughter of Loo, and Sze,—Ting-sze,—duke S'ang's mother, had been from Ke. These circumstances drew the States together more than had been the case before.

Par. 4. Tso says that this visit of duke Ching of T'ang was the first on the part of T'ang since duke S'ang's accession.

Par. 5. This calamity came upon Tsang, acc. to Tso-sha, 'through its trusting in bribes,'—bribes which it had paid to Loo for its protection. Nothing could be plainer than the statement here that Tsang was extinguished by Keu. Mention, however, is made, in the 4th year of duke Ch'au, of Loo's taking Tsang, as if it had not been extinguished now. The language there can only be equivalent to 'Loo took from Keu what had formerly been Tsang.' Kung-yang, however, suggests another view of the 'extinguished' in the text;—that Keu now superseded the Sze line in Tsang by the son of a daughter of Tsang married to one of its scions. There is no necessity for this view, and no evidence of it.

Par. 6. Tso-she says:—'In winter, Muh-shuh went to Choo, with friendly inquiries, and to cultivate peace;—after the battle of Foo-t'ae, in the end of last year.'

Par. 7. Suh was the son of H'ang-foo, and had succeeded to his father as chief minister of Loo. It would seem that it was necessary for him to get the sanction of the leading State to his appointment. The Chuen says:—'An offi-

cer of Tsin came to Loo to inquire about [the loss of] Tsang, and to reprove us for it, saying, "Why have you lost Tsang?" On this, Ke Woo-tze went to Tsin to have an interview [with the marquis], and to hear his commands.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'In the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'e extinguished Lae, through its reliance on the bribes [which it had offered to Ts'e], (see the Chuen after ii. 2). In the 4th month of the last year, when Tsze-kwoh of Ch'ing came on his friendly mission to Loo (see v. 2), Ngan Joh fortified Tung-yang, and proceeded to lay siege to the capital of Lae. On K'eah-jin, he raised a mound round the wall, which was [gradually] brought close to the parapet. In the month [of this year] when duke Hwan of Ke died, on Yih-we, Wang Ts'au (see the Chuen on VIII. xviii. 3), Ching Yu-tsze (see the Chuen after ii. 2), and the people of T'ang attacked the army of Ts'e, which inflicted on them a great defeat, and entered Lae on Ting-we. Fow-jow, duke Kung of Lae, fled to T'ang. Ching Yu-tsze and Wang Ts'au fled to Keu, where they were put to death. In the 4th month, Ch'in Woo-yu presented the most precious spoils of Lae in the temple of [duke] S'ang. Ngan Joh laid siege to T'ang, and on Ping-shin, in the 11th month, he extinguished it. Lae was removed to E. Kaou How and Ts'uy Ch'oo superintended the laying out of its lands [anew].'

### Seventh year.

七年春，邾子來朝。夏四月，三卜郊，不從，乃免牲。秋季，孫宿如衛。八月，螽。冬十月，衛侯使孫林父來聘，壬戌及孫林父盟。楚公子貞帥師圍陳。十有二月，公會晉侯、宋公、陳侯、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、鄆侯、丙戌卒于鄆。鄭伯髡頑如會，未見諸陳侯逃歸。

左傳曰：七年春，鄒子來朝，始朝公也。  
夏四月，三卜郊，不從，乃免牲。孟獻子曰：吾乃今而後知有卜筮。夫郊祀后稷，以祈農事也，是故啟蟄而郊，郊而後耕。今既耕而卜郊，宜其不從也。  
小邾穆公來朝，亦始朝公也。  
南遺爲費宰，叔仲昭伯爲隧正，欲善季氏，而求媚于南遺，謂遺請城費，吾多與而役。故季氏城費。  
秋，季武子如衛，報子叔之聘，且辭緩報，非貳也。  
冬十月，晉韓獻子告老，公族穆子有廢疾，將立之，辭曰：詩曰：豈不夙夜，謂行多露。又曰：弗躬弗親，庶民弗信。無忌不才，讓其可乎？請立起也。與田蘇游，而曰：好仁，詩曰：靖共爾位，好是正直，神之聽之，介爾景福。恤民爲德，正直爲正，正曲爲直，參和爲仁，如是則神聽之，介福降之，立之，不亦可乎？庚戌，使宣子朝，遂老。晉侯謂韓無忌仁，使掌公族大夫。  
衛孫文子來聘，且拜武子之言，而尋孫桓子之盟。公登亦登，叔孫穆子相，趨進曰：諸侯之會，寡君未嘗後衛君。今吾子不後寡君，寡君未知所過，吾子其少安。孫子無辭，亦無倭容。穆叔曰：孫子必亡，爲臣而君過而不倭，亡之本也。詩曰：退食自公，委蛇委蛇，謂從者也。衡而委蛇，必折。  
楚子囊圍陳，會于鄆以救之。  
鄭僂公之爲大子也，於成之十六年，與子罕適晉，不禮焉。又與子豐適楚，亦不禮焉。及其元年，朝於晉，子豐欲愬諸晉而廢之，子罕止之。及將會于鄆，子駟相又不禮焉。侍者諫，不聽。又諫，殺之。及鄆，子駟使賊夜弑僂公，而以瘡疾赴於諸侯。簡公生五年，奉而立之。  
陳人患楚，慶虎、慶寅謂楚人曰：吾使公子黃往，而執之。楚人從之。二慶使告陳侯於會曰：楚人執公子黃矣。君

歸。侯逃。圖。有。廟。稷。忍。臣。來。若。  
侯。逃。陳。二。懼。宗。社。不。羣。不。

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, the viscount of T'an came to Loo on a court-visit.  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a third time about the border sacrifice. The divination was adverse, and the victim was let go.  
3 The viscount of Little Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.  
4 We walled Pe.  
5 In autumn, Ke-sun Suh went to Wei.  
6 In the eighth month, there were locusts.  
7 In winter, in the tenth month, the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lin-foo to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries; and on Jin-sëuh [the duke] made a covenant with him.  
8 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force and besieged [the capital of] Ch'in.  
9 In the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, and the viscounts of Keu and Choo, in Wei.  
10 K'wän-hwan earl of Ch'ing [set out] to go to the meeting; but before he had seen the [other] princes, on Ping-seuh, he died at Ts'aou.  
11 The marquis of Ch'in stole away [from the meeting] to Ch'in.

Par. 1. See on p. 4 of last year.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 3—5. There, however, the divination had been tried 4 times, while here the tortoise-shell was only consulted a 3d time; and it is understood that to divine thrice was in accordance with rule. But on this occasion, as we learn from the Chuen, the 3d divination was made after the equinox, when it was no longer proper to offer the border sacrifice. The Chuen says:—'On this occasion, Mäng Hên-tsze said, "From this time forth I know the virtue of the tortoise-shell and the milfoil. At this service we sacrifice to How-tseih, praying for a blessing on our husbandry. Hence the border sacrifice is offered at the season of K'e-chih (the emergence of insects from their burrows; see on II. v. 7). and afterwards the people do their ploughing. Now the ploughing is done, and still we divined about the border sacrifice. It was right the divinations should be adverse.'

Par. 3. Like p. 1. See on p. 4 of last year.  
Par. 4. Pe was the city belonging to the K' or Ke-sun clan;—its name remains in the district so called, dep. of E-chow. The old city was 20 1/2 north-west from the pres. dis. city. Pe was granted originally by duke He to Ke Yëw, the founder of the Ke clan;—see the Chuen on V. i. 9. The Chuen says:—'Nan E was commandant of Pe, and Shuh-chung Ch'aou-pih was superintendent of workmen. Wishing to be on good terms with Ke [Woo-tsze] and to flatter Nan E, he proposed to him to ask that

Pe might be fortified, saying that he would allot a great number of workmen for the undertaking. On this the Head of the Ke clan fortified Pe.'

This event deserved record, as illustrating the gradual increase of the power of perhaps the most influential family in Loo.

Par. 5. Tso-she says this visit to Wei was in return for that of Tsze-shuh or Kung-sun P'ëaou in the duke's 1st year, to explain the delay that had taken place, and assure Wei that it was from no disaffection. Maou thinks it unreasonable to suppose that we have here the response to a visit seven years before; what really occasioned it, however, he cannot tell.

Par. 6. See II. v. 8; *et al.*

[The Chuen appends here:—'In winter, in the 10th month, Han Hên-tsze announced his [wish to retire from duty on account of] age. [His son], Muh-tsze (Han Woo-ke; see the Chuen after VIII. xviii. 3), the Head of one of the branches of the ducal kindred, had an incurable disease; and when it was proposed to appoint him his father's successor, he declined [the office] saying, "The ode says (She, I. ii. ode VI. 1):—

'Might I not have been there in the early morning?

I said, "There is too much dew on the path."'

And another says (She, II. iv. ode VII. 4):—

'Doing nothing personally and by himself, The people have no confidence in him.'

I have not the ability [for the place]; may I not decline it in favour of another? I would ask that K'e (his younger brother) may be appointed. He associated much with T'een Soo, and may be pronounced a lover of virtue. The ode says (She, II. vi. ode III. v.):—

'Quietly fulfil the duties of your office,  
Loving the correct and upright.  
So shall the Spirits hearken to you,  
And increase your brilliant happiness.'

A compassionate attendance to the business of the people is goodness. The rectification of one's self is real rectitude. The straightening of others crookedness is real correctness. These three things in harmony constitute virtue. To him who has such virtue, the Spirits will listen, and they will send down on him bright happiness. Would it not be well to appoint such an one?

'On K'ang-seuh, [Han H'een-tse] made [his son], S'au-tse appear in court before the marquis, and then retired from office himself. The marquis, considering [also] that Han Woo-ke was possessed of high virtue, appointed him director of the Heads of all the branches of the ducal kindred.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Sun W'an-tse came on a friendly mission; to acknowledge also the [satisfactory] language of Woo-tse (on his mission to Wei in autumn); and to renew the covenant of Sun Hwan-tse (in the third year of duke Ch'ing; see VIII. iii. 13). When the duke was ascending the steps, he ascended them along with him, on which Shuh-sun Muh-tse (P'au), who was directing the ceremonies, hurried forward, and said, "At meetings of the States, our ruler has never followed after yours; and now you do not follow after our ruler;—he does not know wherein he has erred. Be pleased, Sir, to be a little more leisurely." Sun-tse made no reply, and did not change his deportment. Muh-shuh said, "Sun-tse is sure to perish. For a minister to play the part of a ruler, to do wrong and not change one's conduct, are the first steps to ruin. The ode says (She, I. ii. ode VII.):

'They have retired to their meals from the court;  
Easy are they and self-possessed.'

It speaks of officers acting naturally as they ought to do; but he who assumes such an appearance of ease in a cross and unreasonable course is sure to be broken."

### Eighth year.

八年春王正月  
公如晉  
夏葬鄭僖公  
鄭人侵蔡獲  
蔡公子燮  
季孫宿會晉  
侯鄭伯齊人  
宋人衛人邾  
人于邢丘  
公至自晉

Parr. 8, 9. For 鄭 Kuh-l'ang has 陰. The place was in Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-nang of Ts'oo having laid siege to the capital of Ch'in, there was the meeting at Wei to succour it.' The meeting came to nothing, as we shall see, and thenceforth there was an end of any adherence to the northern States on the part of Ch'in.

Par. 10. For 髡頑 Kung and Kuh have 髡原; and for 鄭 they have 操. Ts'au was in Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—'When duke He of Ch'ing was [only his father's] eldest son, in the 16th year of duke Ch'ing he went with Tsze-han to Tsin, and behaved improperly. He did the same in Ts'oo, to which he had gone with Tsze-fung. In his first year, when he went to the court of Tsin, Tsze-fung wished to accuse him to the marquis, and get him displaced, but Tsze-han stopped the attempt. When he was proceeding to the meeting at Wei, Tsze-sze was with him as director, and to him also he behaved with impropriety. His attendants remonstrated, but he did not listen to them. They repeated their remonstrance, and he put them to death. When they got to Ts'au, Tsze-sze employed some ruffians to kill the duke, and sent word to the States that he had died of fever. [His son], duke K'een, though but 5 years old, was raised to be earl.'

Chau K'wang and some other critics deny the account of the earl's murder which is given in the Chuen (and also by Kung and Kuh), and suppose from the language of the text, that he died a natural death. There can be no doubt, however, that the truth is to be found in the Chuen.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ch'in were troubled by [the action of] Ts'oo; and [while the marquis was absent at Wei], K'ing Woo and K'ing Yin proposed to the commander of Ts'oo's army that they should send the Kung-tze Hwang to it, to be held as a prisoner. This was agreed to and acted on; and the two K'ing then sent to the marquis at the meeting, saying, "The people of Ts'oo have seized and hold your brother Hwang. If you do not at once come back, your ministers cannot bear to see the impending fate of our altars and ancestral temple. We fear there will be two plans [for the future in debate]." On this the marquis stole away back.'

大章 莒人伐我東鄙  
七章 秋九月  
八章 大雩  
九章 冬楚公  
子貞帥  
師伐鄭  
晉侯使  
士匄來  
聘

左傳曰八年春公如晉朝且聽朝聘之數  
鄭羣公子以僖公之死也謀子駟子駟先之夏四月庚辰辟殺子狐子熙子侯子丁孫擊孫  
惡出奔衛  
庚寅鄭子國子耳侵蔡獲蔡司馬公子燮鄭人皆喜唯子產不順曰小國無文德而有武功禍  
莫大焉楚人來討能勿從乎從之晉師必至晉楚伐鄭自今鄭國不四五年弗得寧矣子國怒  
之曰爾何知國有大命而有正卿童子言焉將爲戮矣  
五月甲辰會于邢丘以命朝聘之數使諸侯之大夫聽命季孫宿齊高厚宋向戌衛甯殖邾大  
夫會之鄭伯獻捷於會故親聽命大夫不書尊晉侯也  
莒人伐我東鄙以疆鄆田  
秋九月大雩早也  
冬楚子囊伐鄭討其侵蔡也子駟子國子耳欲從楚子孔子蟜子展欲待晉子駟曰周詩有之  
曰俟河之清人壽幾何兆云詢多職競作羅謀之多族民之多違事滋無成民急矣姑從楚以  
紿吾民晉師至吾又從之敬共幣帛以待來者小國之道也犧牲玉帛待於二竟以待彊者而  
庇民焉寇不爲害民不罷病不亦可乎子展曰小所以事大信也小國無信兵亂日至亡無日  
矣五會之信今將背之雖楚救我將安用之親我無成鄙我是欲不可從也不如待晉晉君方  
明四軍無闕八卿和睦必不棄鄭楚師遼遠糧食將盡必將速歸何患焉舍之問之杖莫如信  
完守以老楚杖信以待晉不亦可乎子駟曰詩云謀夫孔多是用不集發言盈庭誰敢執其咎  
如匪行邁謀是用不得於道請從楚驂也受其咎乃及楚平使王子伯駟告於晉曰君命敝邑

Please let us follow Ts'oo, and I will take the responsibility." Accordingly they made peace with Ts'oo, and sent the king's son, Pih-ping to inform [the marquis of] Tsin, saying, "Your lordship commanded our State to have its chariots in repair and its soldiers in readiness to punish the disorderly and remiss. The people of Ts'ae were disobedient, and our people did not dare to abide quietly [looking on]. We called out all our levies to punish Ts'ae, took captive Sieh its minister of war, and presented him to your lordship at Hing-k'ew. And now Ts'oo has come to punish us, asking why we commenced hostilities with Ts'ae. It has burned all the stations on our borders; it has come insultingly up to our walls and suburbs. The multitudes of our people, husbands and wives, men and women, had no houses left in which to save one another. They have been destroyed with an utter overthrow, with no one to appeal to. If the fathers and elder brothers have not perished, the sons and younger brothers have done so. All were full of sorrow and distress, and there was none to protect them. Under the pressure of their destitution, they accepted a covenant with Ts'oo, which I and my ministers were not able to prevent. I dare not but now inform you of it." Che Woo-tze made the inter-nunciatus Tsze-yun reply to Pih-ping, "Your ruler received such a message from Ts'oo, and at the same time did not send a single messenger to inform our ruler, but instantly sought for rest under Ts'oo:—it was your ruler's wish to



do so; who would dare to oppose him? But our ruler will lead on the States and see him beneath his walls. Let your ruler take measures accordingly."

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"Fan Seuen-tsze (Sze Kae) came to Loo, on a friendly mission, and also to acknowledge the duke's visit [to Tsin, in spring], and to give notice about taking the field against Ch'ing. The duke feasted him, on which occasion he sang the P'eaou yew mei (She, I. ii. ode IX.), and Ke Woo-tsze (Ke-sun Suh) rejoined, "Who will dare [not to obey your orders]? If you compare your ruler to a plum-tree, ours is to him as its fragrance, [a portion of the same plant]. Joyfully we re-

ceive your orders, and will obey them without regard to time." With this he sang the K'oh kung (She II. vii. ode IX.). When the guest was about to leave [the hall], Woo-tsze [also] sang the T'ung kung (She, II. iii. ode I.), Seuen-tsze said, "After the battle of Shing-puh, our former ruler, duke Wan, presented [the trophies of] his success in H'ang-yung (see the Chuen on V. xxviii. 8), and received the red bow from king S'ang, to be preserved by his descendants. I have inherited the office held by my ancestor under that previous ruler, and dare not but receive your instructions?" The superior man considers that Seuen-tsze was acquainted with propriety."

Ninth year.

九年春宋災。  
夏季孫宿如晉。  
五月辛酉夫人姜氏薨。  
秋八月癸未葬我小君穆姜。  
冬公會晉侯宋公衛侯曹伯莒子邾子滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子齊世子光伐鄭。十有二月己亥同盟于戲。楚子伐鄭。

左傳曰九年春宋災樂喜爲司城以爲政使伯氏司里火所未至徹小屋塗大屋陳畚揭具綆缶備水器量輕重蓄水潦積土塗巡丈城繕守備表火道使華臣具正徒令隧正納郊保奔火所使華閱討右官官庀其司向戌討左亦如之使樂過庀刑器亦如之使皇鄭命校正出馬工正出車備甲兵庀武守使西鉏吾庀府守令司宮巷伯徹宮二師令四鄉正敬享祝宗用馬於四墉祝盤庚於西門之外晉侯問於士弱曰吾聞之宋災於是乎知有天道何故對曰古之火

正或食於心或食於味以出內火是故味爲鶉火心爲大火陶唐氏之火正閼伯居商丘祀大火而火紀時焉相十因之故商主大火商人閱其禍敗之釁必始於火是以日知其有天道也公曰可必乎對曰在道國亂無象不可知也  
夏季武子如晉報宣子之聘也  
穆姜薨于東宮始往而筮之遇艮之八史曰是謂艮之隨隨其出也君必速出姜曰亡是於周易曰隨元亨利貞無咎元體之長也亨嘉之會也利義之和也貞事之幹也體仁足以長人嘉德足以合禮利物足以和義貞固足以幹事然故不可誣也是以雖隨無咎今我婦人而與於亂固在下位而有不仁不可謂元不靖國家不可謂亨作而害身不可謂利棄位而姦不可謂貞有四德者隨而無咎我皆無之豈隨也哉我則取惡能無咎乎必死於此弗得出矣  
秦景公使士雅乞師於楚將以伐晉楚子許之子囊曰不可當今吾不能與晉爭晉君類能而使之舉不失選官不易方其卿讓於善其大夫不失守其士競於教其庶人力於農穡商工阜隸不知遷業韓厥老矣知磬稟焉以爲政范匄少於中行偃而土之使佐中軍韓起少於欒黶而欒黶士魴土之使佐上軍魏絳多功以趙武爲賢而爲之佐君明臣忠上讓下競當是時也晉不可敵事之而後可君其圖之王曰吾既許之矣雖不及晉必將出師秋楚子師於武城以爲秦援秦人侵晉晉饑弗能報也  
冬十月諸侯伐鄭庚午季武子齊崔杼宋皇郈從荀偃士魴門于鄆門衛北宮括曹人邾人從荀偃韓起門于師之梁滕人薛人從欒黶士魴門于北門杞人邾人從趙武魏絳斬行栗甲戌師于汜令於諸侯曰脩器備盛饌糧歸老幼居疾于虎牢肆青圍鄭鄭人恐乃行成中行獻子曰遂圍之以待楚人之救也而與之戰不然無成知武子曰許之盟而還師以敝楚人吾三分四軍與諸侯之銳以逆來者於我未病楚不能矣猶愈於戰暴

骨以逞，不可以爭，大勞未艾，君子勞心，小人勞力，先王之制也。諸侯皆不欲戰，乃許鄭成。十一月，己亥，同盟于戲。鄭服也。將盟，鄭六卿公子騂、公子發、公子嘉、公孫輒、公孫蠆、公孫舍之及其大夫門子皆從鄭伯。晉士莊子爲載書，曰：「自今日既盟之後，鄭國而不唯晉命是聽，而或有異志者，有如此盟。」公子騂趨進曰：「天禍鄭國，使介居二大國之間，大國不加德音，而亂以要之，使其鬼神不獲歆其禋祀，其民人不獲享其土利，夫婦辛苦墊隘，無所底告。自今日既盟之後，鄭國而不唯禮與彊，可以庇民者是從，而敢有異志者，亦如之。」荀偃曰：「改載書，禮何以主盟？」姑盟而退，修德息師而來，終必獲鄭，何必今日？我之不德，民將棄我，豈唯鄭若能休和，遠人將至，何恃於鄭？乃盟而還。晉人不得志於鄭，以諸侯復伐之。十二月，癸亥，門其二門。閏月，戊寅，濟于陰阪，侵鄭，次於陰口而還。子孔曰：「晉師可擊也，師老而勞，且有歸志，必大克之。」子展曰：「不可。」

①公送晉侯。晉侯以公宴於河上，問公年。季武子對曰：「會於沙隨之歲，寡君以生。晉侯曰：「十二年矣，是謂一終，一星終也。」國君十五而生子，冠而生子，禮也。君可以冠矣。」大夫盍爲冠具。武子對曰：「君冠，必以裸享之禮行之，以金石之樂節之，以先君之祧處之，今寡君在行，未可具也。」請及兄弟之國，而假備焉。晉侯曰：「諾。」公還及衛，冠於成公之廟，假鐘磬焉，禮也。

楚子伐鄭，子駟將及楚平。子孔子驍曰：「與大國盟，口血未乾，而背之，可乎？」子駟曰：「吾盟固云，唯彊是從，今楚師至，晉不我救，則楚彊矣。」盟誓之言，豈敢背之？且要盟無質，神弗臨也。所臨唯信，信者，言之瑞也。善之主也，是故臨之，明神不蠲要盟，背之可也。」乃及楚平。公子罷戎入盟，同盟於中分。楚莊夫人卒，王未能定鄭而歸。

②晉侯歸，謀所以息民。魏絳請施舍，輸積聚以貸，自公以下，苟有積者，盡出之。國無滯積，亦無困人，公無禁利，亦無貪民，所以幣更賓，以特性器用，不作車服，從給行之期年。國乃有節，三駕而楚不能與爭。

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, there was a fire in Sung.  
 2 In summer, Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin.  
 3 In the fifth month, on Sin-yëw, duke [Sëuen's] wife, Këang, died.  
 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Kwei-we, we buried our duchess Muh Këang.  
 5 In winter, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'auou, the viscounts of Këu, Choo, and T'äng, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, the viscount of Little Choo, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in invading Ch'ing. In the twelfth month, on Ke-hae, these princes made a covenant together in He.  
 6 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Kung-yang has here 火 instead of 災, and we may doubt whether the canon of Tso-she, that 災 denotes a calamity produced by Heaven is applicable to this passage. The Chuen makes it clear that the event thus briefly chronicled was a fire which desolated the capital of Sung. This is another instance of the record in the Ch'ün Ts'ëw of the prodigies and calamities that occurred in Sung. Acc. to Kung and Kuh, such events in other States ought not to be mentioned in the Classic, but they make an exception in the case of Sung, as being entitled to preëminence among the other States, because its princes were the representatives of the line of Shang, or because Confucius was descended from a family of Sung! But calamities in other States are sometimes chronicled in the text;—e.g. X. xviii. 2. Too is, no doubt, correct in saying we have this record here, because an announcement of the event was sent from Sung to Loo.

The Chuen says:—“In the duke's 9th year, in spring, there was a fire in Sung. Yoh He (Tsze-han) was then minister of Works, and made in consequence [the following] regulations [for such an event]. He appointed the officer Pih to take charge of the streets where the fire had not reached. He was to remove small houses, and plaster over large ones. He was to set forth baskets and barrows for carrying earth; provide well-ropes and buckets; prepare water jars; have things arranged according to their weight; dam the water up in places where it was collected; have earth and mud stored up; go round the walls, and measure off the places where watch and ward should be kept; and signalize the line of the fire. He appointed Hwa Shin to have the public workmen in readiness, and to order the commandants outside the city to march their men from the borders and various stations to the place of the fire. He appointed Hwa Yueh to arrange that the officers of the right should be prepared for all they might be called on to do; and Hëang Sëuh to arrange similarly for the officers of the left. He appointed Yoh Ch'uen in the same way to prepare the various instruments of punishment. He appointed Hwang Yun to give orders to the master of the horse to bring out horses, and the

chariot-master to bring out chariots, and to be prepared with buff-coats and weapons, in readiness for military guard. He appointed Se Ts'oo-woo to look after the records kept in the different repositories. He ordered the superintendent and officers of the harem to maintain a careful watch in the palace. The masters of the right and left were to order the headmen of the 4 village-districts reverently to offer sacrifices. The great officer of religion was to sacrifice horses on the walls, and sacrifice to Pwan-käng outside the western gate.

“The marquis of Tsin asked Sze Joh what was the reason of a saying which he had heard, that from the fires of Sung it could be known there was a providence. “The ancient director of fire,” replied Joh, “was sacrificed to either when the heart or the beak of the Bird culminated at sun-set, to regulate the kindling or the extinguishing of the people's fires. Hence the beak is the star Shun-ho, and the heart is Ta-ho. Now the director of fire under Ta'ou-t'ang (Yao) was Oh-pih, who dwelt in Shang-k'ëw, and sacrificed to Ta-ho, by fire regulating the seasons. Sëang-t'oo came after him, and hence Shang paid special regard to the star Ta-ho. The people of Shang, in calculating their disasters and calamities, discovered that they were sure to begin with fire, and hence came the saying about thereby knowing there was a providence.” “Can the thing be certainly [known beforehand]?” asked the marquis, to which Joh replied, “It depends on the ruler's course. When the disorders of a State have not evident indications, it cannot be known [beforehand].”

Par. 2. Tso says this visit of Ke Woo-tsze to Tsin was in return for that of Fan Sëuen-tsze to Loo in the end of last year.

Par. 3. This lady was the grandmother of duke Sëang. Her intrigue with K'ëou-joo, and her threats to duke Ching, have appeared in different narratives of the Chuen. It would appear that she had been put under some restraint, and confined in the palace appropriate to the eldest son and heir-apparent of the State. The Chuen says:—“Muh Këang died in the eastern palace. When she first went into it, she consulted the milfoil, and got the second line of the diagram Kin (艮, ䷳). The diviner said, ‘This is what remains when Kin becomes

Suy (隨, 三). Suy is the symbol of getting out; your ladyship will soon get out from this." She replied, "No. Of this diagram it is said in the Chow Yih, 'Suy indicates being great, penetrating, beneficial, firmly correct, without blame.' Now that greatness is the lofty distinction of the person; that penetration is the assemblage of excellences; that beneficialness is the harmony of all righteousness; that firm correctness is the stem of all affairs. The person who is entirely virtuous is sufficient to take the presidency of others; admirable virtue is sufficient to secure an agreement with all propriety. Beneficialness to things is sufficient to effect a harmony of all righteousness. Firm correctness is sufficient to manage all affairs. But these things must not be in semblance merely. It is only thus that Suy could bring the assurance of blamelessness. Now I, a woman, and associated with disorder, am here in the place of inferior rank. Chargeable moreover with a want of virtue, greatness cannot be predicated of me. Not having contributed to the quiet of the State, penetration cannot be predicated of me. Having brought harm to myself by my doings, beneficialness cannot be predicated of me. Having left my proper place for a bad intrigue, firm correctness cannot be predicated of me. To one who has those four virtues the diagram Suy belongs;—what have I to do with it, to whom none of them belongs? Having chosen evil, how can I be without blame? I shall die here; I shall never get out of this." [The Chuen appends here:—'Duke King of Ts'in sent Sze K'ien to beg the assistance of an army from Ts'oo, intending to invade Ts'in. The viscount granted it, but Tsze-nang objected, saying, "We cannot now maintain a struggle with Ts'in. Its ruler employs officers according to their ability, and his appointments do justice to his choice. Every office is filled according to the regular rules. His ministers give way to others who are more able than themselves; his great officers discharge their duties; his scholars vigorously obey their instructions; his common people attend diligently to their husbandry; his merchants, mechanics, and inferior employes know nothing of changing their hereditary employments. Han Keuh having retired in consequence of age, Che Ying asks for his instructions in conducting the government. Fan Kae was younger than Chung-hang Yen, but Yen had him advanced and made assistant-commander of the army of the centre. Han K'e was younger than Lwan Yin, but Yin and Sze Fang had him advanced, and made assistant commander of the 1st army. Wei K'ang had performed many services, but considering Chaou Woo superior to himself, he became assistant under him. With the ruler thus intelligent and his servants thus loyal, his high officers thus ready to yield their places, and the inferior officers thus vigorous, at this time Ts'in cannot be resisted. Our proper course is to serve it; let your Majesty well consider the case." The king said, "I have granted the request of Ts'in. Though we are not a match for Ts'in, we must send an army forth." In autumn, the viscount of Ts'oo took post with an army at Woo-shing, in order to afford support to Ts'in. A body of men from Ts'in made an incursion into Ts'in, which was suffering from famine, and could not retaliate.']

Par. 4. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has 繆 for 穆. The duchess was buried sooner than the rule required.

Par. 5. He was in Ch'ing. It was the same place which, in the Chuen on VIII. xvii. 2, is called He-t'ung (戲童),—in the pres. dis. of

Fan-shwuy (汜水), dep. K'ae-fung. Acc. to Too there was no Ke-hae day in the 12th month, and we should read 十有一 instead of 十

有二. The Chuen says:—'In winter, on the 10th month, the States invaded Ch'ing. On K'ang-woo, Ke Woo-tsze, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, and Hwang Yun of Sung, followed S'ün Ying and Sze Kae, and attacked the Chuen gate. Pih-kung Kwol of Wei, an officer of Ts'au, and an officer of Choo followed Seun Yen and Han K'e, and attacked [the gate] Sze-che-l'ang. Officers of T'ang and S'eh followed Lwan Yin and Sze Fang, and attacked the north gate. Officers of Ke and E followed Chaou Woo and Wei K'ang, and cut down the chesnut trees along the roads. On K'eah-seuh, the armies collected in Fan, and orders were given to the States, saying, "Look to your weapons that they be ready for service; prepare dried and other provisions; send home the old and the young; place your sick in Hoo-laou; forgive those who have committed small faults:—we are going to lay siege to the capital of Ch'ing." On this the people of Ch'ing became afraid, and wished to make peace. Chung-hang H'een-tze (Seun Yen) said, "Let us hold the city in siege, and wait the arrival of the succours from Ts'oo, and then fight a battle with them. If we do not do so, we shall have accomplished nothing." Che Woo-tsze, however, said, "Let us grant Ch'ing a covenant, and then withdraw our armies, in order to wear out the people of Ts'oo. We shall divide our 4 armies into 3, and [with one of them and] the ardent troops of the States, meet the comers:—this will not be distressing to us, while Ts'oo will not be able to endure it. This is still better than fighting. A struggle is not to be maintained by whitening the plains with bones to gratify [our pride]. There is no end to such great labour. It is a rule of the former kings that superior men should labour with their minds, and smaller men labour with their strength."

'None of the States wished to fight; so they granted peace; and in the 11th month, on Ke-hae, they made a covenant together in He,—on the submission of Ch'ing. When they were about to covenant, the six ministers of Ch'ing,—the Kung-tszes, Fei (Tsze-sze), Fah (Tsze-kwoh), and K'ea (Tsze-k'ung), and the Kung-suns, Ch'eh (Tsze-urh), Ch'ae (Tsze-k'au), and Shay-che (Tsze-chen), with the great officers and younger members of the ministerial clans, all attended the earl of Ch'ing. Sze Chwang-tze made the words of the covenant to this effect, "After the covenant of to-day, if the State of Ch'ing hear any commands but those of Ts'in, and incline to any other, may there happen to it according to what is [imprecated] in this covenant!" The Kung-tze Fei rushed forward at this, and said, "Heaven has dealt unfavourably with the State of Ch'ing, and given it its place midway between two great States, which do

not bestow on it the marks of favour which could be appreciated, but demand its adherence by violence. Thus its Spirits cannot enjoy the sacrifices which should be presented to them, and its people cannot enjoy the advantages of its soil. Its husbands and wives are oppressed and straitened, full of misery, having none to appeal to. After this covenant of to-day, if the State of Ch'ing follow any other but that which extends propriety to it and strength to protect its people, but dares to waver in its adherence, may there happen to it according to [the imprecations in] this covenant!" Seun Yen said, "Change [the conditions of] this covenant." Kung-sun Shay-che said, "These are solemn words in which we have appealed to the great Spirits. If we may change them, we may also revolt from your great State." Che Woo-tze said to H'een-tze "We indeed have not virtue, and it is not proper to force men to covenant with us. Without propriety, how can we pre-empt over covenants? Let us agree for the present to this covenant, and withdraw. When we come again, after having cultivated our virtue, and rested our armies, we shall in the end win Ch'ing. Why must we determine to do so to-day? If we are without virtue, other people will cast us off, and not Ch'ing only; if we can rest and be harmonious, they will come to us from a distance. Why need we rely upon Ch'ing?" Accordingly they covenanted [as related above], and the forces of Ts'in withdrew.

'The people of Ts'in had thus not got their will with Ch'ing, and they again invaded it with the armies of the States. In the 12th month, on Kwei-hae, they attacked the [same] three gates, and persevered for five days at each (閏月

ought to be 門五日). Then on Mow-yin, they crossed [the Wei] at Yin-fan, and overran the country. After halting at Yin-k'ow, they withdrew. Tsze-k'ung proposed to attack the army of Ts'in, saying that it was old and exhausted, and the soldiers were all bent on returning home, so that a great victory could be gained over it. Tsze-chen, however, refused to sanction such a movement.'

[The Chuen here relates the capping of duke S'ang:—'The duke accompanied the marquis of Ts'in [back from Ch'ing], and when they were at the Ho and he was with the marquis at a feast, the latter asked how old he was. Ke Woo-tsze replied, "He was born in the year of the meeting at Sha-suy (see VIII. xvi. 8)." He is twelve then," said the marquis. "That is a full decade of years, the period of a revolution of Jupiter. The ruler of a State may have a son when he is fifteen. It is the rule that he should be capped before he begets a son. Your ruler may now be capped. Why should you not get everything necessary for the ceremony ready?" Woo-tsze replied, "The capping of our ruler must be done with the ceremonies of libation and offerings; its different stages must be defined by the music of the bell and the musical stone; it must take place in the temple of his first ancestor. Our ruler is now travelling, and those things cannot be provided. Let us get to a brother State, and borrow what is necessary to prepare for the ceremony." The marquis assented; so, when the duke had got as far as Wei on his return, he was capped in the temple of duke Ch'ing. They borrowed the bell and

musical stone of it for the purpose;—as was proper.'

This capping of duke S'ang out of Loo was a strange proceeding, and was probably done in the wantonness of the marquis of Ts'in, amusing himself with the child. Maou supposes that it is kept out of the text, to conceal the disgrace of it.]

Par. 6. Here Ts'oo is down again upon Ch'ing, because of its making the covenant with Ts'in. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, and Tsze-sze proposed to make peace with him. Tsze-k'ung and Tsze-k'au said, "We have just made a covenant with the [other] great State, and, while the blood of it is not dry on our mouths, may we break it?" Tsze-sze and Tsze-chen replied, "At that covenant we said that we would follow the strongest. Here now is the army of Ts'oo arrived, and Ts'in does not come to save us, so that Ts'oo is the strongest;—we are not presuming to break the words of the covenant and oath. Moreover, at a forced covenant where there is no sincerity, the Spirits are not present. They are present only where there is good faith. Good faith is the gem of speech, the essential point of all goodness; and therefore the Spirits draw near to it. They in their intelligence do not require adherence to a forced covenant;—it may be broken." Accordingly they made peace with Ts'oo. The Kung-tze P'e-jung entered the city to make a covenant, which was done in [the quarter] Chung-fun. [In the meantime], the widow of [king] Chwang of Ts'oo, died, and [king] Kung returned [to Ying], without having been able to settle [the affairs of] Ch'ing.'

[The Chuen appends here a notice of the measures of internal reform in Ts'in:—'When the marquis of Ts'in returned to his capital, he consulted how he could give rest and prosperity to the people. Wei K'ang begged that he would confer favours on them and grant remissions. On this all the accumulated stores of the State were given out in benefits. From the marquis downwards, all who had such stores brought them forth, till none were left unappropriated, and there was no one exposed to the endurance of want. The marquis granted access to every source of advantage, and the people did not covet more than their proper share. In religious services they used offerings of silks instead of victims; guests were entertained with [the flesh of] a single animal; new articles of furniture and use were not made; only such chariots and robes were kept as sufficed for use. When this style had been practised for twelve months, a right method and order prevailed throughout the State. Then three expeditions were undertaken, and Ts'oo was not able to contend [any more] with Ts'in.'

Tenth year.

蒙之以甲，以為櫓。左執之，右拔戟以成一隊。孟獻子曰：「詩所謂有力如虎者也。」主人縣布，董父登之，及堞而絕之。隊則又縣之，蘇而復上者三。主人辭焉，乃退，帶其斷以徇於軍。三日，諸侯之師久於偃陽。荀偃士句請於荀釐曰：「水潦將降，懼不能歸，請班師。」知伯怒，投之以机，出於其間，曰：「汝成二事，而後告余。」余恐亂命，以不汝違。汝既勤君而與諸侯，率師老夫以至於此，既無武守而又欲易余罪，曰：「是實班師不然。」克矣，余羸老也，可重任乎？七日不克，必爾乎取之。五月庚寅，荀偃士句帥卒攻偃陽，親受矢石。甲午，滅之。書曰：「遂滅偃陽。」言自會也。以與向戌，向戌辭曰：「君若猶辱鎮撫宋國，而以偃陽光啟寡君，羣臣安矣。其何貺如之？」若專賜臣，是臣與諸侯以自封也。其何罪大焉？敢以死請。」乃子宋公。宋公享晉侯於楚丘，請以桑林。荀釐辭，荀偃士句曰：「諸侯宋魯於是觀禮，魯有禘樂，賓祭用之。宋以桑林享君，不亦可乎？」舞師題以旌夏。晉侯懼而退，入於房，去旌，卒享而還。及著雍，疾卜桑林見，荀偃士句欲奔請禱焉。荀釐不可，曰：「我辭禮矣，彼則以之。猶有鬼神於彼，加之晉侯有間，以偃陽子歸，獻於武宮，謂之夷俘，偃陽，姁姓也。使周內史選其族嗣，納諸霍人，禮也。」師歸，孟獻子以秦董父為右，生秦不茲，事仲尼。

六月，楚子囊薨。鄭子耳伐宋，師於訾毋。庚午，圍宋，門於桐門。

晉荀釐伐秦，報其侵也。

○衛侯救宋師於襄牛。鄭子展曰：「必伐衛，不然，是不與楚也。」得罪於晉，又得罪於楚。國將若之何？子駟曰：「國病矣。子展曰：『得罪於二大國，必亡。』病不猶愈於亡乎？諸大夫皆以為然。故鄭皇耳帥師侵衛，楚令也。孫文子卜追之，獻兆於定姜。姜氏問繇，曰：『兆如山陵，有夫出征，而喪其雄。』姜氏曰：『征者喪雄，禦寇之利也。』大夫圖之。衛人追之，孫蒯獲鄭皇耳於犬丘。」

○秋七月，楚子囊薨。鄭子耳伐我西鄙，還，圍蕭。八月丙寅，克之。九月，子耳侵宋北鄙。孟獻子曰：「鄭其有災乎？」師競

十年，春，公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、齊世子光、會吳于柤。  
夏五月甲午，遂滅偃陽。公至自會。  
楚公子貞、鄭公孫輒帥師伐宋。晉師伐秦。  
秋，莒人伐我東鄙。  
公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、齊世子光、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子伐鄭。  
冬，盜殺鄭公子駢、公子發、公孫輒。  
成鄭虎牢。楚公子貞帥師救鄭。  
公至自伐鄭。

左傳曰：十年春，會于柤。會吳子壽夢也。三月癸丑，齊高厚相犬子光以先會諸侯於鍾離，不敬。士莊子曰：「高子相犬子以會諸侯，將社稷是衛而皆不敬，棄社稷也。其將不免乎？」夏四月戊午，會于柤。  
晉荀偃士句請伐偃陽，而封宋向戌焉。荀釐曰：「城小而固，勝之不武，弗勝為笑。」固請丙寅圍之。弗克。孟氏之臣秦董父，輦重如役，偃陽人啟門，諸侯之士門焉。縣門發，邾人紇抉之，以出門者。狄虺彌建大車之輪，而



已甚。周猶不堪競況鄭乎？有災其執政之三士乎。

諸侯伐鄭。齊崔杼使大子光先至於師，故長於滕。己酉，師於牛首。

初，子駟與尉止有爭，將禦諸侯之師，而黜其車。尉止獲，又與之爭。子駟抑尉止曰：「爾車，非禮也。遂弗使獻。」初，子駟爲田洫，司氏堵氏侯氏子師氏皆喪田焉。故五族聚羣，不逞之人，因公子之徒，以作亂。於是子駟常國，子國爲司馬，子耳爲司空，子孔爲司徒。冬，十月，戊辰，尉止、司臣、侯晉、堵女父、子師僕、帥賊以入，晨攻執政於西宮之朝，殺子駟。子國、子耳、子孔、子師僕以如北宮。子孔知之，故不死。書曰：「盜言無大夫焉。」子西聞盜，不徹而出，尸而追盜，盜入於北宮，乃歸授甲。臣妾多逃，器用多喪。子產聞盜，爲門者庀羣司，閉府庫，慎閉藏，完守備，成列而後出兵。車十七乘，尸而攻盜於北宮。子驍帥國人助之，殺尉止。子師僕、盜衆盡死。侯晉奔晉，堵女父、司臣、尉止、子駟奔宋。子孔當國，爲載書以位序，聽政辟大夫諸司門子，弗順將誅之。子產止之，請爲之焚書。子孔不可，曰：「爲書以定國，衆怒而焚之，是衆爲政也，國不亦難乎？」子產曰：「衆怒難犯，專欲難成，合二難以安國，危之道也，不如焚書以安衆。」子得所欲，衆亦得安，不亦可乎？專欲無成，犯衆與禍，子必從之。乃焚書於倉門之外，衆而後定。

諸侯之師，城虎牢而戍之。晉師城梧及制，士魴魏絳戍之。書曰：「戍鄭虎牢，非鄭地也。」言將歸焉。鄭及晉平，楚子囊救鄭。十一月，諸侯之師還鄭而南，至於陽陵。楚師不退，知武子欲退，曰：「今我逃楚，楚必驕，驕則可與戰矣。」欒黶曰：「逃楚，晉之耻也，合諸侯以益恥，不如死。」我將獨進，師遂進。己亥，與楚師夾潁而軍。子驍曰：「諸侯既有成行，必不戰矣。」從之將退，不從亦退。退，楚必圍我，猶將退也。不如從楚，亦以退之。宵涉潁，與楚人盟。欒黶欲伐鄭師，苟營不可，曰：「我實不能禦楚，又不能庇鄭，鄭何罪？不如致怨焉而還。」今伐其師，楚必救之，戰而不克，爲諸侯笑，克不可命，不如還也。丁未，諸侯之師還，侵鄭北鄙而歸。楚人亦還。

王叔陳生，與伯輿爭政。王右伯輿，王叔陳生怒而出奔，及河，王復之，殺史狡以說焉。不入，遂處之。晉侯使士臼平王室。王叔與伯輿訟焉。王叔之宰，與伯輿之大夫瑕禽，坐獄於王庭。士臼聽之。王叔之宰曰：「筆門閭寶之人，而皆陵其上，其難爲上矣。」瑕禽曰：「昔平王東遷，吾七姓從王，牲用備具，王賴之，而賜之駢旄之盟，曰：『世世無失職。』若筆門閭寶，其能來東底乎？且王何賴焉？今自王叔之相也，政以賄成，而刑放於寵，官之師旅，不勝其富，吾能無筆門閭寶乎？唯大國圖之，下而無直，則何謂正矣。」范宣子曰：「天子所右，寡君亦右之。」所左，亦左之。使王叔氏與伯輿合要。王叔氏不能舉其契，王叔奔晉，不書，不告也。單靖公爲卿士，以相王室。

- X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, the viscount of Little Choo, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in a meeting with Woo at Cha.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on K'eah-woo, [Tsin] went on [from the above meeting] to extinguish Peih-yang.
- 3 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 4 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo, and the Kung-sun Cheh of Ch'ing, led a force, and invaded Sung.
- 5 An army of Tsin invaded Ts'in.
- 6 In autumn, a body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders.
- 7 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, the viscount of T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 8 In winter, some ruffians killed the Kung-tszes Fei and Fah, and the Kung-sun Cheh, of Ch'ing.
- 9 We [sent troops] to guard Hoo-laou.
- 10 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force to relieve Ch'ing.
- 11 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Too says Cha was in the territory of Ts'oo, and the K'ang-he editors identify it with the pres. K'ea-k'ow (加口), in the dis. of Yih, dep. of Yen-chow. The one or the other must be wrong. The territory of Ts'oo would thus have extended as far north as Loo. We may accept the statement of Too, and leave the question as to any more exact identification. The object of the meeting was, no doubt, to call forth the hostility of Woo to more active measures against Ts'oo, so that that State should be

obliged to relax its efforts to hold Ch'ing. The phrase 'a meeting with Woo (會吳),' without specifying the viscount himself or his representative on the occasion, has occasioned the critics a good deal of difficulty. The same style has occurred before, in VIII. xv. 10 and IX. v. 4, and we meet with it again, in xiv. 1. The most likely account that can be given of it is the remark, probably of Soo Ch'eh, that only the name of the State is given because [to get the help of]

that State was the object of the meeting (特書會吳以吳爲會故也).

The Chuen says:—“The meeting at Cha was a meeting with Show-mung, viscount of Woo. In the 3d month, on Kwei-ch'ow, Kaou How of Ts'e came with his marquis's eldest son Kwang, and had a previous meeting with the princes in Chung-le (see VIII. xv. 10), when they behaved disrespectfully. Sze Chwang-tsze (Sze Joh) said, “Kaou-tsze, coming in attendance on his prince to a meeting of the States, ought to have in mind the protection of Ts'e's altars, and yet they both of them behave disrespectfully. They will not, I apprehend, escape an evil end.” In summer, in the 4th month, on Mow-woo, there was the meeting at Cha.”

Par. 2. Peih-yang was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Yun (耘). It was under the jurisdiction of Ts'oo. Tsin now led on the forces of the States from the meeting at Cha to attack it. Its principal town is said to have been 30 *le* to the south of the dis. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—“Seun Yen and Sze Kae of Tsin asked leave to attack Peih-yang, and that it should be conferred on H'ang Seuh of Sung. S'ün Ying said, “The city is small but strong. If you take it, it will be no great achievement; if you do not take it, you will be laughed at.” They persisted in their request; and on Ping-yin they laid siege to it, but could not overcome it.

“Ts'in Kin-foo, the steward of the M'ang family, drew after him a large waggon to the service. The people of Peih-yang having opened one of their gates, the soldiers of the States attacked it, [and had passed within]. Just then, the portcullis gate was let down, when H'eh of Ts'ow raised it up, and let out the stormers who had entered. Teih Sze-me carried the wheel of a large carriage, which he covered with hides and used as a buckler. Holding this in his left hand, and carrying a spear in his right, he took the place of a body of 100 men. M'ang H'een-tsze said, “To him we may apply the words of the ode (She, I. iii. ode XIII. 2), ‘Strong as a tiger.’” The besieged hung strips of cloth over the wall, by one of which Kin-foo climbed up to the parapet, when they cut it. Down he fell, when they hung out another; and when he had revived, he seized it and mounted again. Thrice he performed this feat, and on the besieged declining to give him another opportunity he retired, taking with him the three cut pieces, which he showed all through the army for three days.

“The forces of the States were long detained at Peih-yang; and Seun Yen and Sze Kae went with a request to Seun Ying, saying, “The rains will soon fall and the pools gather, when we are afraid we shall not be able to return. We ask you to withdraw the troops.” Che Pih (Seun Ying) became angry, and threw at them the stool on which he was leaning, which passed between the two. “You had determined,” said he, “on two things, and then came and informed me of them. I was afraid of confusing your plans, and did not oppose you. You have imposed toil on our ruler; you have called out [the forces of] the States; you have dragged an old man like myself here. And now you have no prowess to show, but want to throw the

blame on me, saying, that I ordered the retreat of the troops, and but for that you would have subdued the place. Can I, thus old and feeble, sustain such a heavy responsibility? If in 7 days you have not taken it, I shall take yourselves instead of it.” On this, in the 5th month, on K'ang-yin, Seun Yen and Sze Kae, led on their men to the attack of the city, themselves encountering [the shower] of arrows and stones. On Keah-woo they extinguished it.

“The language of the text,—“They went on to extinguish Peih-yang,” shows that they proceeded to attack it from the meeting [at Cha]. [The marquis of Tsin] would then have given Peih-yang to H'ang Seuh, but he declined it, saying, “If your lordship will still condescend to guard and comfort the State of Sung, and by the gift of Peih-yang distinguish my ruler and increase his territory, all his ministers will be at ease;—what gift can be equal to this? If you insist on conferring it on me alone, then I shall have called out the States to procure a fief for myself,—than which there could not be a greater crime. Though I die, I must entreat you not to do so.” Peih-yang accordingly was given to the duke of Sung.

“The duke entertained the marquis of Tsin in Ts'oo-k'ew, and asked leave to use, [on the occasion, the music of] Sang-lin (the music which had been used by the sovereigns of Shang). Seun Ying declined it, but Seun Yen and Sze Kae said, “Among the States, it is [only] in Sung and Loo that we can see the ceremonies [of the kings]. Loo has the music of the grand triennial sacrifice, and uses it when entertaining guests and at sacrifices; is it not allowable that Sung should entertain our ruler with the Sang-lin?” The master of the pantomimes began indicating to them their places with the great flag, when the marquis became afraid, and withdrew to another apartment. When the flag was removed, he returned and finished the entertainment. On his way back [from Sung], he fell ill at Choo-yung. They consulted the tortoise-shell [about his sickness], and [the Spirit of] Sang-lin appeared. Seun Yen and Sze Kae wanted to hurry [back to Sung], and to pray to it. Seun Ying, however, refused to allow them, and said, “I declined the ceremony. It was they who used it. If there indeed be this Spirit, let him visit the offence on them.” The marquis got better, and took the viscount of Peih-yang back with him to Tsin, and presented him in the temple of [duke] Woo, calling him an E captive. [The lords of] Peih-yang had the surname of Yun. [The marquis] made the historiographer of the Interior in Chow select one from the family of the [old] Houe to continue [its sacrifices], whom he placed in Hoh as its commandant;—which was proper.

“When our army returned, M'ang H'een-tsze employed Ts'in Kin-foo as the spearman on the right of his chariot. He had a son, Ts'in Pe-tsze, who was a disciple of Chung-ne.”

As Tso-she here mentions Confucius, it may be added that it was the sage's father, Shuh-l'ang H'eh, who performed the feat of strength with the portcullis of Peih-yang.

Par. 4. Sung had been rewarded for its allegiance to Tsin with Peih-yang, and now it has to pay the price to Ts'oo. The Chuen says:—“In the 6th month, Tsze-nang of Ts'oo and Tsze-urh of Ch'ing invaded Sung, taking

post [first] at Tsze-moo. On K'ang-woo they laid siege to the capital, and attacked the T'ung gate.”

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—“S'ün Ying of Tsin invaded Ts'in, to retaliate its incursion.” The incursion of Ts'in is related in the Chuen after p. 3 of last year. Tsin was then unable to retaliate in consequence of a famine, but its vengeance had not slumbered long. At this time Ts'in was in league with Ts'oo, and the alliance between the States was drawn closer through the wife of king Kung being a sister of duke King of Ts'in.

[The Chuen gives here a narrative, which is the sequel of that on p. 4:—“The marquis of Wei went to succour Sung, and encamped with his forces at S'ang-n'ew. Tsze-chen of Ch'ing said, “We must invade Wei. If we do not do so, we shall not be doing our part for Ts'oo. We have offended against Tsin, and if we also offend against Ts'oo, what will be the consequence to our State?” Tsze-sze said, “It will distress the State;” but Tsze-chen replied, “If we offend against both the great States, we shall perish. We may be distressed, but is that not better than perishing?” The other great officers all agreed with him, and Hwang-urh accordingly led a force and made an incursion into Wei,—[having received] orders from Ts'oo.

“Sun W'än-tsze (Lin-foo) consulted the tortoise-shell about pursuing the enemy, and presented the indication he had obtained to Ting K'ang (the mother of the marquis of Wei), who asked what the corresponding oracle was. “It is this,” said W'än-tsze. “The indication being like a hill, a party go forth on an expedition, and lose their leader.” The lady observed, “The invaders lose their leader;—this is favourable for those who resist them. Do you take measures accordingly.” The people of Wei then pursued the enemy, and Sun Kwae captured Hwang Urh at K'ueu-k'ew.”

[There follows the account of an invasion of Loo by Ts'oo, which ought to be given in the text. Too observes that, as it involved no disgrace to Loo, he cannot account for the silence about it.—“In autumn, in the 7th month, Tsze-nang of Ts'oo and Tsze-urh of Ch'ing invaded our western borders. On their return they laid siege to S'iaou (a city of Sung), and reduced it in the 8th month, on Ping-yin. In the 9th month, Tsze-urh of Ch'ing made an incursion on the northern border of Sung. M'ang H'een-tsze said, “Calamity must be going to befall Ch'ing.” The aggressions of its armies are excessive. Even Chow could not endure such violent efforts, and how much less Ch'ing! The calamity is likely to befall the three ministers who conduct its government!”]

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—“The people of Keu taking advantage of the States being occupied, invaded our eastern borders.” Wang K'ih-kwan observes that this movement shows strikingly the daring of Keu, as its viscount had taken part in nearly all the covenants ordered by duke Taou of Tsin. It shows how incomplete the harmony was which the leading State sought to establish among the others which acknowledged its supremacy.

Par. 7. This was the first of the three expeditions of Tsin mentioned in the Chuen at the end of last year, by which that State wore out Ts'oo, and established its supremacy, for a

time, over Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—“The States invaded Ch'ing. Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e came with Kwang, the eldest son of the marquis, to the army early, and the prince therefore took precedence of T'ang. On Ke-y'ew, the whole army took post at N'ew-show.” The proper place of the heir-son of Ts'e was after all the princes, as in p. 1. If he had received, indeed, the appointment of the king as his father's successor, and were administering for him the govt. of the State, he would have been entitled to rank as an earl, according to the rules of Chow. But he had not received such appointment, as we infer from the Chuen on the 19th year. The precedence now given to him was probably brought about as Tso-she says; but as we shall find that he continued to retain it, it is an instance of how the marquis of Tsin took it upon him to override the standing statutes of the kingdom.

Par. 8. We have here the fulfilment of the prognostication in the Chuen after p. 5. For 駢 Kung and Kuh have 斐. We have in this par. the first occurrence of 盜 in the text, which I have translated “ruffians.” Too Yu observes that, as the paragraph commences with that term, the rank of the murdered could not be mentioned in it. They were all ministers or great officers, and if their death had been by order or management of the State, the text would have been 鄭殺, or 鄭人殺其大夫, 云云. If the murderers had been great officers, their names and rank, and those of their victims as well, would have been given. But being what they were in this case, their names were not admissible in the text, and consequently we have the persons murdered without any intimation of their rank. No stigma is fixed upon them by the omission, as Kuh-l'ang thought, and as Ch'ing E, Hoo Ngan-kwoh, and many other critics have contended. The men may have deserved their fate, but no evidence of that can be drawn from the style of the text.

The Chuen says:—“Before this, Tsze-sze (the Kung-tsze Fei) had a quarrel with Wei Che, and when he was about to take the field against the army of the States, he reduced the number of the chariots [which Che wanted to contribute to the expedition]. He had another quarrel with Che about the captives whom he had taken, and kept him down, saying his chariots had been beyond the number prescribed by rule, and would not allow him to present his spoils [before the marquis].

“Before this also, Tsze-sze, in laying out the ditches through the fields, had occasioned the loss of fields to the Sze, Too, How and Tsze-sze families; and these four, along with Wei Che, collected a number of dissatisfied individuals, and proceeded, with the adherents of the sons of the ruling House (killed in the 8th year by Tsze-sze; see the Chuen after viii. 2) to raise an insurrection. At this time the govt. was in the hands of Tsze-sze; Tsze-kwoh (the Kung-tsze Fah) was minister of War; Tsze-urh (the Kung-sun Cheh) was minister of Works; and Tsze-kung was minister of Instruction. In winter in the 10th month, on Mow-shin, Wei Che, Sze Chin, How Tsin, Too Joo-foo, and Tsze-sze Puh, led a band of ruffians into the

palace, and early in the morning attacked the chief minister at the audience in the western palace. They killed Tsze-sze, Tsze-kwoh, and Tsze-urh, and carried off the earl to the northern palace. Tsze-k'ung had known of their design, and so escaped death. The word 'ruffians' in the text indicates that none of them were great officers.

'Tsze-se, the son of Tsze-sze) hearing of the ruffians, left his house without taking any precautions, went to [his father's] corpse, and pursued them. When they had entered the northern palace, however, he returned, and began giving out their arms [to his followers]. Most of the servants and concubines had fled, and most of the articles of furniture and use were lost.

'Tsze-ch'an (the son of Tsze-kwoh), hearing of the ruffians, set a guard at his gate, got all his officers in readiness, shut up his storehouses, carefully secured his depositories, formed his men in ranks, and then went forth with 17 chariots of war. Having gone to [his father's] corpse, he proceeded to attack the ruffians, in the northern palace. Tsze-k'eaou (the Kung-sun Chae) led the people to his assistance, when they killed Wei Che and Tsze-sze Puh. The majority of their followers perished, but How Tsin fled to Tsin, and Too Joo-foo, Sze Shin, Wei P'een, and Sze Tse fled to Sung.

'Tsze-k'ung (the Kung-tse K'ea) then took charge of the State, and made a covenant requiring that all in the various degrees of rank should receive the rules enacted by himself. The great officers, ministers, and younger members of the great families refusing obedience to this, he wished to take them off; but Tsze-ch'an stopped him, and begged that for their sakes he would burn the covenant. He objected to do so, saying, "I wrote what I did for the settlement of the State. If I burn it because they all are dissatisfied, then the government is in their hands;—will it not be difficult to administer the affairs of the State?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "It is difficult to go against the anger of them all; and it is difficult to secure the exclusive authority to yourself. If you insist on both these difficulties in order to quiet the State, it is the very way to endanger it. It is better to burn the writing, and so quiet all their minds. You will get what you wish, and they also will feel at ease;—will not this be well? By insisting on your exclusive authority, you will find it difficult to succeed; by going against the wishes of all, you will excite calamity;—you must follow my advice." On this Tsze-k'ung burned the writing of the covenant outside the Ts'ang gate, after which the minds of all the others became composed.'

Par. 9. Hoo-laou, —see ii. 9. The text would lead us to think that the keeping guard over Hoo-laou was the action of Loo, and of Loo alone; whereas Tsin had taken possession of that city, fortified it and now held it with the troops of its confederate States, as a strategical point against Ch'ing and Ts'oo. Loo sent troops to guard it; and this alone the text mentions, but other States did the same. Originally it belonged to Ch'ing, but was not Ch'ing's now. Yet the text says—'Hoo-laou of Ch'ing.' Too Yu and others see in this the style of Confucius writing retrospectively, expressing himself according to his knowledge of the purpose

of Tsin to restore the place to Ch'ing, when that State should really have broken with Ts'oo. Hoo Ngan-kwoh, again, has his followers in maintaining that Confucius here assigned it to Ch'ing to mark his disapproval of Tsin's ever taking it. The probability is that neither the one view nor the other is correct. The place properly belonged to Ch'ing; it was held against it by the confederates for a time; it was immediately restored to it:—what more natural than to mention it as 'Hoo-laou of Ch'ing,' without any intention either 'to praise or to blame.' The Chuen says:—'The armies of the States fortified [afresh] Hoo-laou, and guarded the country about. The army of Tsin fortified Woo and Che; and Sze Fang and Wei K'ang guarded them. The text speaks of Hoo-laou of Ch'ing, though it was not [now] Ch'ing's, indicating that it was to be restored to it. Ch'ing [now] made peace with Tsin.'

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'Tsze-nang of Ts'oo came to succour Ch'ing. In the 11th month, the armies of the States made a circuit round Ch'ing, and proceeded south to Yang-ling. Still the army of Ts'oo did not retire, [seeing which], Che Woo-tse proposed that the confederates should withdraw, saying, "If we now make our escape from Ts'oo, it will become arrogant, and can be fought with when in that mood. Lwan Yin, said, "To evade Ts'oo will be a disgrace to Tsin. Our having assembled the States will increase the disgrace. We had better die. I will advance alone." On this the [whole] army advanced, and on Ke-hae it and the army of Ts'oo were opposed to each other with [only] the Ying between them. Tsze K'eaou [of Ch'ing] said, "The [armies of the] States are prepared to march, and are sure not to fight. If we follow Tsin, they will retire; if we do not follow it, they will retire. Ts'oo is sure to besiege our city when they retire; but they will still do so. We had better follow Ts'oo, and get its army to retire also." That night he crossed through the Ying, and made a covenant with Ts'oo. Lwan Yin wished to attack the army of Ch'ing, but Seun Ying said, "No. We cannot keep back Ts'oo, neither can we protect Ch'ing. Of what offence is Ch'ing guilty? Our best plan is to leave a grudge against it, and withdraw. If we now attack its army, Ts'oo will come to its help. If we fight, and do not conquer, the States will laugh at us. Victory cannot be commanded. We had better withdraw." Accordingly, on Ting-we the armies of the States withdrew, made an incursion into the northern borders of Ch'ing, and returned. The forces of Ts'oo also withdrew.'

Par. 11. [The Chuen gives here a narrative about troubles at court:—Wang-shuh Ch'in-sang and Pih Yu had a quarrel about the govt. The king favoured Pih Yu, when the other fled from the capital in a rage. The king recalled him when he had got to the Ho, and put the historiographer K'eaou to death to please him. He would not enter [the capital], however, and was allowed to remain [near the Ho]. The marquis of Tsin sent Sze K'ae to pacify the royal House, when Wang-shuh and Pih Yu maintained each his cause. The steward of Wang-shuh, and H'ea K'in, the great officer of Pih Yu; pleaded in the court of the king, while Sze K'ae listened to them. Wang-shuh's steward said, "When people who live in hovels, with wicker

doors fitted to holes in the wall, insult their superiors, it is hard to be a man of superior rank." Hea K'in said, "When king Ping removed here to the east, there were seven families of us, who followed him, and on whom he was dependent for the victims which he used. He made a covenant with them over [the flesh of] a red bull, saying that from generation to generation they should hold their offices. If we had been people of such hovels, how could they have come to the east? and how could the king have been dependent on them? Now since Wang-shuh became chief minister, the govt. has been carried on by means of bribes, and punishments have been in the hands of his favourites.

His officers have become enormously rich, and it is not to be wondered at if we are reduced to such hovels. Let your great State consider the case. If the low cannot obtain right, where is what we call justice?" Fan Seuen-tse said, "Whom the son of Heaven favours, my ruler also favours; whom he disapproves, my ruler also disapproves." He then made Wang-shuh and Pih Yu prepare a summary of their case; but Wang-shuh could bring forward no evidence, and fled to Tsin. There is no record of this in the text, because no announcement of it was made to Loo. Duke Tsing of Shen then became high minister, to act as director for the royal House.']

### Eleventh year.

十有一年春，王正月，作三軍。夏四月，卜郊，不從，乃不郊。鄭公孫舍之帥師侵宋。公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、齊世子光、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子，伐鄭。秋七月己未，同盟于亳城北。公至自伐鄭。楚子、鄭伯伐宋。公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、齊世子光、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子，伐鄭。楚人執鄭行人良霄。公至自會。楚人執鄭行人良霄。

八年之中，九合諸侯，諸侯無憾，君之靈也。二三子之勞也，臣何力之有焉。抑臣願君安其樂，而思其終也。詩曰：樂旨君子，殿天子之邦。樂旨君子，福祿攸同。便蕃左右，亦是帥從。夫樂以安德，義以處之，禮以行之，信以守之，仁以厲之，而後可以殿邦國，同福祿，來遠人，所謂樂也。書曰：居安思危，思則有備，有備無患，敢以此規。公曰：子之教，敢不承命，抑微子，寡人無以待戎，不能濟河，夫賞國之典也，藏在盟府，不可廢也。子其受之。魏絳於是乎始有金石之樂禮也。

鄭人使良霄，大宰石癸如楚，告將服於晉。曰：孤以社稷之故，不能懷君，君若能以玉帛綏晉，不然，則武震以攝威之，孤之願也。楚人執之。書曰：行人言使人也。

秦庶長鮑，庶長武帥師伐晉，以救鄭。鮑先入晉地，士魴御之。少秦師而弗設備。壬午，武濟自輔氏，與鮑交伐晉師。己丑，秦晉戰於櫟，晉師敗績，易秦故也。

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, we formed three armies.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fourth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and the sacrifice was not offered.
- 3 The Kung-sun Shay-che of Ch'ing led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.
- 4 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ke-we, [the above princes] made a covenant together on the north of Poh-shing.
- 6 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.
- 7 The viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung.
- 8 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing. There was a meeting in Sëaou-yu.
- 9 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 10 The people of Ts'oo seized and held Lëang Sëaou, the messenger of Ch'ing.
- 11 In winter, a body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.

左傳曰：十一年春，季武子將作三軍，告叔孫穆子曰：請為三軍，各征其軍。穆子曰：政將及子，子必不能。武子固請之。穆子曰：然則盟諸。乃盟諸僖閔，詛諸五父之衢。正月，作三軍，三分公室，而各有其一。三子各毀其乘。季氏使其乘之人，以其役邑入者，無征，不入者，倍征。孟氏使半為臣，若子若弟。叔孫氏使盡為臣，不然，不舍。鄭人患晉楚之故，諸大夫曰：不從晉，國幾亡。楚弱於晉，晉不吾疾也。晉疾，楚將辟之，何為而使晉師致死於我？楚弗敢敵，而後可固與也。子展曰：與宋為惡，諸侯必至。吾從之盟，楚師至，吾又從之，則晉怒甚矣。晉能驟來，楚將不能，吾乃固與晉。大夫說之，使疆場之司惡於宋。宋向戌侵鄭，大獲。子展曰：師而伐宋可矣。若我伐宋，諸侯之伐我必疾。吾乃聽命焉。且告於楚。楚師至，吾又與之盟，而重賂晉師，乃免矣。夏，鄭子展侵宋。

四月，諸侯伐鄭。己亥，齊大子光、宋向戌先至於鄭，門於東門。其莫晉荀營至於西郊，東侵舊許，衛孫林父侵其北鄙。六月，諸侯會於北林，師於向，右還，次於瑣，圍鄭。觀兵於南門，西濟於濟隧。

鄭人懼，乃行成。秋七月，同盟於亳，范宣子曰：不慎，必失諸侯。諸侯道微而無成，能無貳乎？乃盟。載書曰：凡我同盟，毋蘊年，毋壅利，毋保姦，毋留慝，救災患，恤禍亂，同好惡，獎王室，或問茲命，司慎司盟，名山名川，羣神羣祀，先王先公，七姓十二國之祖，明神殛之，俾失其民，隊命亡氏，陪其國家。

楚子囊乞旅於秦。秦右大夫詹帥師從楚子，將以伐鄭。鄭伯逆之。丙子，伐宋。

九月，諸侯悉師以復伐鄭。諸侯之師，觀兵於鄭東門。鄭人使王子伯駢行成。甲戌，晉趙武入盟。鄭伯、冬、十月、丁亥，鄭子展出盟。晉侯。十二月，戊寅，會於蕭魚。庚辰，赦鄭囚，皆禮而歸之。納斥侯，禁侵掠。晉侯使叔肸告於諸侯。公使臧孫紇對曰：凡我同盟，小國有罪，大國致討，苟有以藉手，鮮不赦宥。寡君聞命矣。鄭人賂晉侯，以師懼。師觸師，觸廣車，軌車，淳十五乘，甲兵備。凡兵車百乘，歌鐘二肆，及其鐃磬，女樂二八。晉侯以樂之半，賜魏絳。曰：子教寡人和，諸戎狄以正諸華。八年之中，九合諸侯，如樂之和，無所不諧，請與子樂之。辭曰：夫和戎狄，國之福也。



Par. 1. 作 must be taken here as in VIII.

1. 4, indicating an arrangement either altogether new, or modifying in a most important manner existing arrangements on the subject to which it refers. The Chuen says:—"This spring, Ke Woo-tze wished to form 3 armies, and told Shuh-sun Muh-tze (P'au) of his purpose, saying, "Let us make three armies, and each of us collect the revenue for the support of his army." Muh-tze replied, "When the demands [of Tsin] come upon you, [according to this increased establishment], you will not be able [to meet them]." Woo-tze, however, persisted in his request, till Muh-tze said, "Well, let us make a covenant." They covenanted accordingly at the gate of [duke] He's temple, the imprecatory sentences being repeated in the street of Woo-foo." In the 1st month they proceeded to the formation of the 3 armies, [the three clans] dividing the ducal prerogative [as it were] into three, and each of them taking one part to itself. The three chiefs broke up their own [establishments of] chariots. The Ke appointed that those who brought their followers and the amount of the military contribution of their families to him, should pay nothing more [to the State], and those who did not so enter his ranks should pay a double contribution. The Mäng employed one half the sons and younger brothers in his service. The Shuh-sun employed all the sons and younger brothers. [They had said that], unless they acted thus, they would not alter the old arrangements."

It is to be wished that Tso-she's narrative were more perspicuous and explicit;—see also the narrative under X. v. 1, when the new army, or that of the centre, was obliged to be discontinued. The arrangement for 3 armies which was now adopted was an important one, and marked an era in the history of Loo. It was originally a great State, and could furnish the 3 armies, which were assigned by the statutes of Chow to a great State;—see the Chow Le, Bk. XXVIII. par. 3. But its power had gradually decayed; and as Tsin rose to preëminence as the leading State of the kingdom, Loo sank to the class of the second-rate States (次國), which furnished only two armies. The change from 3 to 2 seems to have taken place under Wän or Seuen. In this way Loo escaped some of the exactions of Tsin, whose demands for military assistance were proportioned to the force which the States could furnish, and hence, in the Chuen, Shuh-sun Muh-tze objects to the formation of 3 armies on the ground that they would then be unable to meet the requirements of Tsin. But up to this time, the armies of Loo, whether 3 or 2, had always belonged to the marquises, having been called forth by them as occasion required, and been commanded by their ministers according to their appointment. A great change now took place. The Heads of the three families, —the descendants of duke Hwan, now not only claimed the command of the armies, but they claimed the armies as their own. Taking advantage of the youth of duke Säang, their act was all but a parting of the State among themselves. They would henceforth be not only its ministers, but its lords, and the direct descendants of the duke of Chow would be puppets in their hands. I must repeat the wish that we had fuller details of the formation of the three armies, and of the pro-

ceedings of the three chiefs. Too says that they added one army,—that of the centre, to the two already existing; but that is a very imperfect description of their act. The chariots which they broke up would be those belonging to themselves, for which they would now have no separate occasion, and which would go therefore to the formation of the third army. The text relates the event, as if it had proceeded from the duke, or by his authority.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 3.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ch'ing were troubled about [their relations with] Tsin and Ts'oo, and all the great officers said, "Through our not following Tsin, the State is nearly ruined. Ts'oo is weaker than Tsin, but Tsin shows no eagerness in our behalf. If Tsin were eager in our behalf, Ts'oo would avoid it. What shall we do to make the army of Tsin ready to encounter death for us? In that case Ts'oo will not venture to oppose it, and we can firmly adhere to it." Tsze-chen said, "Let us commence hostilities against Sung; the States are sure to come [to its help], when we will submit to them, and make a covenant. The army of Ts'oo will then come, and we shall do the same with it. This will make Tsin very angry. If it can then come quickly and resolutely [into the field], Ts'oo will not be able to do anything against it, and we shall firmly adhere to Tsin." The others were pleased with this proposal, and they made the officers of the borders commence a quarrel with Sung, Hëang Seuh of which retaliated with an incursion into Ch'ing, in which he took great spoil. Tsze-chen said, "We may now invade Sung with an army. If we attack Sung, the States are sure to attack us immediately. We will then hearken to their commands, and at the same time send notice to Ts'oo. When its forces come, we shall further make a covenant with it; and by heavy bribes to the army of Tsin, we shall escape [the vengeance of them both]." Accordingly, in summer, Tsze-chen (Shay-che) made an incursion into Sung."

Tsze-chen had formerly advocated the adherence of Ch'ing in good faith to Tsin, while Tsze-sze had been for adhering now to Tsin and now to Ts'oo, according to the pressure of the time. Tsze-sze was now dead; and the commentators find great fault with Tsze-chen for the crooked course which he took to bring about the accomplishment of his own policy.

Par. 4. This is the second of Tsin's great expeditions with the States of the north to break the power of Ts'oo. The Chuen says:—"In the fourth month, the States invaded Ch'ing. On Ke-hae, Kwang, eldest son of [the marquis of] Ts'e, and Hëang Seuh of Sung, came first to its capital, and attacked the east gate. In the evening of that day, Seun Ying of Tsin arrived in the western suburbs, from which he made an incursion to the old [capital of] Heu (see on VIII. xv. 11). Sun Lin-foo of Wei made an incursion on the northern borders of the State. In the 6th month, the States assembled at Pih-lin, and encamped in Hëang. Thence they took a circuit, and halted at So, after which they invested the capital, and made a [grand] display of their forces outside the south gate, and on the west crossed over the Tse-suy."

Par. 5. Instead of 辜 Kung and Kuh have 京. Poh-shing was in Ch'ing, and, acc. to the K'ang-he editors, must have been in the pres. district of Yen-sze, dep. Ho-nan. This is very doubtful. Too and nearly all the critics explain

the 同 with reference to the presence of Ch'ing, and its joining in the covenant. No previous instance where the term has occurred exactly corresponds to this; and perhaps Tan Tsou is right in thinking that Ch'ing was not present. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ch'ing [now] became afraid, and sought terms of accommodation. In autumn, in the 7th month, they made a covenant together in Poh. Fan Sëuen-tze said, "If we be not careful, we shall lose the States. Wearied as they have been by marching, and not [really] accomplishing anything, can they be but disaffected?" Accordingly, when they covenanted, the words were:—"All we who covenant together agree not to hoard up the produce of good years, not to shut one another out from advantages [that we possess], not to protect traitors, not to shelter criminals. We agree to aid one another in disasters and calamities, to have compassion on one another in seasons of misfortune and disorder, to cherish the same likings and dislikings, to support and encourage the royal House. Should any prince break these engagements, may He who watches over men's sincerity and He who watches over covenants, [the Spirits of] the famous hills and [of] the famous streams, the kings and dukes our predecessors, the whole host of Spirits, and all who are sacrificed to, the ancestors of our 12 (? 13) States with their 7 surnames:—may all these intelligent Spirits destroy him, so that he shall lose his people, his appointment pass from him, his family perish, and his State be utterly overthrown!"

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Tsze-nang of Ts'oo had asked the assistance of troops from Tsin; and Chen, Tsin's great officer of the right, led a force to follow the viscount of Ts'oo, intending to invade Ch'ing. [In the meantime], the earl of Ch'ing met [the army of Ts'oo], [made his submission], and on Ping-tze invaded Sung [along with it]."

Par. 8. This is the third and last of the great expeditions of Tsin against Ts'oo. Sëaou-yu was a place in Ch'ing, to the south of its capital, in the pres. Heu Chow (許州). The Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, the States, with all their armies, again invaded Ch'ing. They showed their forces outside the east gate of the city, on which the people of Ch'ing made the king's son, Pih-p'ing, offer their submission. On Këah-seuh, Chaou Woo of Tsin entered the city, and made a covenant with the earl; and in winter, in the 10th month, on Ting-hae, Tsze-chen came out, and made a covenant with the marquis of Tsin. In the 12th month, on Mow-yin, there was a meeting in Sëaou-yu. On Käng-shin, [the marquis of Tsin] released his Ch'ing prisoners, treated them all courteously, and sent them back. He [also] called in his scouting parties, and forbade raids and pillaging. [At the same time], he sent Shuh-heih to inform the [other] princes of these proceedings. The duke made Tsang-sun Heih return the following reply, "All we who have covenanted to-

gether [are here], because your great State found it necessary to punish a small one which had offended. Having obtained sufficient ground for your present course, you are ready to exercise forgiveness. My ruler has received your commands."

"The people of Ch'ing presented to the marquis of Tsin the music-masters, Kwei, Ch'uh, and Keuen; fifteen, each, of wide chariots and guard-chariots with the buff-coats and weapons for them complete, and other war-chariots amounting altogether to a hundred; two sets of musical bells, with the large bells and musical stones belonging to them; and sixteen female musicians. The marquis gave one half [of these two last gifts] to Wei Këang, saying, "It was you who taught me to harmonize the Jung and the Teih, so as secure the adherence of the great States (see the long Chuen at the end of the 4th year). In the space of 8 years, I have nine times assembled the States, and a harmony has prevailed among them like that of music. I beg to share the pleasure of these things with you." Wei Këang declined the gifts, saying, "The harmonizing of the Jung and Teih was the happy destiny of the State. The assembling of the States nine times within the space of eight years, and the princes all virtuously adhering, is to be ascribed to your lordship's powerful influence, and the labours of your various servants. What did I contribute to those results? What your servant wishes is that your lordship may enjoy your present pleasure and think about the future. The ode (She, II. vii. ode VIII. 4) says,

'To be delighted in are those princes,  
The guardians of the country of the Son  
of Heaven!

To be delighted in are those princes;  
Around them all blessings collect.  
Discriminating and able are their  
attendants,

Who also have followed them hither!'

Now music helps the repose in virtue; righteousness is seen in the manner of occupying one's position; the rules of propriety are seen in one's practice; good faith maintains consistency; and benevolence makes one powerful in influencing others. When a prince has these qualities, then indeed he may be the guardian of the country, share in all blessings and emoluments, and attract people from a distance:—this is called music indeed. The Shoo says (probably V. xv. 19 is intended), "In a position of security, think of peril." If you think thus, you will make preparation against the danger, and with the preparation there will be no calamity. I venture to offer you these admonitions." The marquis said, "Dare I but receive your commands in these instructions? But for you, however, I should not have known how to treat the Jung; I should not have been able to cross the Ho. To reward is a statute of the State, preserved in the repository of covenants; it may not be disused. Do you receive those things." It was thus that Wei Këang first had bells and musical stones;—and it was right he should thus receive them."

Par. 9. The canon laid down for entries like this is that, when the duke has been absent on more than one affair, the last shall be stated in the record of his return. It is so here. The

duke left Loo to take part in the invasion of Ch'ing, which ended in the meeting at Sēaou-yu; and it is said he arrived 'from the meeting.' In par. 6, however, it is said that he arrived 'from the invasion of Ch'ing,' though the event immediately preceding his return was the meeting and covenant at Poh. The commentators find 'praise and blame' in these variations of the style, but we may well believe that the historians made these entries, as the characters occurred to them, without regard to any different character of the transactions in which the duke had been engaged.

Par. 10. For 霄 Kuh-lēang has 宵. The Chuen says:—The people of Ch'ing had sent Lēang Sēaou, and the grand-superintendent Sheh Ch'oh, to Ts'oo, to give notice of their intended submission to Tsin in the words, [as from the earl], "Out of regard to my altars, I

am not able to cherish your lordship [as my superior]. If your lordship with gems and silks will come to a good understanding with Tsin, or if by a display of prowess you will overawe it, this would be what I desire." The people of Ts'oo seized and held the two officers. The text speaks of "the messenger," intimating that [Lēang Sēaou] was an ambassador.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—"Two dignitaries of Ts'in, Paou and Woo, led a force and invaded Tsin, in order to succour Ch'ing. Paou first entered the territory of Tsin, and was met by Sze Fang, who slighted the forces of Ts'in, and did not make preparation against them. On Jin-woo, Woo crossed [the Ho] from Foo-she, and, joining Paou, went on with him into Tsin. On Ke-ch'ow the armies of the two States fought at Leih, when that of Tsin received a great defeat;—in consequence of making light of Ts'in."

### Twelfth year.

十有二年春王三月  
莒人伐我東鄙  
季孫宿帥師救台  
遂入郕  
夏晉侯使士魴來  
聘  
秋九月吳子乘卒  
冬楚公子貞帥師  
侵宋公如晉

左傳曰十二年春莒人伐我東鄙圍台  
季武子救台遂入郕取其鐘以爲公盤  
夏晉士魴來聘且拜師  
秋吳子壽夢卒臨於周廟禮也凡諸侯  
之喪異姓臨於外同姓於宗廟同宗於  
祖廟同族於祧廟是故魯爲諸姬臨於  
周廟爲邢凡蔣茅昨祭臨於周公之廟  
冬楚子囊秦庶長無地伐宋師於楊梁  
以報晉之取鄭也  
靈王求後於齊齊侯問對於晏桓子  
桓子對曰先王之禮辭有之天子求後  
於諸侯諸侯對曰夫婦所生若而人妾  
婦之子若而人無女而有姊妹及姑姊  
妹則曰先守某公之遺女若而人齊侯  
許昏王使陰里結之  
公如晉朝且拜士魴之辱禮也  
秦嬴歸於楚楚司馬子庚聘於秦爲  
夫人寧禮也

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, a body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to T'ae.
- 2 Ke-sun Suh led a force and relieved T'ae, after which he went on to enter Yun.
- 3 In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze Fang to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, Shing, viscount of Woo, died.
- 5 In winter, the Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.
- 6 The duke went to Tsin.

Par. 1, 2. T'ae was a city belonging to Loo, —in the pres. dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. Kuh-lēang has 郕. Yun is the same place mentioned in VI.xii.8, as then walled by duke Wān. In his time it belonged to Loo, but had subsequently been taken by Keu. Though Ke-sun Suh now entered it, it does not appear to have remained in the possession of Loo.

The Chuen says:—"This year, in spring, a body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to T'ae. Ke Woo-tsze then relieved T'ae, and went on to enter Yun, from which he took its bell to form a deep dish for the duke." 遂 is used as heretofore, to denote the going on from the accomplishment of one thing to another not originally contemplated. Kung and Kuh, however, remark that it was not competent for any one to do this but the ruler of the State himself, and hence the 遂 is here condemnatory of Ke-sun Suh;—but see on III. xix. 3.

Par. 3. Tso says that the object of Fang in this mission was to convey the acknowledgments of the marquis of Tsin for the military services performed by Loo the previous year.

Par. 4. This viscount of Woo is better known by the name of Show-mung, which we find in the 1st Chuen on the 10th year. How he should have the two names of Show-mung and Shing is not easily explained. Fuh K'ien (服虔) of the Han dynasty supposed that the double name of this and the other lords of Woo is merely an attempt to spell, or give the sound of, the native term, so that in reality 壽夢 and 乘 are but one and the same name.

The Chuen says:—"In autumn, Show-mung, viscount of Woo, died. The duke went to the Chow temple (that of king Wān) to wail for him;—which was according to rule. On occasion of the decease of any prince, if he were of a different surname from the duke, he was wailed for outside on the city wall. If he were of the

same surname, the wailing took place in the ancestral (i.e., the Chow) temple; if he were descended from the same individual who bore that surname, in the temple of that [common] ancestor; if he were of some common branch family from that ancestor, in the paternal temple. Thus the princes of Loo mourned for the Kes generally in the Chow temple; but for the lords of Hing, Fan, Tsēang, Maou, Ts'oo, and Chae, in the temple of the duke of Chow." Here for the 1st time the Ch'ün Ts'ew records the death of a lord of Woo. But there is no record of the burial; not that an officer of Loo may not have been present at it, but because, as in the case of the lords of Ts'oo, the usurped title of king must have been introduced.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"In winter, Tse-nang of Ts'oo, and Woo-te, one of the dignitaries of Ts'in, invaded Sung, and took post with their forces at Yang-lēang;—in retaliation for Tsin's taking Ch'ing [from Ts'oo]."

[The Chuen here turns aside to a marriage negotiation on the part of the king:—"King Ling sought a queen from Ts'e. The marquis asked Gan Hwan-tsze how he should reply, and that officer answered, "In the language of ceremony, issued by the former kings, we find that when the king applies for a queen to the prince of any State, the prince replies, "Of daughters by my proper wife, I have so many; and of daughters by concubines I have so many." If he have no daughter of his own, but has sisters and aunts, he says, "Of so and so, who preceded me in this fief, there are so many daughters." The marquis of Ts'e agreed to the proposed marriage, and the king sent Yin Le to settle the engagement."]

Par. 6. Tso says, "The duke went to Tsin, to appear at its court, and to express his acknowledgments for the visit of Sze Fang." Fang's visit was that in p. 3.

[The Chuen here relates an incident, of which it is difficult to see the drift.—"A daughter of the House of Ts'in had been married to [the viscount of] Ts'oo. [This year], Tse-kāng (a son of king Chwang, named Woo) minister of War to Ts'oo, paid a friendly visit to Ts'in, to inquire after her mother in the viscountess's behalf. This was according to rule."]

## Thirteenth year.

十有三  
年春公  
至自晉。  
夏取郛。  
秋九月  
庚辰楚  
子審卒。  
冬城防。

左傳曰：十三年春，公至自晉。孟獻子書勞於廟，禮也。荀營士魴卒，晉侯蒐於綿上以治兵，使士匄將中軍，辭曰：伯游長，昔臣習於知伯，是以佐之，非能賢也。請從伯游。荀偃將中軍，士匄佐之，使韓起將上軍，辭曰：趙武，又使欒黶辭曰：臣不如韓起。韓起願上趙武，君其聽之。使趙武將上軍，韓起佐之。欒黶將下軍，魏絳佐之。新軍無帥，晉侯難其人，使其什吏率其卒乘官屬以從於下軍。欒黶將下軍，魏絳佐之。諸侯遂睦，君子曰：讓禮之主也。范宣子讓其下皆讓，欒黶為汰，弗敢違也。晉國之民是以大和，賴之刑善也。夫一人刑善，百姓休和，可不務乎？書曰：一人有慶，兆民賴之。其寧惟永，其是之謂乎？周之典也，其詩曰：儀刑文王，萬邦作孚。言刑善也，及其衰也，其詩曰：大夫不均，我從事獨賢。言不讓也。世之治也，君子尚能而讓其下，小人農力以事其上，是以上下有禮，而讒慝黜遠，由不爭也。謂之懿德，及其亂也，君子稱其功，以加小人，小人伐其技，以馮君子。是以上下無禮，亂虐並生，由爭善也。謂之昏德，國家之敝，恒必由之。楚子疾告大夫曰：不穀不德，少主社稷，生十年而喪先君，未及習師保之教訓，而應受多福，是以不德而亡師於郢，以辱社稷。為大夫憂，其弘多矣。若以大夫之靈，獲保首領，以沒於地，唯是春秋窀穸之事，所以從先君於廟廟者，請為靈若厲。大夫擇焉。莫對。及五命，乃許。秋，楚共王卒，子囊謀謚，大夫曰：君有命矣。子囊曰：君命以共，若之何毀之？赫赫楚國，而君臨之，撫有蠻夷，奄征南海，以屬諸夏，而知其過，可不謂共乎？請謚之共。大夫從之。君曰：吳侵楚，養由基奔命，子庚以師繼之。養叔曰：吳乘我喪，謂我不能師也，必易我而不戒。

子為三覆以待我，我請誘之。子庚從之，戰於庸浦，大敗吳師，獲公子黨。君子以吳為不弔。詩曰：不弔昊天，亂靡有定。冬，城防。書事時也。於是將早城，臧武仲請俟畢農事，禮也。鄭良霄，大宰石臬，猶在楚。石臬言於子囊曰：先王卜征五年，而歲習其祥，祥習則行，不習則增修德而改卜。今楚實不競，行人何罪？止鄭一卿以除其偏，使睦而疾楚，以固於晉，焉用之？使歸而廢其使，怨其君，以疾其大夫，而相牽引也，不猶愈乎？楚人歸之。

- XIII. 1 In his thirteenth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
2 In summer, we took She.  
3 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Käng-shin, Shin, viscount of Ts'oo, died.  
4 In winter, we walled Fang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—“When the duke arrived from Tsin, Mäng Hên-tsze caused a record of his successful services to be made in the ancestral temple;—which was according to rule.” See the Chuen on II. ii. 9 about the force of 至 in such paragraphs as this. Too Yu goes at length into the matter here:—“Under the 2d year of duke Hwan, the Chuen says, ‘The duke arrived from T’ang, and announced his doing so in the temple.’ Whenever the duke set out on a journey, he announced it in the ancestral temple. On his return, he drank in celebration of that in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had his service recorded in the tablets:—this was the rule. In the 16th year of Hwan, it says, ‘The duke came from the invasion of Ch’ing, and observed the ceremony of drinking on his arrival in the temple.’ It appears then (from those two passages and the present), that if any one of the three ceremonies,—the announcement in the temple, the drinking to celebrate the arrival, and the record in the tablets,—was observed, the notice of arrival was made; but if they were all neglected, there was no such notice.”

Par. 2. For 郛 Kung-yang has 詩. She was a small State, near Loo,—in the present Tse-ning (濟寧) Chow, dep. Yen-chow. It was now incorporated with Loo. The Chuen says:—“In summer, She was dismembered into three by disorders [which prevailed]. A force from Loo succoured She, and took the opportunity to take it.” Too observes on this, that, while the Chuen speaks of ‘a force from Loo,’ the text does not use that term, intimating that the troops employed did not really amount to a 師, or 2,500 men. Tso she subjoins his canons regarding the force of several terms:—“Taking (取)” is used, when the thing was done with ease; “extinguishing (滅),” when it required

a large force; “entering (入),” when the territory was not retained.” There is difficulty found, however, in the application of these canons; and some critics, as Lëw Ch’ang, call them in question altogether.

[The Chuen appends here a narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—Seun Ying and Sze Fang died, and the marquis of Tsin assembled his troops in Mëen-shang that he might order and regulate them. He appointed Sze Kae to the command of the army of the centre, but Kae declined, saying, “Pih-yëw (Seun Yen) is my senior. Formerly from my acquaintance with, and knowledge of, Che Pih, I was assistant-commander under him; but I cannot [be regarded as] superior [to Yen]. I beg you to follow [my advice, and appoint] Pih-yëw.” Seun Yen was then made commander of the army of the centre, and Sze Kae was assistant-commander under him. [The marquis] appointed Han K’e to the command of the 1st army; but he wished to decline in favour of Chaou Woo. The marquis, however, offered the command to Lwan Yen, who also declined it, saying, “I am not equal to Han K’e, and as he wishes Chaou Woo to be above him, your lordship should hearken to him.” Chaou Woo was then made commander of the 1st army, with Han K’e as assistant-commander. Lwan Yen was continued as commander of the 3d army, and Wei Këang was made assistant-commander of it. Neither commander nor assistant-commander was appointed to the new army; but the marquis, finding it difficult to meet with proper men, ordered the officers of tens to lead their footmen and chariot-men, and all the other officers, to follow the 3d army;—which was right. On this, a great harmony prevailed among the people of Tsin, and the States cultivated their friendly relations with it.

“The superior man will say, “Modesty is an essential point in the proprieties. Fan Seuen-tse (Kae) having declined the command [offered to him], those below him did the same, and

even Iwan Yen, naturally forward, did not dare to act differently. The State of Tsin was thus made tranquil, and the effect extended through several generations:—such was the force of a good example! Is not this a thing to be earnestly sought,—the good example of one man, securing the quiet and harmony of the people? The language of the Shoo (V. xxvii. 18) is applicable to this:—“When the one man is good, all the people look to him as their dependence, and the repose of such a State will be perpetual.” Of the rise and prosperity of Chow, the ode (She, III. i. ode I. 7) says:—

‘Take your pattern from king Wan,  
And the myriad regions will repose confidence  
in you;’

showing a pattern of excellence. But in the decline of Chow, the ode (She, II. vi. ode I. 2) says:—

‘The great officers are unfair;  
I am made to serve; I alone am deemed worthy;’

showing how [at that time] they would not yield to one another. In an age of good government, men in high stations prefer ability, and give place to those who are below them; and the lesser people labour vigorously at their husbandry to serve their superiors. In this way all the rules of propriety are observed both by high and low, and slanderers and evil men fall into disrepute and disappear. Such a state of things arises from their not quarrelling about superiority;—it is what we call a state of admirable virtue. But in an age of disorder, men in high stations proclaim their merit in order to impose their will on those who are below them, and the lesser people boast of their arts to encroach on their superiors. In this way the rules of propriety are observed by neither high nor low, and disorders and oppressions grow up together. Such a state of things arises from contentions about superiority;—it is what we call a state where virtue is all-obscured. The ruin of a State is sure to result from it.”

Par. 3. This was king Kung (共王). He was succeeded by his son Ch'au, known as king K'ang (康王昭). The Chuen says:—“The viscount of Ts'oo was ill, and addressed his great officers, saying, “I, the unworthy, was called when young to preside over the altars. At the age of ten, I lost my father, and the dignity of the State fell to my lot before I had been trained by the instructions of the tutor and guardian. Thus it was that I lost my army at Yen (see VIII. xvi. 6), to the very great disgrace of our altars, and the very great sorrow of you. If by your influence I am able to preserve my head, and die a natural death, for the business of sacrifice and interment, whereby I shall take the place after my predecessors in the temple proper to me, I beg you will call me by such an epithet as Ling (靈) or Le (厲), according as you shall choose.” They gave him no reply, till he had charged them five times, when they consented.

In the autumn, he—king Kung—died, and Tsze-nang was consulting about the posthumous epithet for him, when the great officers said, “We have his own charge about it.” Tsze-nang said, “His charge was marked by humble

reverence. Why should we use any other epithet but that which is expressive of that quality? He came to the charge of this glorious State of Ts'oo; he tranquillized, and got the dominion of, the Man and the E; his expeditions went rapidly forth along the sea of the south; and he subjected the great States. And yet he knew his errors;—may he not be pronounced humbly reverent (共)? Let us call him by the epithet of Kung.” The great officers agreed.’

[The Chuen appends here:—“Woo made a raid upon Ts'oo. Yang Y'ew-ke hurried away with a charge [to resist the enemy], followed by Tsze-k'ang with a [larger] force. Yang Shuh said, “Woo is taking advantage of the death of our king, thinking we shall not be able to take the field. They are sure to slight us, and not use proper caution. Do you place three ambushments, and wait for the result of my measures, giving me leave to decoy them.” Tsze-k'ang having agreed to this, a battle was fought at Yung-poo, when the troops of Woo received a great defeat, and the Kung-tse Tang was taken. The superior man will say, “Woo was unpitying;—[as] the ode (She, II. iv. ode VII. 6) says,

‘Great Heaven has no compassion,  
And there is no end to the disorders.’”

Par. 4. Fang.—see I. ix. 6. The city was granted, probably about this time, to the Tsang-sun family. The Chuen says:—“This text shows the seasonableness of the proceeding [from the state of other business]. They had wished to wall the city earlier, but Tsang Woo-chung begged to wait till the labours of husbandry were finished;—which was right.”

[The Chuen here takes up the narrative under xi. 10:—“L'ang S'au of Ch'ing, and the grand-superintendent Shih Ch'oh, were still in Ts'oo. Shih Ch'oh said to Tsze-nang, “The ancient kings divined about their progresses for five years, year by year seeking for a favourable response. When they found that repeated so many times, then they set out. If such a response was not repeated, they cultivated their virtue with increased assiduity, and divined again. Now Ts'oo cannot maintain its struggle with Tsin; but what is the offence of [Ch'ing's] messenger? You here detain one of its high ministers, relieving its court of the pressure [of its ministers on one another], making the others more harmonious and adhere firmly to Tsin, with a hatred of Ts'oo;—what is the use of such a measure? If you send him back, and thus frustrate the object of his mission, he will resent the conduct of his ruler, and be at enmity with the great officers, so that they will begin to draw different ways;—would not this be a better course?” On this the people of Ts'oo sent them both back.]’

# Fourteenth year.

十有四年春王正月季孫宿叔老會晉士  
句齊人宋人衛人鄭公孫蠆曹人莒人邾  
人滕人薛人杞人小邾人會吳于向  
二月乙未朔日有食之  
夏四月叔孫豹會晉荀偃齊人宋人衛北  
宮括鄭公孫蠆曹人莒人邾人滕人薛人  
杞人小邾人伐秦己未衛侯出奔齊  
莒人侵我東鄙秋楚公子貞帥師伐吳  
冬季孫宿會晉士句宋華閱衛孫林父鄭  
公孫蠆莒人邾人于戚

左傳曰十四年春吳告敗於晉會于向爲吳謀楚故也范宣子數吳之不德也以退吳人執莒公子務婁以其通楚使也將執戎子駒支范宣子親數諸朝曰來姜戎氏昔秦人迫逐乃祖吾離於瓜州乃祖吾離被苫蓋蒙荆棘以來歸我先君我先君惠公有不腆之田與女剖分而食之今諸侯之事我寡君不如昔者蓋言語漏洩則職汝之由詰朝之事爾無與焉與將執女對曰昔秦人負恃其衆貪於土地逐我諸戎惠公蠲其大德謂我諸戎是四鄰之裔也毋是翦



乎。秦伯曰：以其汰乎？對曰：然。變驕汰虐已甚，猶可以免，其在盈乎？秦伯曰：何故？對曰：武子之德在民，如周人之思召公焉，愛其甘棠，況其子乎？變驕死，盈之善未能及人，武子所施沒矣，而驕之怨實章，將於是乎在。秦伯以爲知言，爲之請於晉而復之。

衛獻公戒孫文子甯惠子食，皆服而朝。日旰不召，而射鴻於囿。二子從之，不釋皮冠而與之言。二子怒，孫文子如戚，孫蒯入使，公飲之酒，使犬師歌巧言之卒章。犬師辭，師曹請爲之。初，公有嬖妾，使師曹誨之琴，師曹鞭之，公怒，鞭師曹三百。故師曹欲歌之以怒孫子以報公。公使歌之，遂誦之。蒯懼，告文子。文子曰：君忌我矣，弗先必死，并帑於戚，而入見，遽伯玉曰：君之暴虐，子所知也。大懼社稷之傾覆，將若之何？對曰：君制其國，臣敢奸之，雖奸之庸知愈乎？遂行，從近關出。公使子蟜、子伯、子皮與孫子盟於丘宮，孫子皆殺之。四月，己未，子展奔齊。公如郵，使子行於孫子，孫子又殺之。公出奔齊。孫氏追之，敗公徒於阿澤。鄆人執之。初，尹公佗學射於庾公，差學射於公孫丁，二子追公，公孫丁御，公子魚曰：射爲督師，不射爲戮，射爲禮乎？射兩鞬而還。尹公佗曰：子爲師，我則遠矣。乃反之。公孫丁授公轡而射之，貫臂。子鮮從公，及竟，公使視宗，宗告亡，且告無罪。定姜曰：無神何告？若有，不可誣也。有罪，若何告無？舍大臣而與小臣謀，一罪也。先君有冢卿，以爲師保而蔑之，二罪也。余以巾櫛事先君，而暴妾使余，三罪也。告亡而已，無告無罪，公使厚成叔弔於衛，曰：寡君使瘠聞君不撫社稷，而越在他竟，若之何不弔，以同盟之故，使瘠敢私於執事，曰：有君不弔，有臣不敏，君不赦宥，臣亦不帥職，增淫發洩，其若之何？衛人使犬叔儀對曰：羣臣不佞，得罪於寡君，寡君不以卽刑，而悼棄之，以爲君憂，君不忘先君之好，辱弔羣臣，又重恤之，敢拜君命之辱，重拜大貺。厚孫歸復命，語臧武仲曰：衛君其必歸乎？有犬叔儀以守，有母弟鱄以出，或撫其內，或營其外，能無歸乎？齊人以刺寄衛侯，及其復也，以刺糧歸。右幸穀從而逃歸，衛人將殺之，辭曰：余不說初矣，余狐裘而羔袖，乃赦之。衛人立公孫剽，孫林父甯殖相之，以聽命於諸侯。衛侯在刺，臧紇如齊。

棄，賜我南鄙之田，狐狸所居，豺狼所嗥，我諸戎除翦其荆棘，驅其狐狸豺狼，以爲先君不侵不叛之臣，至於今不貳。昔文公與秦伐鄭，秦人竊與鄭盟，而舍戍焉，於是乎有殺之師。晉禦其上，戎亢其下，秦師不復，我諸戎實然。譬如捕鹿，晉人角之，諸戎椅之，與晉踣之，戎何以不免？自是以來，晉之百役，與我諸戎相繼於時，以從執政，猶殺志也。豈敢離邊，今官之師旅，無乃實有所闕，以攜諸侯，而罪我諸戎，我諸戎飲食衣服，不與華同，贊幣不通，言語不達，何惡之能爲？不與於會，亦無膏焉。賦青蠅而退，宣子辭焉，使卽事於會，成愷悌也。於是子叔齊子爲季武子介，以會，自是晉人輕魯幣，而益敬其使。

○吳子諸樊既除喪，將立季札。季札辭曰：曹宣公之卒也，諸侯與曹人，不義曹君，將立子臧，子臧去之，遂弗爲也。以成曹君，君子曰：能守節，君義嗣也，誰敢奸君？有國，非吾節也。札雖不才，願附於子臧，以無失節。固立之，棄其室而耕，乃舍之。

夏，諸侯之大夫從晉侯伐秦，以報櫟之役也。晉侯待於竟，使六卿帥諸侯之師以進。及涇，不濟，叔向見叔孫穆子，穆子賦：*匏有苦葉，叔向退而具舟。魯人莒人先濟，鄭子蟜見衛北宮懿子，曰：與人而不固，取惡莫甚焉。若社稷何？懿子說，二子見諸侯之師而勸之濟。*濟涇而次，秦人毒涇上流，師人多死。鄭司馬子蟜帥鄭師以進，師皆從之。至于棫林，不獲成焉。荀偃令曰：雞鳴而駕，塞井夷竈，唯余馬首是瞻。欒黶曰：晉國之命，未是有也。余馬首欲東，乃歸。上軍從之。左史謂魏莊子曰：不待中行伯乎？莊子曰：夫子命從帥，欒伯吾帥也，吾將從之。從帥所以待夫子也。伯游曰：吾令實過，悔之何及？多遺秦禽，乃命大還。晉人謂之遷延之役。欒鍼曰：此役也，報櫟之敗也，役又無功，晉之恥也。吾有二位於戎路，敢不恥乎？與士鞅馳秦師，死焉。士鞅反，欒黶謂士鞅曰：余弟不欲往，而子召之，余弟死，而子來，是而子殺余之弟也，弗逐，余亦將殺之。士鞅奔秦，於是齊崔杼、宋華閱、仲江會伐秦，不書，情也。向之會，亦如之。衛北宮括不書於向，書於伐秦，攝也。秦伯問於士鞅曰：晉大夫其誰先亡？對曰：其欒氏。

言衛侯。衛侯與之言。虐。退而告其人曰。衛侯其不得入矣。其言。糞土也。亡而不變。何以復國。子展。子鮮。聞之。見臧紇。與之言。道。臧孫說。謂其人曰。衛君必入。夫二子者。或輓之。或推之。欲無入。得乎。

○師歸自伐秦。晉侯舍新軍。禮也。成國不過半天子之軍。周爲六軍。諸侯之大者。三軍可也。於是知朔生盈而死。盈生六年而武子卒。薨。裴亦幼。皆未可立也。新軍無帥。故舍之。

○師曠侍於晉侯。晉侯曰。衛人出其君。不亦甚乎。對曰。或者其君實甚。良君將賞善而刑淫。養民如子。蓋之如天。容之如地。民奉其君。愛之如父母。仰之如日月。敬之如神明。畏之如雷霆。其可出乎。夫君神之主而民之望也。若困民之主。匱神乏祀。百姓絕望。社稷無主。將安用之。弗去何爲。天生民而立之君。使司牧之。勿使失性。有君而爲之貳。使師保之。勿使過度。是故天子有公。諸侯有卿。卿置側室。大夫有貳宗。士有朋友。庶人工商。皁隸牧圉。皆有親暱。以相輔佐也。善則賞之。過則匡之。患則救之。失則革之。自王以下。各有父兄子弟。以補察其政。史爲書。瞽爲詩。工誦箴諫。大夫規誨。士傳言。庶人謗。商旅於市。百工獻藝。故夏書曰。道人以木鐸徇於路。官師相規。工執藝事以諫。正月孟春。於是乎有之。諫失常也。天之愛民甚矣。豈其使一人肆於民上。以從其淫。而棄天地之性。必不然矣。

秋。楚子爲庸浦之役。故。子囊師於棠。以伐吳。吳不出而還。子囊殿。以吳爲不能而弗倣。吳人自臯舟之隘。要而擊之。楚人不能相救。吳人敗之。獲楚公子宜穀。

○王使劉定公賜齊侯命。曰。昔伯舅犬公。若我先王。股肱周室。師保萬民。世昨犬師。以表東海。王室之不壞。繫伯舅是賴。今余命女環。茲率舅氏之典。纂乃祖考。無忝乃舊。敬之哉。無廢朕命。

晉侯問衛故於中行獻子。對曰。不如因而定之。衛有君矣。伐之未可以得志。而勤諸侯。史佚有言曰。因重而撫之。仲虺有言曰。亡者侮之。亂者取之。推亡固存。國之道也。君其定衛以待時乎。冬。會于戚。謀定衛也。范宣子假

也。民歸于周。望萬也。忠。不謂社稷。可忘。將死。增其名。忠。子謂君薨。不囊。必謂城郢。君。言謂子死。遺。卒。還。自伐吳。囊。人始貳。齊。而弗歸。齊。羽施於齊。

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Ke-sun Suh, and Shuh Laou, along with Sze Kae of Tsin, officers of Ts'e, Sung, and Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aou, Keu, Choo, T'ang, Sëeh, Ke, and Little Choo, had a meeting with Woo in Hëang.
- 2 In the second month, on Yih-we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, Shuh-sun P'aou joined Seun Yen of Tsin, officers of Ts'e and Sung, Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aou, Keu, Ch'oo, T'ang, Sëeh, Ke, and Little Choo, in invading Ts'in.
- 4 On Ke-we, the marquis of Wei left his State, and fled to Ts'e.
- 5 A body of men from Keu made a raid upon our eastern borders.
- 6 In autumn, the Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo.
- 7 In winter, Ke-sun Suh had a meeting with Sze Kae of Tsin, Hwa Yueh of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Keu and Choo, in Ts'eih.

Par. 1. The defeat of Woo by Ts'oo is related in the Chuen appended to par. 3 of last year. Tso-she supposes that this meeting at Hëang (the Hëang in dis. of Hwae-yuen; see on I. ii. 2) was held in consequence of an application from Woo to Tsin for help; but, as Woo Ch'ing has remarked, the text, where representatives of Tsin and the other States all go to meet Woo, would rather indicate that the meeting was called by Tsin for its own purposes, to make use of Woo, instead of giving help to it.

Here and below, Kung-yang has 藺 for 藺. At this meeting we have two officers, both ministers, present on the part of Loo;—Ke-sun Suh and Shuh Laou (a son of Kung-sun Ying-te, and grandson of Shuh-heih, mentioned VII. xvii. 7). There were always two officers sent by the States to those meetings, a principal and an assistant (一正一介), but the second was inferior in rank, and only the principal took part in conference. Loo departed from the ordinary rule in this case probably to flatter Tsin, and Tsin accepted the adulation by admitting two envoys to the meeting.

The Chuen says:—‘This spring, Woo announced to Tsin the defeat [which it had sustained from Ts'oo], and a meeting was held at Hëang, to consult about measures against

Ts'oo, in the interest of Woo. Fan Seuen-tsze, however, pointed out Woo's act of misconduct, and sent away its representative. He [also] caused the Kung-tsze Woo-low of Keu to be seized, because of Keu's interchanging communications with Ts'oo. He wished [further] to seize Ken-che, viscount of the Jung, and accused him, himself, in the court [which had been established in Hëang], saying, ‘Come, you chief of the Këang Jung! Formerly, the people of Tsin drove Woo-le, one of your ancestors, to Kwa-chow, when he came, clothed with rushes and forcing his way through briars and thorns, and threw himself on our ruler duke Hwuy, who cut off from Tsin some poor lands, and gave them to you to afford you a subsistence. The States do not now yield to our ruler the service which they formerly did, because of reports leaking [out from Tsin].—all through you. You must not be present at the business of to-morrow morning; if you are, I will cause you to be seized.’ The viscount replied, ‘Formerly, the people of Ts'in, relying on their multitudes, and covetous of territory, drove out us Jung. Then [your] duke Hwuy displayed his great kindness; and considering that we Jung were the descendants of the [chief of the] four mountains (see the Shoo, I. 11), and were not to be entirely cut off and abandoned,

he gave us the lands on his southern border. The territory was one where jackals dwelt and wolves howled, but we Jung extirpated the briars and thorns from it, drove away the jackals and wolves, and considered ourselves his subjects, who should not make inroads on his State, nor rebel. Nor to the present day have we swerved from our allegiance. Formerly, when duke Wán and Ts'in invaded Ch'ing (see V. xxxv.), the people of Ts'in stealthily made a covenant with Ch'ing, and left some troops as a guard in its territory, which led to the battle of Hsiao (V. xxxiii. 3). There Ts'in met the enemy in front, and we Jung withstood him in the rear. That the army of Ts'in did not return to their State was owing to our services. As in the pursuit of a stag, the people of Ts'in took Ts'in by the horns, and we took it by the feet, and along with Ts'in, we laid it prostrate on the ground;—might we not expect to escape [such a charge as you bring against us]? From that time to the present, in all the expeditions of Ts'in we Jung have taken part, one after another, as they occurred, following its leaders, without ever daring to keep ourselves apart from them. And now when the troops of your officers have indeed committed some errors which are separating the States from you, you try to throw the blame on us. Our drink, our food, our clothes are all different from those of the Flowery States; we do not interchange silks or other articles of introduction with their courts; their language and ours do not admit of intercourse between us and them:—what evil is it possible for us to have done? Not to be present at the meeting will not be a grief to me." He then sang the 'Ts'ing ying' (She, II. vii. ode VI.), and withdrew. Seuen-tsz acknowledged his error, made the viscount be present at the business of the meeting, and proved himself "the gentle and harmonious superior" [of that ode].

At this time Tsze-shuh Ts'e-tsz (Shuh Laou) was the assistant of Ke Woo-tsz and attended the meeting. From this time Ts'in made the contributions of Loo lighter, and gave more respect to its messengers.

The above Chuen is interesting, as showing how the chiefs of the various ruder tribes might be present at the meetings of the States, though there be no record of such a thing in the text.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Woo:—Choo-fan, viscount of Woo, when the mourning [for his father] was [so far] completed (see the death of the former viscount, xii. 4), wished to raise his younger brother Chah to be lord of the State; but Chah declined the dignity, saying, "When duke Seuen of Ts'au died (see VIII. xiii. 4, 6), the States and the people of Ts'au, disapproving of the new ruler, wished to raise Tsze-tsang in Seuen's room. Tsze-tsang, however, left Ts'au, and would not be [earl of it]. Thus establishing the position of the [actual] ruler. Superior men say of him that he could maintain in purity his position. You are the rightful heir; who will dare to be false to you? I cannot possess the State in my position. Devoid as I am of ability, I wish rather to follow the example of Tsze-tsang, so as not to lose my purity." When the thing was still pressed upon him, he abandoned his house, and took to ploughing, on which his brother let him alone.]"

Par. 2. This eclipse took place on the 8th of January, B.C. 558.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"In summer, the great officers of the States followed the marquis of Ts'in to invade Ts'in, in return for the affair at Leih (see on xi. 11). The marquis waited on the borders of the State, and sent his six ministers forward with the forces of the States. When the armies reached the King, they [were unwilling] to cross it; but Shuh-hsiao (Yang-shih Heih; the Shuh-heih of the Chuen on xi. 8) having seen Shuh-sun Muh-tsz (P'au), the latter sang the P'au yew k'oo yeh (She, I. iii. ode IX), on which Shuh-hsiao withdrew and prepared boats for crossing the stream. The men of Loo and Keu were the first to cross. Tsze-k'au of Ch'ing, seeing Pih-kung E-tsz of Wei, said to him, "If we take a side and do not adhere firmly to it, we shall bring on ourselves the greatest evils. What will be the consequences to our altars?" The other was pleased, and they united in advising the forces of the States to cross the King. This was done and the army then halted, but the people of Ts'in had put poison into the stream higher up, in consequence of which many of the soldiers died. Tsze K'au, minister of War of Ch'ing, led its forces forward, and was followed by those of the other States to Yih-lin.

[When they were there], they still did not succeed in bringing Ts'in to terms, and Seun Yen issued an order that at cock-crow they should yoke their chariots, fill up the wells, level their furnaces, and look only at his horses' heads, [and follow him]." Lwan Yen said, "Such an order as this was never given out by the State of Ts'in. My horses' heads wish to go to the east;" and with this he turned back, followed by the third army. The historiographer of the Left said to Wei Chwang-tsz (Wei K'ang), "Will you not wait for Chung-hang Pih (Seun Yen)?" but Chwang-tsz said, "He ordered us to follow our leaders. Lwan Pih is my leader; I will follow him, and in this way wait for the general." [On learning this], Pih-yew (Seun Yen) said, "I committed an error, and repentance for it will not now avail. We shall leave many prisoners in the hands of Ts'in." On this he commanded a great retreat; and the people of Ts'in called the whole affair "The campaign of changes and delays."

Lwan K'ien said, "This service was to repay the affair of Leih, and it proves itself to be a failure;—to the disgrace of Ts'in. And there are two of us [he was a brother of Lwan Yen] in the expedition;—can I but feel the disgrace?" He then dashed with Sze Yang against the army of Ts'in and was killed, Sze Yang [escaping and] returning. Lwan Yen said to Sze Kae, "My brother did not wish to go forward, and your son invited him to do so. My brother died, while your son has returned. He is answerable for my brother's death, and if you do not drive him away, I will kill him." On this Sze Yang fled to Ts'in.

Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, and Hwa Yueh and Chung K'ang of Sung, were engaged in this expedition, but their names do not appear in the text, because they were remiss. For the same reason they are not mentioned in the account of the meeting at Hsiao. Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei does not appear at that meeting, but he is men-

tioned here, because he was here more attentive to his duty.

The earl of Ts'in asked Sze Yang which of the great officers of Ts'in would first go to ruin, and was answered, "Probably the Lwan." "Because of their excessive arrogance?" asked the earl. "Yes," was the reply. "The arrogance and violence of Lwan Yen are extreme, but still he may escape an evil end. The thing will happen to Ying." "Why so?" pursued the earl. Yang answered, "The good offices of Woo-tsz (Yen's father) to the people [have made them think of them] as the people of Chow thought of the duke of Shaou. If they loved the sweet pear tree [of the duke] (see the She, I. ii. ode v.), how much more must the people now regard the son [of Woo-tsz]! When Lwan Yen dies, and the goodness of Ying does not extend to the people, the favours of Woo-tsz will be forgotten, and the wrongs done by Yen will be clearly seen, and then the doom will come." The earl was impressed with the wisdom of his remarks, appealed in his behalf to Ts'in, and got him restored to that State. With this 'Expedition of changes and delays' the strife between Ts'in and Ts'in came to a long intermission. The two States were about equally matched. The resources of Ts'in were more fully developed, but they did not exceed those of its neighbour to such a degree as to enable it to maintain a permanent superiority over Ts'in.

Maou lays down canons about the names of some officers which are in the text, just the contrary of those laid down by Tso;—showing how uncertain all such criticism is.

Par. 4. Kung-yang has 衍, the marquis's name, after 衛侯. The Chuen says:—"Duke Hsien of Wei had given an invitation to Sun Wán-tsz (Sun Lin-foo) and Ning Hwuy-tsz (Ning Chih) to eat with him, and the two officers dressed themselves, and went to court accordingly. The duke, however, had sent them no [subsequent] summons [to the feast], even when the day was getting late, but was shooting wild geese in the park. Thither they followed him, when he spoke to them, without taking off his skin cap. They were offended, and Wán-tsz repaired to [his city of] Ts'eh, from which he sent [his son] Sun Kwae to the court. The duke called for spirits to drink with Kwae, and ordered the chief music-master to sing the last stanza of the K'au yen (She, II. v. ode IV.). That officer declined to do so, and his subordinate Ts'au asked leave to sing it. Before this, the duke had employed this Ts'au to teach a favourite concubine the lute, and he had whipped the lady, which so enraged the duke that he had given the musician 300 blows. It was in consequence of this that Ts'au wished to sing the stanza, that he might thereby enrage Sun-tsz, and obtain his own revenge upon the duke. The duke ordered him to sing the words, and further to intimate his meaning in them. Kwae was afraid, and told the whole thing to his father, who said, "The duke suspects me. If I do not take the initiative, I shall die." On this he brought his son also to Ts'eh, and went [to the capital] to see Keu Pih-yuh, and said to him, "You are well aware of the cruel oppressions of our ruler; I am very much afraid lest our altars be overthrown:—what is to be done?" Pih-yuh replied, "The ruler's authority is supreme; who

will dare to oppose him? And though we should oppose him, do we know that we should find a better?" And after this interview he left the State by the nearest gate on the borders.

The duke then sent Tsze-k'au, Tsze-pih, and Tsze-p'e to make a covenant in K'ew-kung with Sun-tsz, who put them all to death. In the 4th month, on Ke-we, Tsze-chien fled to Ts'e; and the duke went to K'au, from which he sent Tsze-hang to Sun-tsz, who put him also to death. The duke then left the State, and fled towards Ts'e, pursued by the Sun, who defeated his followers at the marsh of O. The people of Keuen also took some of their prisoners. Yin-kung T'o and Yu-kung Ch'ae continued the pursuit of the duke. T'o had learned archery from Ch'ae, whose own instructor in the art had been the Kung-sun Ting. Ting was now driving the duke's chariot, and Tsze-yu (Yu-kung Ch'ae) said, "If I shoot, I do violence to my instructor; and if I do not shoot, I shall be killed;—had I not better shoot in ceremony only?" Accordingly he shot twice, [merely] hitting the yoke over the horses' necks, and returned. [By and by] Yin-kung T'o said, "He was your master, but I am farther removed from him," and thereon he turned again in pursuit. The Kung-sun Ting gave the reins to the duke, and sent an arrow through the upper part of T'o's arm.

Tsze-sen followed the duke, who sent the director of prayers back from the borders of the State to announce his flight [in the ancestral temple], and to announce that he was free from guilt. [His father's proper wife], Ting K'ang said [on this], "If there be no Spirits, what is the use of such an announcement? If there be, they are not to be imposed upon;—guilty as he is, how can he announce that he is free from guilt? He neglected the great officers, and took counsel with his small officers;—that was one act of guilt. He treated with contempt the chief ministers of his father, who had been appointed tutor and guardian to him; that was a second. He was oppressive, as to a concubine, to me, who with towel and comb had served his father; that was a third. He might announce his flight; but nothing more; how could he announce that he was free from guilt?"

The marquis [of Loo] sent How Ch'ing-shuh on a visit of condolence to Wei, who said, "My ruler has sent me (Tseih was Ch'ing-shuh's name), having heard that your ruler was no longer watching over your altars, but had crossed your borders into another State. In such circumstances, how could he but send his condolences? Considering how he had covenanted with your ruler, he has sent me privately to you, the officers of Wei, to say, "Your ruler showed no sympathy, and his ministers were not earnest and intelligent. He did not forgive [their offences], and they did not perform their duties. His excesses were increased, and they gave vent to their resentments. What is to be done in such a case?" The people of Wei appointed T'ae-shuh E to reply to him, who said, "We officers, in our want of ability, offended our ruler. He did not proceed to punish us, but in grief has left the State, causing sorrow to your ruler. Mindful of the friendship between the former princes of Wei and Loo, your ruler has condescended to send his condolences to us, and to show us his great pity. We venture to acknowledge the condescension of his message;



we thank him deeply for his great gift." When How-sun returned, and reported the execution of his mission, he said to Tsang Woo-chung, "The ruler of Wei will yet return, I apprehend, to his State. There is Tae-shuh E to keep guard in it; there is his own brother Chuen (Tsze-sen), who has left it with him. With the former watching over his interests in the State, and the latter to build him up out of it, is it possible he should not be restored?"

"The people of Ts'e assigned Lae to the marquis as his residence, and when he returned to Wei, he took with him the provisions that were in it. Kub, commandant of the right, had followed the marquis on his flight, but afterwards stole away from him, and returned to Wei, where the people wished to put him to death. He pleaded, however, that he had not gone away at first with a good will, and that he might be compared to a robe of fox-skin with sleeves of lamb's fur. On this they forgave him, and raised P'eaou, a grandson of duke Muh to the vacant seat. To him Sun Lin-foo and Ning Chih acted as chief ministers, awaiting his recognition by the States.

"While the marquis of Wei was in Lae, Tsang Heih went to Ts'e, and paid him a visit of condolence, when he spoke in so violent a way, that, when Heih retired, he said to his followers that the marquis would not be able to enter the state again. "His words," said he, "are dirt. His exile has wrought no change in him. How is it possible that he should return?" Tsze-chen and Tsze-sen heard this, and visited Heih, when their discourse was so marked by right principle, that he said to his people, "The ruler of Wei is sure to return to his State. With the one of these officers to pull him forward, and the other to keep him back, though he wished not to enter it, he could not keep from doing so."

"The K'ang-he editors observe on this paragraph:—'In the account of the exit of the marquis of Wei, the Ch'un Ts'ew does not mention the traitors who drove him out, but ascribes his flight to himself. In consequence of this, Too Yu and K'ung Ying-tah held that the style was condemnatory of the ruler, in which view they were followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh. But this is not the idea of the text. There is no greater crime than the expulsion of a ruler by a minister; and it is to be supposed that the sage would indicate his condemnation of the ruler only? Wang Ts'eaou and Yen K'e-lung have therefore both disputed this view.' This method of settling a point on the critic's *a priori* view of the author's character and intention will not pass current out of China. With the account in the text there has to be taken the statement of Ning Chih on his deathbed, as given in the Chuen at the end of the 20th year, that it was recorded in the tablets (策書), of the States, that 'Ning Chih drove out his ruler.' Maou contends that there were, besides those tablets, others (簡書) in a different style, and that Confucius made his text from the latter. This distinction of tablets again is vehemently controverted; and even if it were granted, the point of real interest in regard to the merits of Confucius as a historian would not be affected by it.—We look for truth as to the things which he relates, and we do not get it. It is to be observed, however, that only in the case of the

murder of a ruler is the name of the traitor given in the Ch'un Ts'ew, and even not always then. Records of expulsions are in the style of the text here, with the addition generally of the name of the fugitive prince,—as in II. xv. 4. The omission of the name in the text, however, is not to be considered important.

[The Chuen takes us now, in two narratives to Ts'in:—1st. 'When his armies returned from the invasion of Ts'in, the marquis of Ts'in disbanded the new army;—which was according to rule. The armies of a large State could only be half those of the Son of Heaven. Chow had six armies, and the greatest of the States might have three. At this time, Che Soh (知朔, belonging to a branch of the Seun or Chung-hang clan) had died after the birth of [? his brother] Ying. Woo-tsze, [their father], also died when Ying was only six years old. Che K'ew (彘裘, a brother of Fan Kae; belonging to the Fan or Sze clan) was also still young. Neither of them was competent for office. There was thus no leader for the new army, and it was given up.'

2d. 'The music-master Kwang being by the side of the marquis of Ts'in, the marquis said to him, 'Have not the people of Wei done very wrong in expelling their ruler?' Kwang replied, "Perhaps the ruler had done very wrong. A good ruler will reward the virtuous and punish the vicious; he will nourish his people as his children, overshadowing them as heaven, and supporting them as the earth. Then the people will maintain their ruler, love him as a parent, look up to him as the sun and moon, revere him as they do spiritual Beings, and stand in awe of him as of thunder;—could such a ruler be expelled? Now, the ruler is the host of the spirits, and the hope of the people. If he make the life of the people to be straitened and the spirits to want their sacrifices (Read 若困民之

生, 匱神之祀), then the hope of the people is cut off, and the altars are without a host;—of what use is he, and what should they do but send him away? Heaven, in giving birth to the people, appointed for them rulers to act as their superintendents and pastors, so that they should not lose their proper nature. For the rulers there are assigned their assistants to act as tutors and guardians to them, so that they should not go beyond their proper limits. Therefore the son of Heaven has his dukes; princes of States have their high ministers; ministers have [the Heads of] their collateral families; great officers have the members of the secondary branches of their families; inferior officers have their friends; and the common people, mechanics, merchants, police runners, shepherds, and grooms, all have their relatives and acquaintances to aid and assist them. These stimulate and honour those [to whom they stand in such a relation], when they are good, and correct them when they do wrong. They rescue them in calamity, and try to put away their errors. From the king downwards, every one has his father, elder brothers, sons and younger brothers, to supply [the defects] and watch over [the character of] his government. The historiographers make their records; the blind make their poems; the musicians re-

cite their sashes and remonstrances; the great officers admonish and instruct, and inferior officers report to these what they hear; the common people utter their complaints; the merchants [display their wares] in the market places; the hundred artificers exhibit their skilful contrivances. Hence in one of the Books of Hsia (Shoo III. iv. 3) it is said, "The herald with his wooden-tongued bell goes along the roads, proclaiming, "Ye officers, able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subject of your business." In the first month, at the beginning of spring, this was done.' It was done, lest remonstrances should not be regularly presented. Heaven's love for the people is very great;—would it allow the one man to take his will and way over them, so indulging his excessive desires and discarding the [kindly] nature of Heaven and Earth? Such a thing could not be." The reader will not wonder that the K'ang-he editors should condemn these radical sentiments of the music-master.]

Par. 5. Too says this was in retaliation for Loo's capture of Yun, in the 12th year. It was only a continuation of the aggressions of Keu, in defiance not only of Loo, but also of Ts'in.

Par. 6. Tso-she says this attack was ordered by the viscount of Ts'oo, in consequence of Woo's invasion of Ts'oo the previous year, which ended with the battle of Yung-poo (see the Chuen after xiii. 3); adding, 'Tsze-nang took post with his army at Tsang, intending to attack Woo; and when Woo would not come forth, he withdrew. He brought up the rear himself, and did not take precautions, thinking Woo could do nothing. A body of men, however, advancing through the defile of Kaou-chow, intercepted and fell upon him where the troops of Ts'oo could not help one another. They defeated Tsze-nang, and took the Kung-tze E-kuh prisoner.'

[The Chuen appends here:—'The king sent duke Ting of Lëw to deliver the following charge to the marquis of Ts'e.—"Formerly, our great kinsman (duke T'ae was father-in-law to king Woo; hence the 舅), [your ancestor], duke T'ae, aided our ancient kings, and was as a limb to the House of Chow, a tutor and guardian to the myriads of the people; and his services as the grand-tutor were recompensed

with the distinction conferred on him by the eastern sea, descending to his posterity. 'That the royal House was not overthrown was owing to him. Now I give charge to you Hwan to follow the rules of our [great] kinsman, and to continue the services of your ancestors, bringing no disgrace on them. Be reverent. Do not neglect my charge!'"

Par. 7. Ts'eih,—see VI. i. 9. This meeting had relation to the affairs of Wei, and from the presence at it of Sun Lin-foo, we can understand how its councils were likely to incline.

The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ts'in consulted Chung-hang Hsien-tsze (Seun Yen) about the affairs of Wei, when that minister replied, "Our best plan is to accede to its present circumstances, and settle it accordingly. Wei has a ruler. If we attack it, we may not succeed as we should desire, and we shall be troubling the States. The historiographer Yih said, 'Add stability to the heavy.' Chung-hwuy said, 'Deal summarily with States that are going to ruin, and take their States from the disorderly. To overthrow the perishing and strengthen what is being preserved, is the way in which to administer a State.' Let your lordship now settle Wei, and wait the time [for a different course]. In winter a meeting was held at Ts'eih, to consult about the settlement of Wei. Fan Seuen-tze borrowed from Ts'e its [banner with variegated] feathers and ox-tails, and did not return it; in consequence of which the people of Ts'e began to be disaffected.'

[The Chuen appends here a short narrative about Ts'oo:—'When Tsze-nang of Ts'oo returned from the invasion of Woo, he died. When he was about to die, he left word that Tsze-kang should fortify Ying. The superior man will say that Tsze-nang was [indeed a] faithful [minister]. When his ruler died, he did not forget to make him remembered by a good name (see on xiii. 3); when he was about to die himself, he did not forget to defend the altars [of the State]. Ought he not to be pronounced faithful? To the faithful the people look. The words of the ode (She, II. viii. ode I. 1),

'If we could now go back to Chow, These would be admirably looked to by all the people,"

have respect to the faithfulness [of the officers spoken of].']

Fifteenth year.

十有五年春，宋公使向戌來聘，二月己亥，及向戌盟。于劉，劉夏逆王后，于齊，齊侯伐我北鄙，圍成，公救成至遇。



卒。癸亥，晉侯周。冬，十有一月，邾人伐我南鄙。日有食之。秋，八月，丁巳，季孫宿、叔孫豹帥師城成郛。

左傳曰：十有五年春，宋向戌來聘，且尋盟。見孟獻子，尤其室，曰：子有令聞而美其室，非所望也。對曰：我在晉，吾兄爲之，毀之重勞，且不敢聞。官師從單靖公，逆王后于齊，卿不行，非禮也。楚公子午爲令尹，公子罷戎爲右尹，蒍子馮爲大司馬，公子橐師爲右司馬，公子成爲左司馬，屈到爲莫敖，公子追舒爲箴尹，屈蕩爲連尹，養由基爲宮廐尹，以靖國人。君子謂楚於是乎能官人。官人國之急也。能官人，則民無覲心。詩云：嗟我懷人，寘彼周行。能官人也。王及公侯伯子男，甸采衛大夫，各居其列，所謂周行也。鄭尉氏，司氏之亂，其餘盜在宋，鄭人以子西伯有子產之故，納賂於宋，以馬四十乘，與師茂，師慧三月，公孫黑爲質焉。司城子罕以堵女父尉，司齊與之，良司臣而逸之，託諸季武子。武子實諸卡，鄭人醢之，三人也。師慧過宋朝，將私焉，其相曰：朝也，慧曰：無人焉，相曰：朝也，何故無人？慧曰：必無人焉，若猶有人，豈其以千乘之相，易淫樂之矚，必無人焉故也。子罕聞之，固請而歸之。夏，齊侯圍成，貳於晉故也。於是乎城成郛。秋，邾人伐我南鄙，使告於晉，晉將爲會以討邾莒，晉侯有疾，乃止。冬，晉悼公卒，遂不克會。鄭公孫夏如晉奔喪，子蟻送葬。宋人或得玉，獻諸子罕，子罕弗受。獻玉者曰：以示王人，王人以爲寶也，故敢獻之。子罕曰：我以不貪爲寶，爾以玉爲寶，若以與我，皆喪寶也，不若人有其寶。稽首而告。

氏歸之奪月，復而攻人里，寘也。以鄉，可懷曰：懷小，人。諸妻堵鄭十其所，使富之王其罕死此，越不人。

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, the duke of Sung sent Hëang Seuh to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries; [and] in the second month, on Ke-hae, [the duke] made a covenant with him at Lëw.
- 2 Hëa of Lëw met the king's bride in Ts'e.
- 3 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Ch'ing. The duke went as far as Yu to relieve Ch'ing.
- 4 K'e-sun Suh and Shuh-sun P'au led a force and walled round the suburbs of Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting-sze, the sun was eclipsed.
- 6 A body of men from Choo invaded our southern borders.
- 7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Kwei-hae, Chow, marquis of Tsin, died.

Par. 1. Too observes that this mission of Hëang Seuh was in return for that of Shuh-sun P'au to Sung in the duke's 2d year, and to renew the covenant at Poh in the 11th year. He says nothing about the situation of Lëw, from which Ying-tah infers that it was a place near the capital, though outside it. For the duke to covenant at all with the messenger was below his dignity; to go outside the city to do it was still more unbecoming. Wan Ch'ung-tsung (萬充宗; of the pres. dyn.) ingeniously supposes that 于劉 are an addition to the text occasioned by the next paragraph's beginning with 劉. The Chuen says:—“Hëang Seuh of Sung came on a friendly mission; and to renew the [existing] covenant. Visiting Mäng Hëen-tsze, he reproved him about his house, saying, “I did not expect that a man of your great reputation would have so beautiful a house.” Hëen-tsze replied, “My elder brother did it, when I was in Tsin. To have taken it down again would have been a great labour, and I did not wish to find fault with him.”

Par. 2. The negotiation for the king's marriage with a princess of Ts'e is related in the Chuen appended to xii. 5. For the ceremonies in conveying a king's bride to Chow, see on II. viii. 6. Those ceremonies appear not to have been correctly observed on the occasion here spoken of. The Lëw Hëa of the text is no doubt, the ‘duke Ting of Lew,’ mentioned in the Chuen appended to par. 6 of last year. But his appearing by his name here shows, according to the rules for the use of titles, designations, and names, that he was not yet a high minister or duke of the court, and not even a great officer; yet here he is employed to receive the queen and convey her to Chow,—a duty for which only a high minister was competent. What Tso-she says on the subject is too brief to be intelligible:—“An officer, following duke Tsing of

Shen, met the queen in Ts'e. That a minister did not go on this duty was contrary to rule.”

[The Chuen gives two narratives here about the affairs of Ts'oo and of Ch'ing. 1st. ‘The Kung-tsze Woo of Ts'oo was made chief minister (in room of Tsze-nang); the Kung-tsze P'ejung, director of the Right; Wei Tsze-ping, grand marshal; the Kung-tsze T'oh-sze, marshal of the Right; the Kung-tsze Ch'ing, marshal of the Left; K'euh Taou, the Moh-gaou; the Kung-tsze Chuy-shoo, director of Remonstrances; K'euh Tang, joint-director; Yang Yëw-ke, director of the palace stables;—and thus the people of the State were composed. The superior man will say that Ts'oo was able to put the right men in the right offices. Such allotment of offices is an urgent necessity of a State; when it is done, the minds of the people have nothing more to desire. The words of the ode (She, I. i. ode III. 1),

“Alas! I think of the men,  
Who can be placed in all the offices,”

refer to the subject of being able to give offices to proper men. “All the offices” there refers to the occupancy of their places by the king, the dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, knights, the lords of the T'ien, the Ts'ae the Wei, and their great officers.”

2d. “After the insurrection of the Wei and Sze families in Ch'ing (see on x. 8), the ruffians who escaped [took refuge] in Sung, to which the people of Ch'ing, out of regard to Tsze-se, Pih-yëw, and Tsze-ch'an, sent a bribe of 160 horses, and the musicians Fei and Hwuy; and in the 3rd month, the Kung-sun Hih also went [to Sung] as a hostage. Tsze-han, [Sung's] minister of Works, on this, delivered up Chay (So 堵 is here, and should formerly have been, read) Joo-foo, Wei P'ëen, and Sze Ts'e; but thinking well of Sze Shin, he let him escape to the protection of Ke Woo-tsze [in Loo], who placed

him in P'ên. The people of Ch'ing reduced the other three men to pickle. The musician Hwuy was passing by the court of Sung, and wished to make his water, when his guide told him it was the court. "But," said Hwuy, "there is no man there." "It is the court," replied the other; "how should there be no man there?" "It is impossible," said Hwuy, "there should be any man. If there were, would he have preferred [two] blind masters of licentious music to [simply gratifying] the ministers of a State of a thousand chariots? This is a proof that there can be no man there." When Tsze-han heard this, he made an urgent request, and returned [the musicians].

Parr. 3, 4. Ch'ing.—see II. vi. 2. Yu was also in Loo, and the duke only advanced to it, fearing an encounter with Ts'e, which seems, however, to have withdrawn its troops, leaving to Suh and P'ao the opportunity of fortifying the place. 郭, we have seen, denotes 'the

outer suburbs' extending beyond the 郭. We must suppose that the wall now reared was between the limits of the two, outside the 郭,

on the inside of the 郭. The Chuen says:—'In summer, the marquis of Ts'e laid siege to Ch'ing, having become estranged from Tsin. On this we fortified the suburbs of Ch'ing.' Ch'ing was the city of the Mang-sun clan. That the heads of the other two clans undertook to fortify it shows, it is understood, the alliance that existed between the three.

Par. 5. This eclipse took place May 23d, B.C. 557. The month is wrong;—it was really the 6th month intercalary. Even Too Yu saw that there was an error in the text.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, a body of men from Choo invaded our southern borders, when we sent information of their doing so to Tsin. Tsin purposed to call a meeting [of the States], to punish Choo and Keu, but the thing was stopped by the illness of the marquis. In winter duke Taou of Tsin died, and no meeting [of the States] could be held.'

Par. 7. The marquis Chow, or duke Taou, of Tsin was a prince of great merit, though he is ranked as inferior to his predecessor, duke Wan, and to duke Hwan of Ts'e. He was succeeded by his son P'ew (彪), known as duke P'ing.

[The Chuen adds here three short narratives:—1st. 'The Kung-sun Hêa of Ch'ing went to Tsin, hurrying to the death-rites. Tsze-k'eaou attended the funeral.' 2d. 'A man of Sung found a gem, and presented it to Tsze-han, who would not receive it. The man said, "I showed it to a lapidary, who considered it to be valuable, and therefore I ventured to offer it to you." Tsze-han said, "What I consider valuable is not to be covetous; what you consider valuable is your gem. If you give it to me, we shall both lose what we consider to be valuable; we had better each keep his own." [The man] bowed his head to the earth, and said, "If a small man like me carry such a *peih* in his bosom, he cannot leave his village. I offer it as my means of asking [an escape from] death." Tsze-han on this placed the man in the street where he lived himself, and made a lapidary cut the gem for him, who in this way became rich, and was sent afterwards back to his place.' 3d. 'In the 12th month, the people of Ch'ing took away his wife from Chay Kow, and sent her back to the Fan family [of Tsin, to which she belonged].']

Sixteenth year.

十有六年春王正月葬  
晉悼公。  
三月公會晉侯宋公衛  
侯鄭伯莒子邾子薛伯  
杞伯小邾子于湫梁戊  
寅大夫盟。  
晉人執莒子邾子以歸。  
齊侯伐我北鄙。  
夏公至自會。  
五月甲子地震。

叔老會鄭  
伯晉荀偃  
衛甯殖宋  
人伐許。  
秋齊侯伐  
我北鄙圍  
成。  
大雩。  
冬叔孫豹  
如晉。

左傳曰十六年春葬晉悼公平公即位羊舌肸爲傅張君臣爲中軍司馬祁奚韓襄欒盈士鞅爲公族大夫虞丘書爲乘馬御改服脩官悉於曲沃警守而下會於湫梁命歸侵田以我故執邾宣公莒犁比公且曰通齊楚之使晉侯與諸侯宴於溫使諸大夫舞曰歌詩必類齊高厚之詩不類荀偃怒且曰甯殖鄭公孫蠆小邾之大夫盟曰同討不庭許男請遷於晉諸侯遂遷許許大夫不可晉人歸諸侯鄭子驥聞將伐許遂相鄭伯以從諸侯之師穆叔從公齊子帥師會晉荀偃書曰會鄭伯爲夷故也夏六月次於榘林庚寅伐許次於函氏晉荀偃欒黶帥師伐楚以報宋揚梁之役楚公子格帥師及晉師戰於湛阪楚師敗績晉師遂侵方城之外復伐許而還秋齊侯圍郕孟孺子速微之齊侯曰是好勇去之以爲之名速遂塞海陘而還冬穆叔如晉聘且言齊故晉人曰以寡君之未禘祀與民之未息不敢忘穆叔曰以齊人之朝夕釋憾於敝邑之地是以大請敝邑之急朝不及夕引領西望曰庶幾乎比執事之閒恐無及也見中行獻子賦圻父獻子曰偃知罪矣敢不從執事以同恤社稷而使魯及此見范宣子賦鴻鴈之卒章宣子曰句在此敢使魯無鳩乎

XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of duke Taou of Tsin.

2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the [new] marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis

of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Choo and Keu, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in Këih-lëang. On Mow-yin [their] great officers made a covenant.

- 3 The people of Tsin seized the viscounts of Keu and Choo, and carried them back [to Tsin].
- 4 The marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders.
- 5 In summer, the duke came from the meeting.
- 6 In the fifth month, on Këah-tsze, there was an earthquake.
- 7 Shuh Laou joined the earl of Ch'ing, Seun Yen of Ts'e, Ning Chih of Wei, and an officer of Sung, in invading Heu.
- 8 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Ch'ing.
- 9 We had a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 10 In winter, Shuh-sun P'aou went to Tsin.

Par. 1. This interment was hurried on;—probably because of the urgency of public affairs, that the new marquis might be able to attend the meeting in the next par.

Parr. 2, 3. Këih-lëang might be translated 'bridge or dam of Keih.' The place is referred to the present dis. of Tse-yuen (濟源), dep.

Hwac-k'ing, near mount Yuen (原山), on

the Pih-këen river (白澗水). The Chuen says:—'On the burial of duke Taou, duke P'ing took his place. Yang-shih Heih (appears formerly as Shuh-hëang) was made [grand-] tutor; Chang Keun-chin (son of Chang Laou), marshal of the army of the centre; K'e He, Han Sëang, Lwan Ying, and Sze Yang, great officers of the ducal kindred; and Yu K'ëw-shoo, chariotcer to the duke, who changed his mourning, arranged all the offices, and offered the winter sacrifice in K'ëuh-yuh. Having carefully arranged for the keeping of the State, he descended [eastwards], and met the States at Këih-lëang. He ordered them to return the lands which they had taken from one another in their incursions; and on our account he seized duke Seuen of Choo and duke Le-pe of Keu, charging them moreover with maintaining a friendly intercourse with Ts'e and Ts'oo. The marquis feasted with the other princes in Wan, and made their great officers dance before them, telling them that the odes which they sang must be befitting the occasion. That sung by Kaou How of Ts'e was not so, which enraged Seun Yen, so that he said, "The States are cherishing a disaffected spirit," and proposed that all the great officers should make a covenant with Kaou How, who, however, stole away back to Ts'e. On this, Shuh-sun P'aou, Seun Yen of Tsin, Hëang Seuh of Sung, Ning Chih of Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and a great officer of Little Choo, made a covenant, engaging that they should together punish the State which did not appear at the court [of Tsin].'

Kung-yang and Kuh-lëang argue from the 2d par., where the princes meet but only the

great officers covenant, that it supplies evidence of how the power of the States was being engrossed by the latter; and this view was followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh and Choo He. The Chuen, however, supplies a better ground for the covenanting in this case being confined to the great officers.

Par. 4. Ts'e would seem to have now determined to set Tsin at defiance.

Par. 7. Shuh Laou,—see xiv. 1. The Chuen says:—'The baron of Heu asked leave from Tsin to remove his capital (see VIII. xv. 11, where Heu moves its capital to be near Ts'oo, while now it wants to move back towards Tsin). The States accordingly [assembled to] superintend the removal, which the great officers of Heu then refused to sanction. The commanders of Tsin sent the princes back to their States; but Tsze-këaou of Ch'ing, hearing that it was intended to invade Heu, kept in attendance on the earl, and followed the armies [which had been detained for the expedition]. Muh-shuh (Shuh-sun P'aou), however, went back to Loo with the duke, while Ts'e-tsze (Shuh Laou) joined Seun Yen of Tsin with a force. The text says that "he joined the earl of Ch'ing," the earl's rank requiring this style, [though in reality Seun Yen commanded in the expedition]. In summer, in the 6th month, they halted at Yih-lin; and on Käng-yin they attacked [the capital of] Heu, halting at Han-she.

['Then] Seun Yen and Lwan Yen of Tsin led a force and invaded Ts'oo, in return for the expedition [by Ts'oo] to Yang-lëang of Sung (see on xii. 5). The Kung-tsze Kih came with a force, and fought with that of Tsin at Chan-fan, where he received a great defeat. The army of Tsin then overran the country outside Ts'oo's barrier wall, and returned to the attack of Heu, and thence back to Tsin.'

According to this Chuen, an invasion of Heu and an invasion of Ts'oo were confusedly mixed up together, though the text only speaks of the former. Many critics contend that Seun Yen should appear before the earl of Ch'ing, as he, representing Tsin, was director of all the forces; and Maou contends that the order of the names proves that the invasion of Heu was really from

Ch'ing, and not from Tsin;—contrary to the Chuen.

Par. 8. Tso-she has 郈 for 成. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e laid siege to Ch'ing, when Mäng Suh, [styled] Yutsze, (a son of Mäng Hëen-tsze) came suddenly upon him. "This," said the marquis, "is a man of daring; let us leave the place, and so make his name famous." Suh then shut up the ravine by the sea, and returned.'

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'In winter, Muh-shuh went to Tsin on a visit of friendly inquiries, and also to speak about Ts'e. The people of Tsin said, "[The reason of our inaction is] that our ruler has not yet offered the *te* sacrifice (See on IV. ii. 2), and that the people have not yet rested [from their toils against Ts'oo and Heu]. But for these things, we should not

have dared to forget [your distress]." Muh-shuh said, "Because the people of Ts'e morning and evening vent their indignation on our poor State, therefore we press our request [for help]. Such is the urgency of our distress, that in the morning we cannot be confident there will be the evening, and with necks outstretched we look to the west, and say, 'Perhaps [Tsin] is coming.' When your officers have leisure, I am afraid the help may be too late." When he saw Chung-hang Hëen-tsze (Seun Yen), he sang the K'e-foo (She, II. iv. ode I.); and Hëen-tsze said, "I know my guilt. How dared I not to follow your officers, and along with them care for your altars, causing Loo to come to this distress?" When he saw Fan Seuen-tsze, he sang the last stanza of the Hung yen (She, II. iii. ode VII.) and Seuen-tsze said, "Here am I, Kae. Dare I allow the people of Loo to be scattered about?"

### Seventeenth year.

冬<sup>六</sup>宋<sup>五</sup>九月<sup>五</sup>伐我北鄙圍桃<sup>四</sup>齊侯伐我北鄙<sup>三</sup>石<sup>二</sup>買帥師伐曹<sup>一</sup>宋人伐陳<sup>一</sup>月<sup>一</sup>庚午<sup>一</sup>邾子<sup>一</sup>貜卒<sup>一</sup>十<sup>一</sup>有七年<sup>一</sup>春<sup>一</sup>王<sup>一</sup>二

左傳曰十七年春宋莊朝伐陳獲司徒  
卬與宋也  
衛孫蒯田於曹隧飲馬於重丘毀其瓶  
重丘人閉門而詢之曰親逐而君爾父  
爲厲是之不憂而何以田爲夏衛石買  
孫蒯伐曹取重丘曹人怨於晉  
齊人以其未得志於我故秋齊侯伐我  
北鄙圍桃高厚圍臧紇於防師自陽關  
逆臧孫至於旅松鄆叔紇臧驥臧賈帥  
甲三百宵犯齊師送之而復齊師去之  
齊人獲臧堅齊侯使夙沙衛唁之且曰  
無死堅稽首曰拜命之辱抑君賜不終  
姑又使其刑臣禮於士以杙抉其傷而  
死  
宋華閱卒華臣弱臯比之室使賊殺其  
宰華吳賊六人以鉞殺諸盧門合左師  
之後左師懼曰老夫無罪賊曰臯比私  
有討於吳遂幽其妻曰界余而大璧宋

公聞之曰臣也不唯其宗室是暴大亂宋國之政必逐之左師曰臣也亦卿也大臣不順國之恥也不如蓋之乃舍之左師爲己短策苟過華臣之門必聘十一月甲午國人逐獐狗獐狗入於華臣氏國人從之華臣懼遂奔陳冬邾人伐我南鄙爲齊故也○宋皇國父爲大宰爲平公築臺妨於農收子罕請俟農功之畢公弗許築者謳曰澤門之皙實與我役邑中之黔實慰我心子罕聞之親執朴以行築者而扶其不勉者曰吾儕小人皆有闔廬以辟燥溼寒暑今君爲一臺而不速成何以爲役謳者乃止或問其故子罕曰宋國區區而有詛有祝禍之本也○齊晏桓子卒晏嬰纓綬斬直經帶杖菅屨食鬻居倚廬寢苦枕草其老曰非大夫之禮也曰唯卿爲大夫

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Käng-woo, K'äng, viscount of Choo, died.  
2 A body of men from Sung invaded Ch'in.  
3 In summer, Shih Mae of Wei led a force, and invaded Ts'aou.  
4 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to T'aou. Kaou How of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Fang.  
5 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
6 Hwa Shin of Sung fled from that State to Ch'in.  
7 In winter, a body of men from Choo invaded our southern borders.

Par. 1. This was duke S'eu (宣公). He had been carried as a prisoner to Tsin from the meeting at Keih-läng in the previous year, but must have been liberated and returned to Choo.

He was succeeded by his son Hwa (華), known as duke Taou (悼公). Kuh makes the name 瞶.

Par. 2. The marquis of Ch'in, it was seen, stole away from the meeting of the northern States at Wei, in the 7th year; and from that time Ch'in had kept aloof from the northern alliance, and been confederate with Ts'oo. It was this, no doubt, which led to the present action of Sung against it. The Chuen says:— 'This spring, Chwang Chaou of Sung invaded Ch'in, and took prisoner its minister of Instruction Gang;—through his making too light of [the force of] Sung.'

Par. 3. The Chuen says:— 'Sun Kwae (son of Sun Lin-foo) of Wei was hunting in Suy of Ts'aou, and, while giving his horses drink near Ch'ung-k'ew, broke the pitcher [of the well]. The people of Ch'ung-k'ew shut their gate against him, and reviled him, saying, "You drove out your ruler; your father is a devil. How is it that, without taking these things to

heart, you occupy yourself with hunting?" In summer, Shih Mae of Wei and Sun Kwae invaded Ts'aou, and took Ch'ung-k'ew. The people of Ts'aou complained to Tsin.'

Par. 4. T'aou (Kung-yang has 洮) is wrongly identified by Too with a T'aou-heu (桃虛), in the pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy, which was on the east of Loo. Its place is to be found in a T'aou-h'ang (桃鄉), 40 *le* north-east of the district city of Wän-shang. Tso-she omits the 齊 before 高厚. The Chuen says:— 'The people of Ts'e having been disappointed of their aim in regard to us, in autumn the marquis invaded our northern border, and laid siege to T'aou, while Kaou How besieged Tsang Heih in Fang. [In the meantime], an army advanced from the pass of Yang to Leu-sung, to meet Heih [and bring him off]. Shuh-heih (Confucius' father) commandant of Tsow, Tsang Ch'ow, and Tsang K'ea, led forth 300 men-at-arms, made a night-attack on the army of Ts'e, escorted him [to Leu-sung], and then returned themselves to the city. The army of Ts'e then left the place, but

they had taken Tsang K'ea. The marquis of Ts'e sent Shuh-sha Wei to comfort him, and tell him that he should not die. K'ea bowed his head to the ground, and said, "Thanks for the condescension of this message, but your ruler's gift is not complete. How is it that he sent his castrated minister (Wei was a eunuch) on a visit of courtesy to an officer?" On this he drove a stake into his wound, and died.'

Par. 6. The Chuen says:— 'On the death of Hwa Yueh of Sung, [his brother] Hwa Shin, despising the weakness of [Yueh's son], Kaou-p'e, employed some ruffians to kill his steward Hwa Woo. There were six of them, and they did the deed with a long spear near the Loo gate, behind the house of the master of the Left,—him of Hoh. The master of the Left was afraid, and said to them, "The old man has committed no crime;" but they replied that Kaou-p'e for some private reasons wanted to take Woo off. [Shin] then kept Woo's wife in confinement, and required her to give him her large *peih*. When the duke of Sung heard of these things, he said, "Shin is not only tyrannizing over the members of his own House, but he is throwing the government of the State into great confusion;—he must be driven out." The master of the Left, however, said, "But Shin is also a minister. If the great ministers are [seen to be thus] insubordinate, it will be a disgrace to the State. You had better cover the matter up." Shin accordingly was let alone; but the master of the Left made himself a short whip, and, whenever he passed Hwa Shin's gate, made his horses gallop. In the 11th month, the people were pursuing a mad dog, which ran into Shin's house. They followed it there, and Hwa Shin, in terror, left the State and fled to Ch'in.'

Par. 7. Tso-she says this movement of Choo was in the interest of Ts'e.

[The Chuen adds here two narratives:—1st. 'In Sung, Hwang Kwoh-foo, being grand-administrator, was building a tower for duke P'ing. As the work interfered with the labours of harvest, Tsze-han requested that it might be deferred till that was finished. The duke, however, refused the request, and the builders sang:—

"The White of the Tsi gate  
Laid on us this task.  
The Black in the city's midst  
Would comfort our hearts."

Tsze-han, hearing of this, took a stick, and went round among them, and chastised those who were not diligent, saying, "We, the small people, all have our cottages where we can shut ourselves up, and escape the burning sun, and the wet, the cold and the heat. Now our ruler is building a single tower; if you do not quickly finish it, how can you be regarded as doing work?" On this the singers stopped. When some one asked Tsze-han the reason of his conduct, he said, "The State of Sung is very small. To have them blessing one in it and cursing another, would lead to calamity." 2d. 'When Gan Hwan-tsze of Ts'e died, [his son] Gan Ying had his unhemmed mourning clothes of coarse sack-cloth. His head-band and girdle were still coarser; he carried a bamboo stick for a staff; and wore grass shoes. He lived on congee, and occupied the mourning shed, sleeping on rushes, with a pillow of grass. His old servant said to him, "These are not the observances proper to a great officer;" but he replied, "Only a minister should do as the great officers [now do]."

### Eighteenth year.

楚公子午帥師伐鄭。曹伯負芻卒于師。伯小邾子同圍齊。子邾子滕子薛伯杞公衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒冬十月公會晉侯宋秋齊師伐我北鄙。夏晉人執衛行人石十有八年春白狄來。



左傳曰：十八年春，白狄始來。夏，晉人執衛行人石買於長子，執孫蒯於純留，爲曹故也。秋，齊侯伐我北鄙，中行獻子將伐齊，夢與厲公訟，弗勝，公以戈擊之，首隊於前，跪而戴之，奉之以走，見梗陽之巫畢，他日見諸道，與之言，同巫曰：「今茲主必死，若有事於東方，則可以逞。」獻子許諾。晉侯伐齊，將濟河，獻子以朱絲係玉二鼓，而禱曰：「齊環怙恃其險，負其衆庶，棄好背盟，陵虐神主，曾臣彪將率諸侯以討焉，其官臣偃實先後之，苟捷有功，無作神羞，官臣偃無敢復濟，唯爾有神裁之。」沈玉而濟。冬十月，會於魯濟，尋溴梁之言，同伐齊。齊侯禦諸平陰，塹防門而守之，廣里。夙沙衛曰：「不能戰，莫如守險。」弗聽。諸侯之士門焉，齊人多死。范宣子告析文子曰：「吾知子，敢匿情乎？」魯人莒人皆請以車千乘，自其鄉入，既許之矣。若入，君必失國。子盍圖之。子家以告公，公恐，晏嬰聞之，曰：「君固無勇，而又聞是，弗能久矣。」齊侯登巫山，以望晉師，晉人使司馬斥山澤之險，雖所不至，必旆而疏陳之，使乘車者左，實右，僞以旆先，與曳柴而從之。齊侯見之，畏其衆也，乃脫歸。丙寅晦，齊師夜遁。師曠告晉侯曰：「鳥鳥之聲，樂齊師，其遁。」邢伯告中行伯曰：「有班馬之聲，齊師其遁。」叔向告晉侯曰：「城上有烏，齊師其遁。」十一月，丁卯朔，入平陰，遂從齊師，夙沙衛建大車，以塞隧而殿。殖綽郭最曰：「子殿國師，齊之辱也。」子姑先乎。乃代之殿，衛殺馬於隘以塞道。晉州綽及之，射殖綽中肩，兩矢夾脰，曰：「止。」將爲三軍獲，不止，將取其衷。顧曰：「爲私誓。」州綽曰：「有。」如日乃弛弓而自後縛之，其右具丙亦舍兵而縛郭最，皆於甲面縛，坐於中軍之鼓下。晉人欲逐歸者，魯衛請攻險。己卯，荀偃士匄以中軍克京茲。乙酉，魏絳欒盈以下軍克郭。趙武韓起以上軍圍廬，弗克。十二月戊戌，及秦周伐雍門之執，范鞅門於雍門，其御追喜以戈殺犬於門中。孟莊子斬其楸，以爲公琴。己亥，焚雍門及西郭南郭，劉難士弱率諸侯之師焚申池之竹木。壬寅，焚東郭北郭，范鞅門於楊門，州綽門於東門，左驂迫，還於東門中，以枚數闔。齊侯駕將走郵棠，犬子與郭榮扣馬曰：「師速而疾，略也，將退矣。」君何懼焉？且社稷之主，不可以輕，輕則失衆，君必待之。將犯之，犬子抽劍斷鞅，乃止。甲辰，東侵及濰，南及沂。

焉。且社稷之主，不可以輕，輕則失衆，君必待之。將犯之，犬子抽劍斷鞅，乃止。甲辰，東侵及濰，南及沂。鄭子孔欲去諸大夫，將叛晉，而起楚師以去之，使告子庚。子庚弗許，楚子聞之，使揚豚尹宜告子庚曰：「國人謂不穀主社稷，而不出師，死不從禮，不穀卽位於今五年，師徒不出，人其以不穀爲自逸，而忘先君之業矣。」大夫圖之，其若之何？子庚歎曰：「君王其謂午懷安乎？吾以利社稷也。」見使者，稽首而對曰：「諸侯方睦於晉，臣請嘗之。」若可，君而繼之，不可，收師而退，可以無害，君亦無辱。子庚帥師治兵於汾，於是子蟺伯有子張從鄭伯伐齊。子孔子展子西守，二子知子孔之謀，完守入保。子孔不敢會楚師，楚師伐鄭，次於魚陵。右師城上棘，遂涉潁，次於旃然。蔣子馮公子格率銳師侵費滑，胥靡獻于雍梁。右回梅山，侵鄭東北，至於蟲牢，而反。子庚門於純留，信於城下而還，涉於魚齒之下，甚雨及之，楚師多凍，役徒幾盡。晉人聞有楚師，師曠曰：「不害，吾驟歌北風，又歌南風，南風不競，多死聲，楚必無功。」董叔曰：「天道多在西北，南師不時，必無功。」叔向曰：「在其君之德也。」

- XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, [a representative of] the White T'eh came to Loo.  
 2 In summer, the people of Tsin seized Shih Mae, the messenger of Wei.  
 3 In autumn, an army of Ts'e invaded our northern borders.  
 4 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, and laid siege with them to [the capital] of Ts'e.  
 5 Foo-ts'oo, earl of Ts'aou, died in the army.  
 6 The Kung-tsze Woo of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. The White T'eh, — see on VII. viii.  
 6. This was the first time, acc. to Tso-she, that they sought any intercourse with Loo; nor are they again mentioned in the classic. It is not said they came to the court of Loo (朝), because they knew nothing of the ceremonies current among the States of China. Comp. the language in V. xxix. 5.

Par. 2. It would appear that Shih Mae and Sun Kwae, who led the attack on Ts'aou in the

past year (see on xvii. 3), had now been sent on some commission to Tsin; hence the name 行. Acc. to Tso-she, they were both seized by Tsin, but only Shih Mae appears in the text, it being a rule of the Ch'un Ts'ew not to mention assistant commissioners at meetings, &c.: — see on xiv. 1. The Chuen says: — 'In summer, the people of Tsin seized Shih Mae, the messenger of Wei, at Chang-tsze, and they seized Sun Kwae at Tun-l'ew; — both on account of [their invasion of] Ts'aou.'

Par. 3. For 齊師 Kuh-lēang has 齊侯. These repeated attacks on the borders of Loo were intended, no doubt, to make it forsake the party of Tsin, and embrace that of Ts'e.

Par. 4. The phrase 同圍 is peculiar to this par. 同會 occurs many times, but not 同圍 nor 同伐. The 同 must show here the special interest which Loo had in the expedition. The Chuen says:—“In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e having invaded our northern border, Chung-hang Hēen-tsze prepared to invade Ts'e. [Just then], he dreamt that he was maintaining a suit with duke Le (see on VIII. xviii. 2. Hēen-tsze had taken a principal part in the murder of duke Le), in which the case was going against him, when the duke struck him with a spear on his head, which fell down before him. He took his head up, put it on his shoulders, and ran off, when he saw the wizard Kaou of Kāng-yang. A day or two after, it happened that he did see this Kaou on the road, and told him his dream, and the wizard, who had had the same dream, said to him, “Your death is to happen about this time; but if you have business in the east, you will there be successful [first].” Hēen-tsze accepted this interpretation.

“When the marquis was proceeding to invade Ts'e, and was about to cross the Ho, Hēen-tsze bound two pairs of gems together with a thread of red silk, and offered the following prayer, “Hwan of Ts'e, relying on his defiles and trusting in his multitudes, has cast away the bonds of friendship, broken his covenants, and treated cruelly [the people,—] the lords of the Spirits. Your servant Pēw is about to lead the States to punish him, and before Pēw and behind Pēw it is the business of me his officer to go. If the enterprise be crowned with success, there will then be no disgrace to you, O Spirits, and I, Yen, will not presume to recross this river. Do ye, O Spirits, decide in this case.” He then dropt the gems into the river, and crossed it.

“In winter, in the 10th month, there was a meeting on the Loo side of the Tse, when [the States] renewed their engagement at Keih-lēang, and undertook together to invade Ts'e. The marquis of that State withstood them at P'ing-yin, where there was a dyke with a gate, in front of which he dug a moat a *le* wide. Shuh-sha Wei said to him, “If you cannot fight, our best plan will be to [abandon this, and] guard our defiles;” but the marquis would not listen to him. The soldiers of the States attacked the defences, and many of the men of Ts'e were killed. Fan Sēuen-tsze told Seih Wān-tze (an officer of Ts'e), saying, “I know you, and will not keep back the truth from you. Loo and Keu have asked to enter your State from their own territories with a thousand chariots, and liberty has been given to them to do so. If they enter, your ruler is sure to lose his State. You had better consult for the emergency.” Tsze-kēa (the above Seih Wān-tze) reported this to the marquis, who was frightened at the intelligence. When Gan Ying heard of this, he said, “Our ruler before had no courage, and now he has got this news;—he cannot long hold out.”

“The marquis of Ts'e ascended mount Woo to look at the army of Tsin. The commanders of it had made the marshals examine all the difficult places in the hills and marshes, and set up flags in them at some distance from one another, even though there were no troops occupying them. They also sent forward their chariots with flags, only the man on the left being real, and the one on the right a figure. These were followed by carts, dragging branches after them. When the marquis saw all this, he was awed by the multitude, and returned, with all his insignia taken down.

“On Ping-yin, the last day of the moon, the army of Ts'e withdrew during the night. The music-master Kwang told the marquis of Tsin of it, saying, “The crows are cawing joyfully. The army of Ts'e must have retreated.” Hing Pih told Chung-hang Pih of it, saying, “I hear the neighing of horses retreating. The army of Ts'e must be withdrawing.” Shuh-hēang announced to the marquis, saying, “There are crows on the wall. The army of Ts'e must have retreated.” On Ting-maou, the 1st day of the month, the army of Tsin entered Ping-yin, and went on in pursuit of the army of Ts'e. Suh-sha Wei placed several large carriages together to stop up a defile, and wished to bring up the rear; but Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsuy said to him, “For you to bring up the rear of the army would be a disgrace to Ts'e. Please go on in front.” Accordingly they took his place in the rear; and Wei killed a number of horses in the narrowest part of the way to shut it up [against them]. [Soon after], Chow Ch'oh of Tsin came up, and shot Chih Ch'oh in the shoulder, two arrows lodging, one on each side of his neck, crying out, “Stop, and you shall be kept a prisoner in the army. If you do not stop, I will shoot you through your heart.” The other looked round, and said to him, “Make me an oath [to that effect].” “I swear to you by the sun,” replied Chow Ch'oh, and with this he unstrung his bow, and bound his hands behind him himself. His spearman Keu Ping also laid aside his weapon, and bound Kwoh Tsuy. Both of them were bound in the same way with their buff-coats on, and sat down at the foot of the drum of the army of the centre. The men of Tsin wanted to pursue the fugitives who were making for the capitals, while Loo and Wei asked leave to attack the [various] defiles.

“On Ke-maou, Seun Yen and Sze Kae, with the army of the centre, reduced King-tze. On Yih-yēw, Wei Kēang and Lwan Ying, with the third army, reduced She. Chaou Woo and Han K'e, with the first army, invested Len, and could not take it; but in the 12th month, on Mow-seuh, they arrived at Tsin-chow, and cut down the [fields of] southernwood about the Yung gate [of the capital]. Fan Yang made an attack on that gate, and his charioteer, Chuy He, killed a dog in it with a spear, while Māng Chwang-tze hewed down the *ch'un* trees about it, to make lutes for our duke. On Ke-hae they burned the Yung gate, with the western and southern suburbs. Lēw Nan and Sze Joh led the armies of the States, and burned down the bamboos and other trees about the Shin pond. On Jin-yin they burned the eastern and northern suburbs, while Fan Yang attacked the Yang gate, and Chih Ch'oh that on the east. There his outside horse on the left turned

wildly round, but Ch'oh with his switch [quietly] numbered [the nails at the top of] the leaves of the gate.”

“The marquis of Ts'e had the horses put to his chariot, intending to flee to Yēw-t'ang, when his eldest son and Kwoh Yung laid hold of them, saying, “The haste and vehemence of the enemy only show in what a hurry they are. They will [soon] retire. What have you to fear? And moreover, as the lord of the altars, you should not be lightly moved. If you are, the multitudes will fall off from you. You must remain here, and await the result.” The marquis was notwithstanding going to drive on, when his eldest son drew his sword, and cut the traces, on which he stopped. On Kēah-shin, the allies made an incursion eastwards to the south of the Wei and to the E.”

Par. 5. “In the army;”—i.e., during the expedition against Ts'e. Kung and Kuh foolishly suppose that the notice indicates the author's pity;—it is simply a record of the event.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—“Tsze-k'ung (the Kung-tsze Kēa) wanted to remove all the great officers. Intending to revolt from Tsin, and that he might raise an army of Ts'oo, and so remove them, he sent and informed Tsze-kāng (the Kung-tsze Woo, chief minister of Ts'oo), who, however, declined to move in the affair. The viscount of Ts'oo heard of it, and sent E, the commandant of Yang-t'un, with this message to Tsze-kāng, “The people say that I, occupying my position as lord of the altars, and not going out to war, will die without following the rules [of our former kings]. It is now 5 years since I succeeded to my father, and during that time our troops have not [once] gone forth. People may well suppose that I am indulging myself, and forgetful of the inheritance of my fathers. Do you take the case into consideration, and consider what should be done.” Tsze-kāng sighed, and said to himself, “Does the king think that I am seeking my own ease? I acted as I did for the benefit of the State.” He then saw the messenger, bowed himself to the ground

and said, “The States are now in friendly harmony with Tsin, but I will make trial of their feeling. If I find an attempt feasible, the king can follow me. If I do not, I will withdraw with the army. In this way no harm will be incurred, and the king will have no disgrace.”

“Accordingly, Tsze-kāng led out an army, and marshalled it at Fān. At this time Tsze Kēau, Pih-yēw, and Tsze-chang were in attendance on the earl of Ch'ing in the invasion of Ts'e, while Tsze-k'ung, Tsze-chen, and Tsze-se, had charge of the State. These two other officers were aware of the scheme of Tsze-k'ung, carefully completed their watch, and brought the people within the outer defences, so that Tsze-k'ung did not dare to have any meeting with the army of Ts'oo, which had now entered the State, and was halting at Yu-ling. The master of the Left raised a wall at Shang-keih, after which he crossed the Ying, and halted at Chen-jen. Wei Tsze-p'ing and the Kung-tsze Kih led thence a body of light-armed troops, and made incursions on Pe, Hwah, Seu-mei, Hēen-yu, and Yung-lēang, going round by the right of mount Mei, and extending their raid to the north-east of Ch'ing, as far as Ch'ung-laou. When they returned, Tsze-kāng made an attack on the Shun gate, passed two nights at the foot of the wall, and then withdrew, crossing the river at the foot of [the hill] Yu-ch'e. Heavy rains then overtook him, and many of the soldiers suffered so from cold that the followers of the camp nearly all perished.”

“The army of Tsin having heard of this expedition of Ts'oo, the music-master Kwang said [to the marquis], “It will do no harm. I was singing a northern air and a southern, and the latter was not strong, and gave the notes of many deaths. Ts'oo will accomplish nothing.” Tung-shuh [also] said to him, “The course of Heaven lies now mainly in the north-west. The time is unfavourable to a southern expedition. It will have no success.” Shuh-hēang said, “All depends on the virtue of the ruler.”

### Nineteenth year.

十有九年春，王正月，諸侯盟于祝柯。晉人執邾子貜。公至自伐齊。取邾田，自漵水。季孫宿如晉。葬曹成公。夏，衛孫林父帥師伐齊。秋，七月，辛卯，齊侯環卒。

齊侯娶於魯，曰顏懿姬，無子。其姪驪聲姬生光，以爲太子。諸子：仲子、戎子、嬖。仲子生牙，屬諸戎子。戎子請以爲太子，許之。仲子曰：「不可，廢常不祥。」問諸侯，難。光之立也，列於諸侯矣。今無故而廢之，是專黜諸侯，而以難犯不祥也。君必悔之。公曰：「在我而已。」遂東太子光，使高厚傅牙，以爲太子。夙沙衛爲少傅。齊侯疾，崔杼微逆光，疾病而立之。光殺戎子，尸諸朝，非禮也。婦人無刑，不在朝市。夏五月壬辰晦，齊靈公卒，莊公卽位，執公子牙於句瀆之丘，以夙沙衛易己，衛奔高唐以叛。晉士匄侵齊，及穀，聞喪而還，禮也。

○四月丁未，鄭公孫蠆卒，赴於晉大夫。范宣子言於晉侯，以其善於伐秦也。六月，晉侯請於王，王追賜之，大路，使以行禮也。

秋八月，齊崔杼殺高厚於灑藍，而兼其室。書曰：「齊殺其大夫。」從君於昏也。

鄭子孔之爲政也，專國人患之，乃討西宮之難，與純門之師。子孔當罪，以其甲及子革、子良氏之甲守。甲辰，子展子西帥國人伐之，殺子孔而分其室。書曰：「鄭殺其大夫。」專也。子然，子孔、宋子之子也。士子孔、圭嬖之子也。圭嬖之班亞宋子而相親也。士子孔亦相親也。傳之四年，子然卒，簡之元年，士子孔卒，司徒孔實相子革、子良之室，三室如一，故及於難。子革、子良，出奔楚。子革爲右尹，鄭人使子展當國，子西聽政，立子產爲卿。

○齊慶封圍高唐，弗克。冬十一月，齊侯圍之，見衛在城上，號之，乃下。問守備焉，以無備告，揖之，乃登。聞師將傅食，高唐人殖綽、工偃會夜縋納師，醢衛於軍。

城西郭懼齊也。

齊及晉平盟於大隧，故穆叔會范宣子於柯。穆叔見叔向，賦載馳之四章，叔向曰：「肸敢不承命。」穆叔歸曰：「齊猶未也，不可以不懼，乃城武城。」

晉士匄帥師侵齊，至穀，聞齊侯卒，乃還。

左傳曰：十九年春，諸侯還自沂上，盟於督揚，曰：「大毋侵小。」執邾悼公，以其伐我故。

八月丙辰，仲孫蔑卒。

遂次於泗上，疆我田，取邾田，自漣水歸之於我。晉侯先歸，公享晉六卿於蒲圃，賜之三命之服。軍尉司馬司空與尉候奄皆受一命之服。賄荀偃束錦加璧，乘馬先吳壽夢之鼎，荀偃瘡疽，生瘍於頭，濟河及著雍，病目出，大夫先歸者皆反，士匄請見，弗內。請後，曰：「鄭甥可。」二月甲寅，卒而視，不可舍。宣子盥而撫之，曰：「事吳敢不如事主。」猶視，欒懷子曰：「其爲未卒事於齊故也乎？」乃復撫之，曰：「主苟終，所不嗣事於齊者，有如河。」乃瞑受舍。宣子出曰：「吾淺之爲丈夫也。」

齊殺其大夫高厚。

季武子如晉，拜師。晉侯享之，范宣子爲政，賦黍苗。季武子與，再拜稽首曰：「小國之仰大國也，如百穀之仰膏雨焉。若常膏之，其天下輯睦，豈唯敝邑賦六月。」

鄭殺其大夫公子嘉。

晉欒魴帥師從衛孫文子伐齊。

冬葬齊靈公。

城西郭。

叔孫豹會晉士匄于柯。

城武城。

○季武子以所得於齊之兵，作林鐘，而銘魯功焉。臧武仲謂季孫曰：「非禮也。夫銘，天子令德，諸侯言時，計功，大夫稱伐，今稱伐，則下等也。計功，則借人也。言時，則妨民多矣。何以爲銘？」且夫大伐小，取其所得，以作彝器，銘其功烈，以示子孫，昭明德而懲無禮也。今將借人之功，以救其死，若之何銘之？小國幸於大國，而昭所獲焉，以怒之，亡之道也。」

其不本。蹶是子孔不悼子石。宗有必其謂曰。成哀。子卒。共衛。

- XIX. 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the princes made a covenant in Chuh-ko.  
 2 The people of Tsin seized and held the viscount of Choo.  
 3 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.  
 4 We took the lands of Choo as far as from the K'oh-water.  
 5 Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin.  
 6 There was the burial of duke Ch'ing of Ts'aou.  
 7 In summer, Sun Lin-foo of Wei led a force and invaded Ts'e.  
 8 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-maou, Hwan, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
 9 Sze Kae of Tsin led a force to make an invasion into Ts'e, and had arrived at Kuh, when he heard of the death of the marquis, on which he returned.  
 10 In the eighth month, on Ping-shin, Chung-sun Mëeh died.  
 11 Ts'e put to death its great officer, Kaou How.  
 12 Ch'ing put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Këa.  
 13 In winter there was the burial of duke Ling of Ts'e.  
 14 We walled round our western suburbs.  
 15 Shuh-sun P'aou had a meeting with Sze Kae of Tsin in Ko.  
 16 We walled Woo-shing.

Par. 1. Chuh-ko (Kung-yang has 阿 for 柯) was in Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Chang-ts'ing (長清), dep. Tse-nan. We see from the Chuen that it was also called Tuh-yang. The princes in the text are those who had been engaged in the campaign against Ts'e. The Chuen says:—'The princes returned from the country about the E (see the Chuen on xviii. 4, at the end), and made a covenant in Tuh-yang, to the effect that the great States should make no raids on the small.' The news from Ch'ing of its being invaded by Ts'oo had rendered it necessary to give up further operations against Ts'e.

Par. 2. 'They seized,' says Tso-she, 'duke Taou of Choo, because he had invaded us (see xvii. 8).' His father had been seized for the same reason in the duke's 16th year; and we are astonished both at the persistent hostility of Choo and Keu to Loo in defiance of Tsin, and at Loo's inability to defend itself.

Par. 3. The critics have much to say on its being stated here that the duke came from the 'invasion,' and not from the siege of the capital of Ts'e; but the truth seems simply to be that the siege was merely an incident of the invasion.

Par. 4. The K'oh ran through Choo, and flowing along the south of Loo, fell into the Sze (泗),—in the pres. dis. of Yu-t'ae. Comp. VIII. ii. 7; but the phrase, 'lands of Choo,' would indicate that they had never belonged to Loo, though the Chuen seems to say so. It is a con-

tinuation of that on par. 2, and says:—'They then halted near the Sze, and defined the boundary of our lands, taking those of Choo from the K'oh-water, and giving them (歸之) back to us. The marquis of Tsin then returned before (his army) to his capital, and the duke gave an entertainment to the six generals of Tsin in the P'oo orchard, giving to each of them the robes of a minister of three degrees; while to the controller of the army, the marshal, the superintendent of entrenchments, the master of carriages, and the scoutmaster, he gave the robes of an officer of one degree (see the Chuen after VIII. ii. 4). On Seun Yen he further conferred a bundle of silks, a peih, and 4 horses, followed by the tripod which Loo had received from Show-mung of Wei.'

Seun Yen was now suffering from an ulcer, which grew upon his head; and after crossing the Ho as far as Choo-yung, he was quite ill, and his eyes protruded. The great officers who had returned before him all came back, and Sze Kae begged an interview with him which he did not grant. He then begged to know who should be his successor, and Yen said, 'My son by the daughter of Ch'ing.' In the 2d month, on Këah-yin, he died with his eyes protruding, and his teeth firmly closed. Seuen-tsze (Sze Kae), washed [his face], and stroked it, saying, 'Shall I not serve Woo (Yen's son) as I have served you?' but still he stared. Lwan Hwa-tsze (Ying) said, 'Is it because he did not complete his undertaking against Ts'e?' And he also stroked [his face], saying, 'If you are indeed dead, let the Ho witness if I do not carry

on your undertaking against Ts'e!' The eyes of the corpse then closed, and the [customary] gem was put between the teeth. When Seuen-tsze left the apartment, he said, 'I am but a shallow creature (with reference to what he had said to the corpse).'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'Ke Woo-tsze went to Tsin, to give thanks for the expedition [against Ts'e], when the marquis entertained him. Fan Seuen-tsze, who was [now] principal minister, sang the Shoo mëaou (She, II. viii. ode III.). Ke Woo-tsze rose up, bowed twice with his head to the ground, and said, "The small States depend on your great State as all the kinds of grain depend on the fattening rains. If you will always dispense such a cherishing influence, the whole kingdom will harmoniously unite under you, and not our poor State only!" He then sang the Luh Yueh (She, II. iii. ode III.).'

Par. 7. Sun Lin-foo had a reason for attacking Ts'e, because K'an, whom he had driven from Wei, had taken refuge there. It would appear, however, that Tsin also took part in this expedition. The Chuen says:—'Lwan Fang of Tsin led a force, and followed Sun Wan-tsze in an incursion into Ts'e.' Lwan Fang was sent on this expedition, it is supposed, through the influence of Lwan Ying, to fulfil the oath which he had sworn to the corpse of Seun Yen.

[The Chuen appends here:—'Ke Woo-tsze had a bell, toned to the second note of the chromatic scale, cast from the weapons which he had acquired in Ts'e, and had the services performed by Loo engraved upon it. Tsang Woo-chung said to him, "This is contrary to rule. What should be engraved [on such articles] is—for the son of Heaven, his admirable virtue; for the prince of a State, a record of his services estimated according to the season in which they have been performed; for a great officer, his deeds worthy of being mentioned. And such deeds are the lowest degree [of merit so commemorated]. If we speak of the time [of this expedition], it very much interfered with [the husbandry of] the people;—what was there in it worthy of being engraved? Moreover, when a great State attacks a small one, and takes the spoils to make an article, the regular furniture [of the ancestral temple], it engraves on it its successful achievement to show them to posterity, at once to manifest its own bright virtue, and to hold up to condemnation the offences of the other. But how should anything be made of our getting the help of others to save ourselves from death? A small State, we were fortunate against a great one; but to display our spoils in this manner, so as to excite its rage, is the way to ruin.']

Par. 8. For 環 Kung-yang has 瑗 The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ts'e had married Yen-e, a daughter of Loo, but she bore him no son. Her niece, Tsung-shing, however, bore him Kwang, who was declared his eldest son and successor. Among his concubines were two daughters of Sung, Chung Tsze and Jung Tsze. The latter was his favourite, and when Chung Tsze bore a son Ya, the child was given to Jung Tsze, who begged that he might be made successor to his father. The marquis agreed to this; but the child's mother objected, saying, "To abrogate in his favour the regular order [of succession] will be inauspicious. It is hard, moreover, to interfere with the other princes.

Since Kwang was declared your successor, he has been numbered among them; and now to displace him without any cause is to take it on yourself to degrade a prince. Your lordship will be sure to repent of incurring, in such a difficult matter, the charge of doing what is inauspicious." The marquis replied that the thing rested entirely with himself, and sent Kwang away to the east. At the same time he appointed Kaou How grand-tutor to Ya, whom he declared to be his successor, with Suh-sha Wei as assistant-tutor.

'When the marquis was ill, Ts'uy Ch'oo privately brought Kwang back to the capital; and when the marquis became very ill, Ch'oo raised Kwang to be his successor. Kwang then put Jung Tsze to death, and exposed her body in the court,—which was contrary to rule. A wife should not be subjected to the [ordinary] punishments; and if it be necessary to punish her, the thing should not be done in the court or the market place.

'In summer, in the 5th month, on Jin-shin, the last day of the moon, duke Ling of Ts'e died. Duke Chwang (Kwang) took his place, and seized Ya on the mound of Kow-tow. As he held that the substitution of him in his own place had been owing to Suh-sha Wei, Wei fled to Kaou-t'ang, and held it in revolt.'

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—'Sze Kae of Tsin was making an incursion into Ts'e, and had got as far as Kuh, when he heard of the death of the marquis and returned;—which was according to rule.' Kuh,—see III. vii. 4, *et al.*

[The Chuen says:—'In the 4th month, on Ting-we, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing died, and the news of his death was sent to the great officers of Tsin. Fan Seuen-tsze (Sze Kae) spoke to the marquis about how well Ch'ae had behaved in the invasion of Tsin, on which the marquis made a request to the king, and obtained for him the posthumous gift of a carriage, which was used at the performance of his [funeral] rites.']

Par. 10. Chung-sun Mëeh, or Mäng Hëen-tsze, had long sustained an important position in Loo. He was succeeded by his son Suh (速), or Mäng Chwang-tsze (莊子).

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, in the 8th month, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e killed Kaou How in Shae-lan, and took to himself all his property. The text, in ascribing his death to the State, intimates that he had followed his ruler in his abandoned blindness to what was right.'

Par. 12. For 嘉 Kung-yang has 喜. The Chuen says:—'Tsze K'ung of Ch'ing, in his government of the State, acted on his own exclusive authority, to the distress of the people. At the punishment of the troubles in the western palace (see on x. 8), and in the attempt [of Ts'oo] on the Shun gate (in the year before this), he had acted criminally; but he guarded himself with his own men-at-arms, and with those of the families of Tsze-kih and Tsze-lëang. On Këah-shin, Tsze-chen and Tsze-se attacked him at the head of the people, put him to death, and divided his property between themselves. The text ascribes his death to the State because of the exclusive authority which he had arrogated. Tsze-jen and Tsze-kung were sons [of duke Muh] by [a daughter of Sung].—Sung Tsze; and Sze Tsze-k'ung was his son by [a daughter of



Ch'in, Kwei Kwei. Kwei Kwei's rank was inferior to Sung Tsze's, but they were fond of each other. Sze Tsze-k'ung was also on friendly terms with them. Tsze-jen died in the 4th year of He (the 6th year of duke Ssang of Loo), and Sze Tsze-kung in K'een's (duke Muh's) first year, (Ssang's 8th year); and the minister of Instruction K'ung looked after the households of Tsze-kih and Tsze-l'ang. The three families indeed were as one, and hence they came together to trouble. Tsze-kih and Tsze-l'ang fled to Ts'oo, where the former became director of the Left. The people of Ch'ing made Tsze-chen manager of the State, with Tsze-se as administrator of the government, and Tsze-ch'an a high minister.

Par. 13. [The Chuen appends here:—'K'ing Fung of Ts'e laid siege to Kaou-t'ang, but could not reduce it. In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis joined the siege; and seeing [Shu-sha] Wei on the top of the wall, he called out to him. Wei came down, and the marquis asked him if he was well prepared for defence. He replied that he was not, and the marquis bowed to him, when he ascended the wall again. Hearing that the army [of the marquis] was coming [to the siege, Wei] gave out food to the men of Kaou-t'ang; but [two officers of Ts'e], Chih Ch'oh and Kung Laou, agreed to bring the soldiers by night

up the wall by means of cords (the text here is probably defective). Wei was made pickle of in the army.]

Par. 14. This was done, says Tso, 'through fear of Ts'e.'

Par. 15. This Ko is different from the place in Ts'e of the same name, and was probably in Wei,—in the pres. dep. of Ta-ming. The Chuen says:—'Ts'e and Ts'in concluded a peace, and made a covenant in Ta-suy. In consequence, Muh-shuh had a meeting with Pan Seuen-tsze in Ko. Having an interview with Shuh-h'ang, he sang the 4th stanza of the Tsae ch'e (She, l. iv. ode X.). Shuh-h'ang said, "I dare not but receive your command."'

Par. 16. Woo-shing was a city of Loo,—90 li to the south-west of the pres. dis. city of Pe, dep. E-chow.

The Chuen says:—'On his return to Loo, Muh-shuh said, "Ts'e is not yet [reconciled to us]; we must not dismiss our apprehensions." Accordingly we fortified Woo-shing.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'On the death of Shih Kung-tsze (Shih Mae) of Wei, [his son], Taou-tsze manifested no grief. K'ung Ch'ing-tsze said, "Here is a case of the falling tree tearing up its roots. Taou-tsze will certainly not long possess his ancestral temple."']

### Twentieth year

二十<sup>一</sup>年春王正月辛亥仲孫速會  
莒人盟于向。  
夏六月庚申公會晉侯齊侯宋公  
衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒子邾子滕子薛  
伯杞伯小邾子盟于澶淵。  
秋公至自會。仲孫速帥師伐邾。  
蔡殺其大夫公子燮。蔡公子履出  
奔楚。陳侯之弟黃出奔楚。  
叔老如齊。冬十月丙辰朔日有  
食之。  
季孫宿如宋。

左傳曰：二十年春及莒平孟莊子會莒人盟于向督揚之盟故也。夏盟于澶淵齊成故也。邾人驟至以諸侯之事弗能報也。秋孟莊子伐邾以報之。蔡公子燮欲以蔡之晉蔡人殺之。公子履其母弟也故出奔楚。陳慶虎慶寅畏公子黃之逼愬諸楚曰與蔡司馬同謀楚人以為討公子黃出奔楚。初蔡文侯欲事晉曰先君與於踐土之盟晉不可棄且兄弟也畏楚不能行而卒楚人使蔡無常公子燮求從先君以利蔡不能而死書曰蔡殺其大夫公子燮言不與民同欲也。陳侯之弟黃出奔楚言非其罪也公子黃將出奔呼於國曰慶氏無道求專陳國暴蔑其君而去其親五年不滅是無天也。齊子初聘於齊禮也。冬季武子如宋報向戌之聘也。褚師段逆之以受享賦常棣之七章以卒宋人重賄之歸復命公享之賦魚麗之卒章公賦南山有臺武子去所曰臣不堪也。衛甯惠子疾召悼子曰吾得罪於君悔而無及也名藏在諸侯之策曰孫林父甯殖出其君君入則掩之若能掩之則吾子也若不能猶有鬼神吾有餒而已不來食矣悼子許諾惠子遂卒。

- XX. 1 In the [duke's] twentieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-hae, Chung-sun Suh had a meeting with an officer of Keu, and made a covenant [with him] in H'ang.
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on K'ang-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquises of Ts'in and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, when they made a covenant in Shen-yuen.
- 3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.
- 4 Chung-sun Suh led a force and invaded Choo.
- 5 Ts'ae put to death its great officer, duke [Chwang's] son S'eh. His brother, Le, fled to Ts'oo.
- 6 Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 7 Shuh Laou went to Ts'e.

8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ping-shin, the sun was eclipsed.

9 Ke-sun Suh went to Sung.

Par. 1. Here, and afterwards, Kung-yang has 遯 for 速. As to the individual, see on par. 10 of last year. Hëang,—see on I. ii. 2. The Chuen says:—"We were [now] at peace with Keu, and Mäng Chwang-tsze had a meeting with an officer of Keu, and made a covenant in Hëang,—in consequence of the covenant at Tuh-yang (see on xix. 1)."

Par. 2. Shen-yuen was a river, called also the 浮水, and gave its name to the city in the text,—25 *le* north-west from the pres. K'ae Chow (開州), dep. Ta-ming. It belonged to Wei. This meeting and covenant were to celebrate the good understanding which now existed between Tsin and Ts'e (齊成故也).

Par. 4. This shows strikingly the little value of those covenants. Loo, moreover, might have been satisfied with the lands of Choo which had been assigned to it after the expedition against Ts'e.

The Chuen says:—"Troops from Choo had repeatedly attacked us, and we had not been able to retaliate in consequence of the business of the States; but this autumn, Mäng Chwang-tsze did so, and invaded Choo."

Parr. 5, 6. For 變 Kuh-lëang has 濕. This Sëeh and Le were sons of duke Chwang of Ts'ae, and brothers consequently of duke Wän, whose father had been present at the meeting of Tsëen-t'oo in the 28th year of duke He. The Chuen says:—"The Kung-tsze Sëeh of Ts'ae wished to carry that State over to Tsin, on which the people put him to death, and his full brother Le fled to Ts'oo."

Par. 6. Kung and Kuh have 光 instead of 黃. The Chuen says:—"K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin, being afraid of the pressure on them of the Kung-tsze Hwang, accused him to Ts'oo, saying that he was confederate in the design of the minister of war of Ts'ae (Sëeh of the last par.). The people of Ts'oo thought this was sufficient ground for reprimanding Hwang, who therefore fled to that State, [to clear himself]. At an earlier period, duke Wän of Ts'ae had wished to serve Tsin, saying, "My predecessor took part in the covenant of Tsëen-t'oo. Tsin should not be abandoned; and moreover, its rulers and we are brethren." Through fear of Ts'oo, however, he died without being able to carry his purpose into effect (in the 17th year of duke Sëuen). After this, the people of Ts'oo laid their requirements on Ts'ae without regard to any rule,

and the Kung-tsze Sëeh wished to carry out the design of the former ruler for the benefit of the State; but, unable to effect his purpose, he died. The text in p. 5, that "Ts'ae put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Sëeh," intimates that his wishes did not coincide with those of the people. And the account in this, that "Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, left the State, and fled to Ts'oo," intimates that his flight was from no crime of his. When Hwang was about to flee, he cried out in the capital, "Those K'ings, in violation of what is right, are seeking to monopolize the government of Ch'in, tyrannizing over their ruler, and getting his relatives out of the way. If within 5 years they are not exterminated, there can be no Heaven."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Ts'e-tsze (Shuh Laou) went [now] for the 1st time on a friendly mission to Ts'e;—which was proper." It was to be hoped that the animosity which had so long prevailed between Ts'e and Loo would now give place to friendly sentiments.

Par. 8. This eclipse took place at noon, on the 25th August, B.C. 552.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"In winter, Ke Woo-tsze went to Sung, to return the friendly visit of Hëang Seuh (see xv. 1). Choo Sze-twan met him to conduct him to an entertainment, where he sang the 7th and last stanzas of the Chang-te, (She, II. i., ode IV.). The people of Sung gave him large gifts; and when he returned, and gave in the report of his mission, the duke entertained him. He then sang the last stanza of the Yu le (She, II. ii. ode III.). The duke responded with the Nan shan yëw t'ao (She, II. ii. ode VII.), at which Woo-tsze left his place, and said, "I am not worthy [of such praise]."

[The Chuen calls the reader here to a narrative about Wei:—"Ning Hwuy-tsze of Wei was ill, and called to him his son, Taou-tsze, "I trespassed," said he to him, "against my ruler (See on xiv. 4), and subsequent repentance was of no avail. My name is in the tablets of the States, to the effect that 'Sun Lin-foo and Ning Chih drove out their ruler.' If the ruler re-enter, that may hide my crime; and if you can so hide it, you are my son. If you cannot do so, and I continue to exist as a Spirit, I will starve in that condition, and will not come to partake of your sacrifices." Taou-tsze made him a promise, and soon afterwards he died]."

Twenty-first year.

二十有一年春王正月  
公如晉  
邾庶其以漆閭丘來奔  
夏公至自晉  
秋晉欒  
盈出奔楚  
九月庚戌  
朔日有食之  
冬十月  
庚辰朔日有食之  
公會晉侯  
曹伯來朝  
齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹  
伯莒子邾子于商任

左傳曰二十一年春公如晉拜師及取邾田也邾庶其以漆閭丘來奔季武子以公姑姊妻之皆有賜於其從者於是魯多盜季孫謂臧武仲曰子盍詰盜武仲曰不可詰也紇又不能季孫曰我有四封而詰其盜何故不可子爲司寇將盜是務去若之何不能武仲曰子召外盜而大禮焉何以止吾盜子爲正卿而來外盜使紇去之將何以能庶其竊邑於邾以來子以姬氏妻之而與之邑其從者皆有賜焉若大盜禮焉以君之姑姊與其大邑其次阜牧輿馬其小者衣裳劍帶是賞盜也賞而去之其或難焉紇也聞之在上位者洒濯其心壹以待人軌度其信可明徵也而後可以治人夫上之所爲民之歸也上所不爲而民或爲之是以加刑罰焉而莫敢不懲若上之所爲而民亦爲之乃其所也又可禁乎夏書曰念茲在茲釋茲在茲名言茲在茲允出茲在茲惟帝念功將謂由己壹也信由己壹而後功可念也庶其非卿也以地來雖賤必書重地也

齊侯使慶佐爲大夫復討公子牙之黨執公子買於句瀆之丘公子鉏來奔叔孫還奔燕

夏楚子庚卒楚子使選子馮爲令尹訪於申叔豫叔豫曰

焉。其子驤不能保任其父之勞。大君若不棄書之力。亡臣猶有所逃。若棄書之力。而思驤之罪。臣戮餘也。將歸死於尉氏。不敢還矣。敢布四體。唯大君命焉。王曰。尤而效之。其又甚焉。使司徒禁掠驤氏者。歸所取焉。使候出諸轅轅。  
冬。曹武公來朝。始見也。  
會于商任。錮欒氏也。齊侯衛侯不敬。叔向曰。二君者必不免。會朝禮之經也。禮政之興也。政身之守也。怠禮失政。失政不立。是以亂也。知起中行喜。州綽邢蒯。出奔齊。皆欒氏之黨也。樂王黷謂范宣子曰。盍反州綽邢蒯。勇士也。宣子曰。彼欒氏之勇也。余何獲焉。王黷曰。子為彼欒氏。乃亦子之勇也。齊莊公朝。指殖綽郭最。曰。是寡人之雄也。州綽曰。君以為雄。誰敢不雄。然臣不敏。平陰之役。先二子鳴。莊公為勇爵。殖綽郭最。欲與焉。州綽曰。東閭之役。臣左驂迫。還於門中。識其枚數。其可以與於此乎。公曰。子為晉君也。對曰。臣為隸新。然二子者。譬於禽獸。臣食其肉。而寢處其皮矣。

- XXI. 1 In his twenty-first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Tsin.  
2 Shoo-k'e of Choo came a fugitive to Loo, with [the cities of] Ts'eih and Leu-k'ew.  
3 In summer, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
4 In autumn, Lwan Ying of Tsin fled from that State to Ts'oo.  
5 In the ninth month, on Käng-seuh, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
6 In winter, in the tenth month, on Käng-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
7 The earl of Ts'aou came to the court of Loo.  
8 The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, and the viscounts of Keu and Choo, in Shang-jin.

Par. 1. The duke now went to Tsin, 'to make his acknowledgments,' says Tso-she, 'for the expedition [against Ts'e], and for his receiving the lands of Choo (xviii. 4; xix. 4).' Wang K'ih-kwan bitterly contrasts the duty thus, and on other occasions, paid by the princes of Loo to the leading State, and their general neglect of the duty they owed to the king.  
Par. 2. Shoo-k'e was a great officer of Choo, possessed of the cities in the text. Rebelling against his govt., and unable to maintain himself against it, he fled to Loo, surrendering to it the cities in question. Had he not so thrown himself on Loo, the text would have been—  
其以漆閭丘叛 Comp. X. v. 4, xxxi. 6. Of course it was wrong in Loo to receive, as it did, such a fugitive. Both the cities were in the northern part of the pres. dis. of Tsow, dept. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—  
'Shoo-k'e of Choo having come as a fugitive, and surrendering to Loo his cities of Ts'eih and Leu-k'ew, Ke Woo-tsze gave him to wife the

國多寵而王弱。國不可為也。遂以疾辭。方暑。闕地下冰而牀焉。重繭衣裘。鮮食而寢。楚子使醫視之。復曰。瘠則甚矣。而血氣未動。乃使子南為令尹。  
欒桓子娶於范宣子。生懷子。范鞅以其亡也。怨欒氏。故與欒盈為公族大夫。而不相能。桓子卒。欒祁與其老州賓通。幾亡室矣。懷子患之。祁懼其討也。愬諸宣子曰。盈將為亂。以范氏為死桓主。而專政矣。曰。吾父逐鞅也。不怒。而以寵報之。又與吾同官而專之。吾父死而益富。死吾父而專於國。有死而已。吾蔑從之矣。其謀如是。懼害於主。吾不敢不言。范鞅為之徵。懷子好施。士多歸之。宣子畏其多士也。信之。懷子為下卿。宣子使城著。而遂逐之。秋。欒盈出奔楚。宣子殺箕遺黃淵。嘉父司空靖。祁豫董叔。申書。羊舌虎。叔熊。囚伯華。叔向。籍偃。人謂叔向曰。子離於罪。其為不知乎。叔向曰。與其死亡若何。詩曰。優哉游哉。聊以卒歲。知也。樂王黷見叔向曰。吾為子請。叔向弗應。出不拜。其人皆咎叔向。叔向曰。必祁大夫。室老聞之曰。樂王黷言於君。無不行。求赦吾子。吾子不許。祁大夫所不能也。而曰必由之。何也。叔向曰。樂王黷從君者也。何能行。祁大夫外舉不棄讐。內舉不失親。其獨遺我乎。詩曰。有覺德行。四國順之。夫子覺者也。晉侯問叔向之罪於樂王黷。對曰。不棄其親。其有焉。於是祁奚老矣。聞之。乘駟而見宣子曰。詩曰。惠我無疆。子孫保之。書曰。聖有嘉勳。明徵定保。夫謀而鮮過。惠訓不倦者。叔向有焉。社稷之固也。猶將十世宥之。以勸能者。今壹不免其身。以棄社稷。不亦惑乎。繇殛而禹興。伊尹放太甲而相之。卒無怨色。管蔡為戮。周公右王。若之何其以虎也。棄社稷。子為善。誰敢不勉。多殺何為。宣子說。與之乘。以言諸公而免之。不見叔向而歸。叔向亦不告免焉。而朝。初。叔向之母。妬叔虎之母。美而不使。其子皆諫其母。其母曰。深山大澤。實生龍蛇。彼美余懼。其生龍蛇。以禍汝。汝敝族也。國多大寵。不仁人聞之。不亦難乎。余何愛焉。使往視寢。生叔虎。美而有勇力。欒懷子嬖之。故羊舌氏之族。及於難。欒盈過於周。周西鄙掠之。辭於行人。曰。天子陪臣。盈得罪於王之守臣。將逃罪。罪重於郊甸。無所伏竄。敢布其死。昔陪臣書。能輸力於王室。王施惠

[widowed] aunt and sister of the duke, and gave gifts to all his followers. On this Loo became pestered with a multitude of robbers, and Woo-tze asked Tsang Woo-chung why he did not deal effectually with them. "They cannot be so dealt with," was the reply. "I am not able to do it." Woo-tze urged, "We have our four boundaries well defined; how is it that robbers cannot be put down? And you are the minister of Crime. Your chief business should be to remove all such criminals; how is it that you are unable to do so?" Woo-chung said, "You call the robbers of other States, and treat them with the greatest ceremony; how can I in such a case repress our own robbers? You are the principal minister of our State, and you bring into it robbers from abroad, and would have me put them away; how should I be able to do so? Shoo-k'e stole from Choo its cities, and came here with them, and you have given him to wife ladies of our ducal House, and have conferred on him [those] cities. To all his followers you have given gifts. Now, since to the great robber you have shown such ceremony, giving him our ruler's aunt and sister, and those great cities; and to the robbers of the next degree you have given runners, herdsman, carriage-men and grooms, the least gifts being robes, swords, and girdles;—you thus reward robbers. To reward them, and at the same time put them away, should be a difficult thing, I think. I have heard this, that when men in high positions cleanse their hearts, treating others with an uniform consistency, and regulating their good faith by such laws that it is clearly demonstrated, then men can be properly ruled by them. For the way which their superiors take is that to which men [naturally] turn. When they do that which their superiors do not do, there are pains and penalties for them, which we may not presume not to inflict. If the people, however, do that which their superiors do as well, it is what is to be expected, and cannot be prevented. It is said in one of the Books of Hsia (Shoo, II. ii. 10). "Think whether this thing can be laid on this man. If you would put it away from this man, it depends on [putting] the thing [away from yourself]. When you name or speak of this thing, [let it be fit] for this man. Your sincerity must proceed from this, and be in this. Think, O emperor, of the work thus to be achieved." This tells how the result must come from one's own uniform endeavour. Let one's sincerity be uniform and undivided, and then successful results may be anticipated."

"Shoo-k'e was not a minister, [though he is here named]. But coming with territory, of low rank as he was, it was necessary to record the thing as in the text, from the importance belonging to the territory."

[The Chuen gives here two narratives about the affairs of Ts'e and Ts'oo:—1st. "The marquis of Ts'e appointed King Tso a great officer, and proceeded to further (see on xix. 8) measures against the partisans of his brother Ya. He seized the Kung-tze Mae on the mound of Kow-tow. The Kung-tze Ts'oo fled to Loo, and Shuh-sun Seuen to Yen."

2d. "In summer, Tsze-kang of Ts'oo died, and the viscount wished to appoint Wei Tsze-ping to his office of chief minister. Wei consulted Shin Shuh-yu, who said, "There are many favourites in the State, and the ruler is

young. The administration will be impracticable." On this he declined the appointment, alleging that he was ill. The season being warm, he dug a hole in the ground, filled it with ice, and placed his bed over it; and there he lay, with two coverings stuffed with silk, and in a robe of fur, taking very little food. The viscount sent his physician to see him, who reported that he was very thin, but that there was yet no [irregular] motion of his pulse. Tsze-nan (the Kung-tze Chuy-shoo) was then made chief minister."

Par. 4. Here is the verification of Sze Yang's prediction about the downfall of the Lwan family towards the conclusion of the Chuen on xiv. 3. The Chuen here says:—"Lwan Hwan-tze (Lwan Yen, 樂齔) had married a daughter of Fan

Seuen-tze (Fan or Sze Kae, 士匄), who bore him Hwae-tze (the Ying of the text). Fan Yang (Seuen-tze's son), because of his banishment [to Ts'in], had a grudge against the Lwan family; and though he and Lwan Ying were both great officers of the ducal kindred, they could not bear each other (see the Chuen on xiv. 3). After the death of Hwan-tze, Lwan K'e (his wife, Seuen-tze's daughter) had an intrigue with the old [steward of the family], Chow Pin, which had almost led to the ruin of the House. Hwae-tze was distressed about it; and his mother, afraid of his taking severe measures, accused him to Seuen-tze, saying, "Ying is about to raise an insurrection on the ground that, since the death of his father Hwan, the Fan family is monopolizing the government. 'My father,' he says, 'drove out Yang, but [Seuen-tze], instead of being angry [with his son], rewards him with [additional] favour. He has also given him a similar office to mine, and throws the power into his hands. Since my father's death, [the family] is more wealthy. By that death they have got the monopoly of the government. I will die sooner than follow them.' Such are his designs; and afraid of his injuring you, my father, I dare not but tell them to you." Fan Yang confirmed what she said by his own testimony."

"Hwae-tze was fond of showing his liberality, and had thereby attached to himself many officers,—so many, that Seuen-tze was afraid of them; and though he believed what was told him, [he hesitated to take action]. Hwae-tze, [moreover], was the [assistant-] commander of the 3d army. [At last], Seuen-tze sent him to fortify Choo, and thereby took occasion to drive him from the State, so that in the autumn he fled from it to Ts'oo. Seuen-tze then put to death Ke E, Hwang Yuen, K'ea Foo, Sze-kung Tsang, Ping Yu, Tung Shuh, Ping Sze, Shin Shoo, Yang-sheh Hoo, and Shuh-p'e; and imprisoned Pih-hwa, Shuh-hiang, and Tseih Yen. People said to Shuh-hiang, "Was it from want of wisdom that you let yourself be involved in this affair?" He replied, "Is this imprisonment not better than death? The ode says (She, II. vii. ode VIII. 3; but the quotation is doubtful),

"How easily, how happily,  
They complete their years!"

Here is my wisdom." Yoh Wang-foo had an interview with Shuh-hiang, and said to him, "I

will intercede for you;" but the prisoner gave him no answer, nor did he make him any acknowledgment when he went out. His friends all blamed Shuh-hiang for this; but he said "[My liberation] must be effected by the great officer K'e." When the steward of his house heard this, he said to him, "Whatever Yoh Wang-foo tells him, our ruler is sure to do. He offered to ask for your pardon, and you would not allow him to do so. It was more than the great officer K'e could accomplish, and yet you say that your liberation must come from him;—what is your meaning?" Shuh-hiang replied, "Yoh Wang-foo is but a parasite of our ruler;—what could he do? The great officer K'e recommended to office one not of his own family, though he was his enemy, nor did he fail to recommend his relative to it, though he was his own son (see the Chuen after iii. 4);—shall I alone be forgotten by him? The ode says (She, III. iii. ode II. 2),

"To an evident virtuous conduct  
All in the State render their obedient  
homage."

Such a manifestly virtuous man is K'e."

"The marquis of Ts'in asked about the guilt of Shuh-hiang from Yoh Wang-foo, who replied, "He would not abandon his relatives, and probably shares in their guilt." At this time K'e He was old, [and living in retirement]; but when he heard what was going on, he came, posting from stage to stage, to see Seuen-tze, and said to him, "The ode says (She, IV. i. [i.] ode IV.),

"Your favours to me are unbounded,  
And my posterity shall preserve [our  
inheritance]."

The Shoo says (III. iv. 2), "The sage, with their counsels and merit, ought clearly to be established and preserved." Now in Shuh-hiang we have one whose counsels have seldom been in error, and whose kindly lessons have been unwearied. He is a strength to our altars. His posterity for ten generations should be pardoned [if they did wrong], for the encouragement of men of ability; and now for one offence [of his brother] he is not to get off with his life. It is an abandoning of our altars;—is there not a mistake in the matter? When Kwän was put to death, Yu was raised to office. E Yin kept T'ao-k'ieh in confinement, and acted as minister to him; but in the end [the sovereign] had not a resentful look. Kwan and Ts'ao were put to death by the duke of Chow, but he himself was the king's helper. Why are you now, on account of Hoo (Shuh-hiang's brother), forgetting your duty to our altars? Do that which is good, and who is there that will not feel stimulated? But what is the use of putting many to death?" Seuen-tze was pleased, and they went in the same carriage to speak with the marquis, so that Shuh-hiang was pardoned. K'e He then went home without seeing Shuh-hiang, who, on his part, sent no word to him of his being liberated, but went to court.

"At an earlier period, Shuh-hiang's mother, being jealous of the beauty of Shuh-hoo's mother, did not allow her to be with their husband. Her sons all remonstrated with her, when she said, "Deep hills and great marshes produce the dragon and the serpent. Because of her beauty,

I am afraid she may bring forth a dragon or a serpent that will bring calamity upon you. You are but a feeble clan, and in the State there are many great nobles. If unfriendly persons were setting them against you, would not your case be hard? On what [other] ground should I grudge her our husband's favours?" She then sent the lady to her husband's couch; and the result was the birth of Shuh-hoo. He was remarkable for his beauty, courage, and strength, and became a favourite with Hwae-tze, and thus it was that the Yang-shih clan became involved in [the present] difficulties."

"When Lwan Ying was passing by Chow, the people in its western borders plundered him, on which he complained to a messenger [from the king], saying, "I, Ying, a servant of the son of Heaven, belonging to another State, offended the king's servant, who is its guardian. Trying to escape from the consequences of my guilt, I have trespassed again in your borders. Nowhere can I hide; nowhere can I fly; let me venture to set forth the question of my death. Formerly, Your Majesty's servant, [my grandfather], Shoo, was able to contribute his strength to the royal House, and the king bestowed favours on him. His son Yen was not able to preserve and continue the services of Shoo; and now, O great ruler, if you have not forgotten the zealous duty of Shoo, then there will be a way of escape for me. If you have forgotten that, and think of the guilt of Yen, I am but the fragment of a doomed man. I will go [to the capital] and die under the hand of the officer Wei; I dare not go back. I have presumed to declare every thing;—it is for you, O great ruler, to issue your command." The king said, "To go on thus to wrong him as [Ts'in] has done would be acting worse than Ts'in." He then made the minister of Instruction prohibit all plundering of Lwan Ying, and require the people to return what they had taken away. He also made the officer of escort conduct him through the Hwan-yuen pass."

Par. 5, 6. The former of these eclipses took place at noon, on August 13th, B.C. 551. The record of the second is an error. There was on the day mentioned no eclipse of the sun; there could be none. How the error, and the similar one in the 24th year, originated, cannot be ascertained. The critics have vexed themselves with the question in vain. See in the 'Explanations of the Classics by scholars of the present dynasty,' ch. 58, pp. 4, 5, and ch. 297, p. 6; and what has been said in the section on eclipses in the prolegomena. Yang Sze-heun (楊士勳) the glossarist of Kuh-l'ang, of the T'ang dynasty (in the 7th cent.), says:—"In this year, and the 24th year, we have the record of eclipses in successive months. According to modern chronologists such a thing could not be; but perhaps it did occur in ancient times!" See also the note by the K'ang-he editors on the birth of Confucius, at the end of this year.

Par. 7. This earl—duke Woo (武公)—succeeded to the State of Ts'aou, on the death of his father as related xviii. 5. He now came, as Tso-she says, to Loo, 'to have a first interview with the duke.'

Par. 8. Where Shang-jin was is not known. The Chuen says:—"The meeting at Shang-jin was to prevent Lwan [Ying] from being har-



boured anywhere. The marquises of Ts'e and Wei behaved disrespectfully at it, which made Shuh-hêng say, "These two princess are sure not to escape an evil end. These meetings and visits at courts are standard ceremonies; such ceremonies are the vehicles of government; it is through government that men's persons are guarded. When the ceremonies are dishonoured, government is lost; and when government is not firmly established, disorder must ensue."

"Che K'e, Chung-hang He, Chow Ch'oh, and Hing Kwae, all fled [from Tsin] to Ts'e, being partisans of the Lwan family. Yoh Wang-foo said to Fan S'uen-tze, "Why not bring back Chow Ch'oh and Hing Kwae who are men of daring courage?" "They are braves of the Lwan family," replied S'uen-tze. "What should I gain?" Wang-foo said "Be to them what the Lwan was, and they will also be your braves."

"Duke Chwang of Ts'e, at his audience [one day], pointed to Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsuy, and said, "These are my heroes." Chow Ch'oh said, "If your lordship thinks them heroes, who may not presume to be reckoned a hero? But unworthy as I am, after the service at P'ing-yin, (See on xviii.4), I crowded before them both."

Duke Chwang having instituted an order of bravery, Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsuy wished to belong to it. Chow Ch'oh said, "In the attack on the eastern gate, my outside horse on the left turned wildly round in the gate, and I know the number of the boards in it;—can I be allowed for this to belong to the order?" The duke said, "You were acting for the ruler of Tsin." "But I am newly become your servant," replied the other. "As to those two, they are like beasts, whose flesh I will eat, and then sleep upon their skins."

[The K'ang-he editors give here the following note on the birth of Confucius:—"According to the Chuen of Kung-yang, Confucius was born in the 11th month of S'ang's 21st year, on the day K'ang-tze; and according to that of Kuh-l'ang, he was born on K'ang-tze, in the 10th month of this year. The "Historical Records,"

however, give his birth, as in the 22d year of S'ang. In the preface to his "Collected Comments" on the Analects, Choo He, using the "History of the Kung family," thus defers to the authority of the "Historical Records," while Sung L'een (Ming dynasty), in his "Discussion of the month and year of Confucius' Birth and Death," vehemently maintains the authority of Kung and Kuh. He adduces, however, no incontestible evidence of their correctness, merely saying that the "Historical Records" contain many errors, and that the statement of Kung and Kuh, handed down from one man to another, is to be relied upon, as having been supported by proofs. H'ea Hung-ke says, "Confucius was born in the 22d year of S'ang, and lived to the 16th year of Gae, so that he was then 73 years old. The account in the 'Historical Records' is correct. The month as given by Kung-yang is wrong;—how can we place implicit confidence in him? Sung L'een, following Kung and Kuh, makes the sage to have been 74 years old, which seems a strange thing to hear of." This view of H'ea's is the best. The prolegomena to the "General Mirror of History" observe, moreover, that in the 21st year of S'ang the sun was twice eclipsed, which does not appear a proper year for the sage to be born in;—and this consideration is not without its reasonableness! Confucius was born in a K'ang-seuh year, and died in a Jin-seuh;—such is the account that has long obtained. Giving a paramount authority to Choo He, and comparing with him the statements of H'ea and the prolegomena to the "General Mirror," we may assume that the "Historical Records" are not in error in this matter.

"The year of the sage's birth ought be noticed in connection with the Ch'ün Ts'ew, but there is no article in the Chuen of Tso-she on S'ang's 22d year, to which it could be annexed; we have therefore preserved here the statements of Kung and Kuh, and discussed them in this note." See the proleg. to Vol. I., p. 59].

### Thirty-second year.

二十有二年春，王正月，公至自會。夏四月，辛酉，叔老卒。秋七月，公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子于沙隨。公至自會。楚殺其大夫公子追舒。

左傳曰：二十二年春，臧武仲如晉，雨，過御叔，御叔在其邑，將飲酒，曰：焉用聖人，我將飲酒而已，雨行，何以聖為？穆叔聞之曰：不可使也，而傲使人，國之蠹也，令倍其賦。

夏，晉人徵朝於鄭，鄭人使少正公孫僑對曰：在晉先君悼公九年，我寡君於是即位，即位八月，而我先大夫子駟從寡君以朝於執事，執事不禮於寡君，寡君懼，因是行也。我二年六月，朝於楚，晉是以有戲之役，楚人猶競而申禮於敝邑，敝邑欲從執事，而懼為大尤，曰：晉其謂我不共有禮，是以不敢攜貳於楚。我四年三月，先大夫子驥又從寡君以觀釁於楚，晉於是乎有蕭魚之役，謂我敝邑，邇在晉國，譬諸草木，吾臭味也，而何敢差池。楚亦不競，寡君盡其土實，重之以宗器，以受齊盟，遂帥羣臣隨於執事，以會歲終，貳於楚者，子侯、石孟歸而討之，梁之明年，子驥老矣，公孫夏從寡君以朝於君，見於嘗耐與執燔焉，間二年，聞君將靖東夏，四月又朝，以聽事期，不朝之閒，無歲不聘，無役不從，以大國政令之無常，國家罷病，不虞存至，無日不惕，豈敢忘職，大國若安定之，其朝夕在庭，何辱命焉？若不恤其患，而以爲口實，其無乃不堪任命，而翦爲仇讐，敝邑是懼，其敢忘君命，委諸執事，執事實重圖之。

秋，欒盈自楚適齊，晏平仲言於齊侯曰：商任之會，受命於晉，今納欒氏，將安用之？小所以事大，信也，失信不立，君其圖之。弗聽。退告陳文子曰：君人執信，臣人執共，忠信篤敬，上下同之，天之道也。君自棄也，弗能久矣。

九月，鄭公孫黑肱有疾，歸邑於公，召室老宗人立段，而使黜官薄祭，祭以特羊，殷以少牢，足以共祀，盡歸其餘邑。曰：吾聞之，生於亂世，貴而能貧，民無求焉，可以後亡，敬共事君，與二三子，生在敬戒，不在富也。己巳，伯張卒。君子曰：善戒。詩曰：慎爾侯度，用戒不虞。鄭子張其有焉。

冬，會于沙隨。復錮欒氏也。欒盈猶在齊，晏子曰：禍將作矣，齊將伐晉，不可以不懼。

楚觀起有寵於令尹子南，未益祿而有馬數十乘，楚人患之，王將討焉。子南之子棄疾，爲王御士，王每見之，必

Par. 6. See the Chuen after par. 4 of last year. The Chuen here says:—Kwan K'e of Ts'oo was a favourite of Tsze-nan the chief minister, and while his emolument was yet but small, his teams of horses were numbered by tens. The people were distressed about it, and the king determined to punish the minister. Tsze-nan's son, K'e-tsih, was charioteer to the king, who would fall a weeping whenever he saw him. K'e-tsih said to him, "You have thrice wept at the sight of me;—let me ask whose crime makes you do this." The king said, "You know the inefficiency of the chief minister. The State is about to punish him; and can you abide in your office after that?" "If I were to abide after my father has been put to death," replied the charioteer, "how could you employ me? But to commit the great crime of disclosing what you have said is what I will not do." After this the king put Tsze-nan to death in the court, and caused the four limbs of Kwan K'e to be torn from each other by chariots in four different directions. Tsze-nan's servants then asked K'e-tsih to beg leave to remove his father's body from the court. "It is

for you," he said to them, "[to teach me how] to observe the duties that should obtain between a ruler and his minister." After three days, he begged the body which the king granted to him; and when it was buried, his followers asked him if he was going to leave the State. "I was a party," he said, "to the death of my father;—to what State should I go?" "Well then," they asked again, "will you continue to be a servant of the king?" He replied, "To have abandoned my father, and yet to serve his enemy, is what I cannot bear to do." Immediately after, he strangled himself.

['The king] then again appointed Wei Tsze-ping to be chief minister. The Kung-tze E was made [grand-]marshal, and K'ueh K'een was made the Moh-gau. The favourites of Wei-tsze were eight men, all of whom, though having no emoluments, were possessed of many horses. One day [after his appointment], being at court, he spoke to Si in Shuh-yu, who gave him no answer, and withdrew. Wei-tsze followed him, and he threw himself among a crowd. When he was still followed, Yu returned to his house, whither the other went to see him, when he had retired from the court. "Thrice," said Wei-tsze, "you snubbed me in the court. You have frightened me, and I have felt that I must come and see you. Please tell me my errors; why should you be so indignant with me?" "I was afraid," replied Shuh-yu, "lest I should not escape [the impending fate]; how should I dare to tell you?" "What do you mean?" asked the minister. The other said, "Lately, Kwan K'e was the favourite of Tsze-nan. Tsze-nan

was dealt with as a criminal, and Kwan K'e was torn in pieces by chariots. Is there not reason for me to be afraid?" [Wei-tsze] then drove home himself, but was not able to keep the road. When he arrived, he said to his favourites, "I have seen my master Shin Shuh. It may be said of him that he can give life to the dead, and flesh to the [bare] bones. With a master who knows me as he does I am satisfied; but I had rather drop the acquaintance of one who does not do so." He then dismissed the eight men, and afterwards the king was satisfied with him.

['The Chuen appends the narrative of a strange and melancholy event in Ch'ing:—In the 12th month, Yew Pan of Ch'ing was proceeding to Tsin; and before he crossed the boundaries of the State, he met with a man and the bride whom he was conducting to his house. Yew Pan took the lady from him by force, and lodged her in a city [that he was passing]. On Ting-sze, her husband attacked Tsze-ming (Yew Pan), and killed him, and then went away with his [recovered] wife. Tsze-chen set aside L'ang (Pan's son), and made T'ae-shuh (Pan's younger brother) Head of the family, saying, "A minister of the State is only second to the ruler, and a lord of the people. He must not be allowed to act disorderly. I have taken it on me to set aside another who is like Tsze-ming." He also sought for the man who had lost his wife, made him return to his place, and would not allow the Yew family to resent what he had done, saying to them, "Do not make more manifest the wickedness [of Tsze-ming]."]

### Twenty-third year.

二十有三年，春，王二月，癸酉，朔，日有食之。  
 三月，己巳，杞伯句卒。  
 夏，邾界我來奔。葬杞孝公。  
 陳殺其大夫慶虎及慶寅。  
 陳侯之弟黃自楚歸于陳。  
 晉欒盈復入于晉，入于曲沃。  
 秋，齊侯伐衛，遂伐晉。  
 八月，叔孫豹帥師救晉，次于雍榆。

己卯，仲  
 孫速卒。  
 冬十月，乙亥，臧孫紇出奔邾。  
 晉人殺欒盈。  
 齊侯襲莒。

左傳曰：二十三年，春，杞孝公卒。晉悼夫人喪之，平公不徹樂，非禮也。禮，為鄰國闕。陳侯如楚，公子黃愬二慶於楚，楚人召之，使慶樂往，殺之。慶氏以陳叛。夏，唐建從陳侯圍陳，陳人城板隊而殺人，役人相命，各殺其長，遂殺慶虎、慶寅。楚人納公子黃。君子謂慶氏不義，不可肆也。故書曰：惟命不予常。

晉將嫁女於吳，齊侯使析歸父勝之，以藩載欒盈及其士，納諸曲沃。欒盈夜見胥午而告之。對曰：不可。天之所廢，誰能興之？子必不免。吾非愛死也，知不集也。盈曰：雖然，因子而死，吾無悔矣。我實不天，子無咎焉。許諾伏之，而觴曲沃人。樂作，午言曰：今也得欒孺子，何如？對曰：得主而為之死，猶不死也。皆歎。有泣者。爵行，又言：皆曰：得主，何貳之有？盈出，徧拜之。四月，欒盈帥曲沃之甲，因魏獻子以書入絳。初，欒盈佐魏莊子於下軍，獻子私焉，故因之。趙氏以原屏之難，怨欒氏，韓趙方睦，中行氏以伐秦之役，怨欒氏，而固與范氏和親，知悼子少，而聽於中行氏。程鄭嬖於公，唯魏氏及七輿大夫與之。樂王鮒侍坐於范宣子，或告曰：欒氏至矣。宣子懼，桓子曰：奉君以走固宮，必無害也。且欒氏多怨，子為政，欒氏自外，子在位，其利多矣。既有利權，又執民柄，將何懼焉？欒氏所得，其唯魏氏乎，而可彊取也。夫克亂在權，子無懈矣。公有姻喪，王鮒使宣子墨綵冒經，二婦人輦以如公，奉公以如固宮。范鞅逆魏舒，則成列既乘，將逆欒氏矣。趨進曰：欒氏帥賊以入，鞅之父與二三子，在君所矣。使鞅逆吾子，鞅請駟乘持帶，遂超乘，右撫劍，左援帶，命驅之出。僕請鞅曰：之公。宣子逆諸階，執其手，賂之以曲沃。初，斐豹隸也，著於丹書，欒氏之力臣曰督戎，國人懼之。斐豹謂宣子曰：苟焚丹書，我殺督戎。宣子喜曰：而殺之，所不請於君。焚丹書者，有如日。乃出豹而閉之。督戎從之，踰隱而待之。督戎踰入，豹自後擊而殺之。范氏之徒在臺後。

季孫曰：孺子長。公鉏曰：何長之有，唯其才也。且夫子之命也。遂立羯，秩奔邾。臧孫入哭，甚哀，多涕，出其御曰：孟孫之惡子也，而哀如是。季孫若死，其若之何？臧孫曰：季孫之愛我，疾疾也。孟孫之惡我，藥石也。美疾不如惡石，夫石猶生我，疾之美，其毒滋多。孟孫死，吾亡無日矣。

孟氏閉門，告於季孫曰：臧氏將爲亂，不使我葬。季孫不信。臧孫聞之，戒。冬十月，孟氏將辟，藉除於臧氏。臧孫使正夫助之，除於東門。甲從己而視之。孟氏又告季孫。季孫怒，命攻臧氏。乙亥，臧紇斬鹿門之闕，以出奔邾。初，臧宣叔娶於鑄，生賈及爲而死。繼室以其姪，穆姜之姨子也。生紇，長於公宮。姜氏愛之，故立之。臧賈，臧爲出在鑄，臧武仲自邾使告臧賈，且致大蔡焉。曰：紇不佞，失守宗祧，敢告不弔。紇之罪不及不祀，子以大蔡納請，其可。賈曰：是家之禍也，非子之過也。賈聞命矣，再拜受龜，使爲以納請。遂自爲也。臧孫如防，使來告曰：紇非能害也，知不足也，非敢私請。苟守先祀，無廢二勳，敢不辟邑。乃立臧爲。臧紇致防而奔齊。其人曰：其盟我乎？臧孫曰：無辭。將盟臧氏。季孫召外史掌惡臣而問盟首焉。對曰：盟東門氏也。曰：毋或如東門遂，不聽公命，殺適立庶。盟叔孫氏也。曰：毋或如叔孫僑如，欲廢國常，蕩覆公室。季孫曰：臧孫之罪，皆不及此。孟椒曰：盍以其犯門斬關。季孫用之。乃盟臧氏。曰：無或如臧孫紇，干國之紀，犯門斬關。臧孫聞之，曰：國有人焉，誰居其孟椒乎？

晉人克欒盈於曲沃，盡殺欒氏之族黨。欒魴出奔宋。書曰：晉人殺欒盈，不言大夫，言自外也。齊侯還自晉，不入遂，襲莒，門於且于，傷股而退。明日將復戰，期於壽舒。杞殖、華還載甲，夜入且于之隧，宿於莒郊。明日先遇莒子於蒲侯氏。莒子重賂之，使無死。曰：請有盟。華周對曰：貪貨棄命，亦君所惡也。昏而受命，日未中而棄之，何以事君？莒子親鼓之，從而伐之，獲杞梁。莒人行成。齊侯歸，遇杞梁之妻於郊，使弔之。辭曰：殖之有罪，何辱命焉？若免於罪，猶有先人之敝廬在，下妾不得與郊弔。齊侯弔諸其室。

齊侯將爲臧紇田。臧孫聞之，見齊侯，與之言伐晉。對曰：多則多矣，抑君似鼠。夫鼠晝伏夜動，不穴於寢廟，畏樂氏乘公門，宣子謂鞅曰：矢及君屋，死之。鞅用劍以帥卒。欒氏退，攝車從之。遇欒樂，曰：樂免之，死將訟汝於天。樂射之不中，又注，則乘槐本而覆，或以戟鉤之，斷肘而死。欒魴傷，欒盈奔曲沃。晉人圍之。秋，齊侯伐衛，先驅穀榮御王孫揮，召揚爲右，申驅成秩御莒恒，申鮮虞之傳摯爲右，曹開御戎，晏父戎爲右，武廣上之登御邢公盧蒲癸爲右，啟牢成御襄罷師，狼遽疏爲右，肱商子車御侯朝，桓跳爲右，大殷商子游御夏之御寇，崔如爲右，燭庸之越駟乘，自衛將遂伐晉。晏平仲曰：君恃勇力，以伐盟主，若不濟，國之福也。不德而有功，憂必及君。崔杼諫曰：不可。臣聞之，小國閒大國之敗，而毀焉，必受其咎。君其圖之。弗聽。陳文子見崔武子曰：將如君何？武子曰：吾言於君，君弗聽也。以爲盟主，而利其難，羣臣若急，君於何有？子姑止之。文子退，告其人曰：崔子將死乎？謂君甚，而又過之，不得其死，過君以義，猶自抑也。況以惡乎？齊侯遂伐晉，取朝歌，爲二隊，入孟門，登大行，張武軍於熒庭，戍郕郛，封少水，以報平陰之役。乃還。趙勝帥東陽之師以追之，獲晏駕。

八月，叔孫豹帥師救晉，次于雍榆，禮也。

季武子無適子，公彌長，而愛悼子，欲立之，訪於申豐曰：彌與紇，吾皆愛之，欲擇才焉而立之。申豐趨退，歸，盡室將行。他日又訪焉，對曰：其然，將具敝車而行。乃止。訪於臧紇。臧紇曰：飲我酒，吾爲子立之。季氏飲大夫酒，臧紇爲客。既獻，臧孫命北面重席，新樽絜之，召悼子，降逆之。大夫皆起及旅，而召公鉏，使與之齒。季孫失色。季氏以公鉏爲馬正，愠而不出。閔子馬見之，曰：子無然，禍福無門，唯人所召。爲人子者，患不孝，不患無所。敬共父命，何常之有？若能孝敬，富倍季氏，可也。姦回不軌，禍倍下民，可也。公鉏然之，敬共朝夕，恪居官次。季孫喜，使飲己酒，而以具往，盡舍旃。故公鉏氏富，又出爲公左宰。孟孫惡臧孫，季孫愛之。孟氏之御駟豐點好羯也，曰：從余言，必爲孟孫。再三云：羯從之。孟莊子疾，豐點謂公鉏，苟立羯，請讐臧氏。公鉏謂季孫曰：孺子秩，固其所也。若羯立，則季氏信有力於臧氏矣。弗應。己卯，孟孫卒。公鉏奉羯立於戶側。季孫至，入哭而出，曰：秩焉在？公鉏曰：羯在此矣。



事茲夏施作抑容之有知田如之焉亂君人  
怨在書不不有於知臧之仲乃非寧而聞故  
施茲曰怨順由魯而武難尼弗鼠將後晉也  
也順念也而也國不仲也曰與何事作之今

- XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Kwei-yëw the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 2 In the third month, on Ke-sze, Kae, earl of Ke, died.
- 3 In summer, Pe-go of Choo came a fugitive to Loo.
- 4 There was the burial of duke Hëaou of Ke.
- 5 Ch'in put to death its great officers, K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin.
- 6 Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, returned from Ts'oo to Ch'in.
- 7 Lwan Ying of Tsin again entered Tsin, and entered K'ëuh-yuh.
- 8 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Wei, and took the opportunity to invade Tsin.
- 9 In the eighth month, Shuh-sun P'aou led a force to relieve Tsin, and halted at Yung-yu.
- 10 On Ke-maou Chung-sun Suh died.
- 11 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Tsang-sun Heih fled to Choo.
- 12 The people of Tsin put to death Lwan Ying.
- 13 The marquis of Ts'e fell upon Keu by surprise.

Par. 1. This eclipse was visible at sunrise on the 30th December, B.C. 550.

Par. 2. Earl Kae is known as duke Hëaou. Tso-she says, 'This spring, duke Hëaou of Ke died, and the widow of [duke] Taou of Tsin went into mourning for him (She was his sister). Duke P'ing, however, did not discontinue his usual music;—which was contrary to propriety. The rules of propriety require that such music should be intermitted on [the death of the ruler of] a neighbouring State.'

Par. 3. For 界我 Kung and Kuh have 鼻我. We are to suppose that Pe-go was a partizan of Shoo-k'e of xxi. 3, and came to Loo in the same way that the other had done.

Parr. 5, 6. For the circumstances in which the prince Hwang had fled to Ts'oo see the Chuen on xx. 6. The Chuen here says:—'The marquis of Ch'in went to [the court of] Ts'oo, when the Kung-tsze Hwang accused the two K'ing to Ts'oo, the people of which summoned them to it. [Instead of going themselves], they sent K'ing Loh, who was put to death. The K'ing clan upon this held the capital of Ch'in in revolt. In summer, K'ëuh Këen (the *Moh-gaou* of Ts'oo; see the Chuen on p. 6 of last year) went with the marquis of Ch'in, and laid siege to it. The people were then repairing the wall, and one of the frame-planks falling down, [the K'ing] put the builder to death. The workmen then agreed together that they should

kill their overseers, and proceeded to put to death K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin. The people of Ts'oo re-instated the Kung-tsze Hwang. The superior man will pronounce that the K'ing acted unrighteously, and that such a course cannot be indulged in [with safety]. As it is said in the Shoo (V. ix. 23), 'The [favour] of Heaven is not constant.'

The death of the two K'ing serves to illustrate the latitude with which the statements of a State putting its officers to death may be interpreted. Confucius' text in itself gives no inkling of the real nature of the transaction here. Too Yu contends that the 及 is a mere connective, and must have no stress laid upon it. Acc. to a canon on the use of the conjunction, K'ing Hoo would be the proper criminal, involving Yin in the consequences of his guilt. But acc. to the Chuen here and xx. 6, they were equally criminal. Like all the other similar canons, this breaks down here and in other places. Comp., e.g., VI. ix. 7.

Par. 7. Lwan Ying, it will be remembered, had found shelter in Ts'e;—see the Chuen introduced at par. 3 of last year.

The Chuen says:—'[The marquis of] Tsin being about to marry one of his daughters to [the viscount of] Woo, the marquis of Ts'e ordered Seih Kwei-foo to escort the appointed ladies of his House to accompany her, taking the opportunity to place Lwan Ying and his followers in enclosed carriages, and to convey

them to K'ëuh-yuh. Ying had an interview at night with [the commandant of that city] Seu Woo, and told him [his plans]. "The thing," said Woo, "is impracticable. Who can raise up him whom Heaven is overthrowing? You are sure to perish [in this attempt]. I do not grudge death [in your cause], but I know the enterprize will not succeed." Ying replied, "Granted, but if through your help I go to my death, I will not regret it. I may not have Heaven on my side, but you will be free from blame." Seu Woo agreed to his request, and, having concealed him, invited the [principal] men of K'ëuh Yuh to a banquet. When the music struck up, he said to them, "If now we had got here the young Lwan, what would you do?" "If we had our lord here," they replied, "we should think dying for him to be no death." With this all sighed, and some wept. As the cup went round, he put the same question again, and they all said, "Only give us our lord, and there will be no swerving from our purpose." On this Ying came forward, and saluted them all round.

In the 4th month, Ying led on the men-at-arms from K'ëuh-yuh, and, depending on the help of Wei Hëen-tsze, entered Këang in the day time. Before this, Ying had been assistant-commander of the 3d army under Wei Chwang-tsze. In consequence of this, Hëen-tsze (Son of Chwang-tsze) was secretly attached to Ying, and the latter depended on his help. But the Chao clan were hostile to the Lwan, because of the misfortunes of [the lords of] Yuen and Ping (See the Chuen on VIII. viii. 6). The clans of Han and Chao [likewise] were now on friendly terms. The Chung-hang clan were hostile to the Lwan, because of what had occurred in the invasion of Ts'in (see on xiv. 3); and Che Ch'oh-tsze being young, his family was guided by the Chung-hang. Ch'ing Ch'ing was a favourite of the duke; and thus it was that only the Head of the Wei clan and the superintendent of the duke's carriages favoured Lwan Ying.

'Yoh Wang-foo was sitting with Fan Seu-tsze, when word was brought to them that Ying had arrived. Seu-tsze was afraid, but Hwan-tsze (Wang-foo) said to him, "Quickly support the marquis into the strong palace, and no harm will be sustained. The Lwan have many enemies; and the government is in your hands. Lwan Ying has come from without, and you are in your place;—your advantages are many. Since you have such advantages and the power, and hold moreover the handle of the people, what have you to fear? And has Ying any friends but the chief of the Wei clan, whom you may take by force? Disorder is to be repressed by prompt action for the exigency;—do not you be remiss [in taking it]."

'As they were in mourning at the duke's for their relative (the earl of Ke), Wang-foo made Seu-tsze put on mourning clothes and head-band all blackened, and he pushed along in a lady's barrow by two females, and in this guise go to the duke, with whom he then proceeded to the strong palace.

'[At the same time], Fan Yang went to meet Wei Shoo, whom he found with his carriages all drawn up and yoked, about to go to meet Lwan Ying. Hurrying forward, Yang said to him, "Lwan Ying with a body of rebels has en-

tered the city. My father and the great officers are all at the ruler's, and have sent me to meet you. Allow me to take the third place in your carriage and to hold the strap." With this, he sprang into the carriage, brandishing his sword in his right hand, and with his left hand holding the strap, while he ordered them to gallop along. As they issued from the gate, the driver asked where he should go to. "To the duke's," cried Yang. Seu-tsze met Wei Shoo at the steps, took him by the hand, and promised him K'ëuh-yuh.

'[Seu-tsze] had a slave Fei P'aou, one of those entered in the red book (Book of criminals). The strongest of Lwan Ying's followers was Tuh Jung, of whom all the people were afraid. Fei P'aou said to Seu-tsze, "If you will burn the red book, I will kill Tuh Jung." Seu-tsze joyfully said to him, "I swear by the sun, that if you kill Tuh Jung, I will beg our ruler to burn it." Accordingly he sent P'aou forth, and shut the gate behind him. Tuh Jung came to pursue him, and P'aou waited for him, concealed behind a low wall. Then, when Jung had jumped over it, P'aou killed him with a blow from behind.

'The followers of Fan were all behind the tower, and the Lwan swarmed up to the duke's gate. "The arrows reach the ruler's house," said Seu-tsze to Yang; "do your utmost, though you die." Yang led on his men with his sword drawn, and the Lwan withdrew. He was then pursuing them in his father's chariot, as if he were the commander-in-chief, when he was met by Lwan Loh. "Get out of my way," [cried Yang], "O Loh. Though I die, I will dispute with you in heaven." Loh discharged an arrow at him, and missed; and when he had got another on the string, his carriage was overturned by the root of a cassia-tree, when some one drew him from underneath with the hook of his spear, and cut off his arms, so that he died. Lwan Fang was wounded, and Ying fled to K'ëuh-yuh, where the troops of Tsin laid siege to him.'

Of the two statements in the text, that 'Ying entered Tsin again, and entered K'ëuh-yuh,' the second is to be understood of Ying's retreating to K'ëuh-yuh, after his attempt upon the capital of the State was defeated. Kung-yang is in error, as the K'ang-he editors point out, in referring it to Ying's first entrance into K'ëuh-yuh, and then advancing from it to the capital. The use of 入 is somewhat peculiar. Maou says:—'入 is used instead of 叛 (rebelled), because in the first instance he entered and then rebelled,—he had not rebelled before he entered; and in the second instance, he entered after he had rebelled,—he did not enter, and then hold the city in rebellion!' He compares xxx. 7 and VIII. xviii. 5.

Par. 8. The K'ang-he editors remark that the invasion of Tsin by Ts'e, following here the account of Lwan Ying's attempt, makes it plain that Ying had been aided and instigated by Ts'e; but it is from the Chuen and not from the text that we learn this. Wei had attacked Ts'e at the command of Tsin in the 19th year, and the marquis would now first wreak his vengeance on it. The invasion of Tsin being so much the greater undertaking, the critics hesi-

tate, needlessly, it seems to me, to apply here the usual canon as to the significance of 遂.

The Chuen says:—“In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Wei. The van of the army was commanded by Wang-sun Hwuy, with Kuh Yung as charioteer, and Shaou Yang as spearman. The next column was commanded by Keu Häng, with Ch'ing Ch'ih as charioteer, and Foo-che, [son] of Shin S'een-yu, as spearman. [In the centre], Ts'au K'ae was charioteer to the marquis, and Gan Foo-jung was spearman. The supporting force was commanded by Hing Kung, with Shang Che-t'ang as charioteer, and Loo P'oo-kwei as spearman. In the left wing, S'ang P'e was commanded, with Laou Ching as charioteer and Läng Keu-soo as spearman; in the right, How Chaou, with Shang Tsze-keu as charioteer, and Hwan T'äou as spearman. The army of the rear was commanded by H'ea Che-yu-k'ow with Shang Tsze-yu as charioteer, and Ts'uy Joo as spearman, Chuh-yung Che-yueh being in the same chariot.

“The intention being to go on from Wei to attack Tsin, Gan P'ing-chung said, ‘The marquis means, in the confidence of his courage and strength, to attack the president of covenants. It will be well for the State if he do not succeed. If there be success without virtue, grief will [soon] come to him.’ Ts'uy Ch'oo remonstrated with the marquis, saying, ‘Do not [invade Tsin]. I have heard that when a small State takes advantage of the troubles of a great one to do it further injury, it is sure to have to bear the blame. Let your lordship consider it.’ But remonstrance was of no use.

“[After this] Ch'ün Wän-tsze saw Ts'ay Woo-tze and said to him, ‘What is to be done with reference to our ruler?’ “I remonstrated with him,” was the reply, “and he would not listen to me. If we are all brought to straits by his taking advantage of the [present] distress of the president of covenants, what difficulty will there be in dealing with him? Forbear saying anything for the present.” Wän-tsze retired, and said to his people, “Shall Ts'uy-tze die peacefully? He speaks of the marquis's conduct as very bad; and his own will go beyond it. He will not have a peaceful death. When a man condemns his ruler in a righteous way, he still does so to his own damage; how much more must he do so, when he has wickedness in his mind!”

“The marquis accordingly invaded Tsin, and took Chaou-ko. He then divided his forces into two bodies; entered the pass of Mäng; ascended the hill of T'ae-hang; formed an entrenched camp at Yung-t'ing; placed garrisons in Pe and Shaou; raised a mound at Shaou-shwuy;—all in retaliation for the affair at P'ing-yin (See on xviii. 3). He then withdrew, and was pursued by Chaou Shing with the troops of Tung-yang, when Gan Le was taken prisoner.”

Par. 9. For 雍榆 Kung and Kuh have 雍渝. The place belonged to Tsin, and was 18 *le* southwest from the pres. dis. city of Seun (濬縣), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Tso-she says that the action of the commander was ‘proper.’ Why it should be ‘proper’ to halt, it is difficult to understand, though it was no doubt proper in Loo to send an expedition to the relief

of Tsin. Kung-yang and Ying-tah think the halting was to get orders from the marquis of Tsin; while the K'ang-he editors condemn it as an evidence of weakness. But see the reference to the expedition in the 國語 II. iii. art. 7.

Parr. 10, 11. It will be found from the Chuen that there was a connection between these two events:—“Ke Woo-tsze had no son by his wife proper. Of [his other sons], Kung-mei was the eldest, but he loved Taou-tsze, and wished to make him his successor. Consulting Shin Fung on the subject, he said to him, ‘I love both Mei and Heih (Taou-tsze), but I wish to select the abler of the two, and make him my successor.’ Shin Fung hurried away home, and intended to leave the State with all his family. Another day he consulted him again, and Fung replied, ‘If it must be so, I will get my carriage ready and leave the State;’ upon which he desisted from his purpose. Consulting Tsang Heih about it, however, that minister said, ‘Invite me to drink with you, and I will appoint him for you.’ Accordingly Ke gave a feast to all the great officers, with Tsang Heih as the principal guest. When he had sent the pledge cup round, Tsang-sun ordered two mats to be placed in the northern part of the hall. He then took a new cup, and washed it, called for Taou-tsze, and went down the steps to meet him, while the great officers all rose up. When the general cup was going round, he also called for Kung-ts'oo (Kung-mei), and made him take a place after Taou-tsze. Ke-sun lost colour [on seeing what was done].

“[After this], Woo-tsze appointed Kung-ts'oo to be the superintendent of his stud, but he was indignant, and would not come forth. Min Tsze-ma visited the young man, and said to him, ‘You ought not to behave so. Happiness and misery have no gate by which they must enter; each man calls the one or the other for himself. A son should be distressed lest he should not be filial, and not about his proper place. Reverence and honour your father's command; what invariableness attaches [to the order of succession]? If you maintain your filial reverence, you may become twice as rich as the Head of the Ke family; but if you play a villainous and lawless part, your misery may be double that of one of the lowest of the people.’ Kung-ts'oo took this advice, showing a reverent obedience to his father early and late, and sedulously filled his office. Ke-sun was delighted, and made himself be invited by him to a feast, to which he went, carrying with him all the apparatus for it and leaving it there. In this way Kung-ts'oo became rich, and [by-and-by] he went forth, and became administrator of the Left to the duke.

“Mäng-sun hated Tsang-sun, and Ke-sun liked him. Mäng-sun's charioteer, Ts'ow Fung-t'een liked [his master's son] K'eh, and said to him, ‘If you will follow my advice, you will become your father's successor.’ After he had urged this several times, K'eh agreed to it; and when Chwang-tsze was ill, Fung-t'een said to Kung-ts'oo, ‘If you will secure the succession of K'eh, I will be an enemy to Tsang-sun.’ Kung-ts'oo then said to his father, ‘Yu-tsze Ch'ih (the elder brother of K'eh) ought indeed to succeed to his father, but if we raise K'eh to the place, we shall truly show ourselves stronger than Tsang-sun.’ Ke-sun gave him no reply; and

on Ke-maou, when Mäng-sun died, Kung-ts'oo took K'eh, and placed him at the side of the door (In the chief mourner's place). Ke-sun came to the house, entered the apartment, and wept. When he was going out, he said, ‘Where is Ch'ih?’ Kung-ts'oo replied, ‘K'eh is here.’ “But Ch'ih is the elder,” said Ke-sun. “What have we to do with the elder?” was the reply. “We only require the abler. And his father so commanded.” K'eh was hereupon declared successor to Mäng Chwang-tsze, and Ch'ih fled to Choo.

“When Tsang-sun entered the apartment [of the dead], he wept very sore, with many tears. When he went out, his charioteer said to him, ‘Mäng-sun hated you, and yet you thus lament him. If Ke-sun were to die, how would you bear it?’ Tsang-sun answered him, ‘The love of Ke-sun produced in me a feverish eruption. The hatred of Mäng-sun was like a medical stone to me. The good eruption was not so beneficial as the painful stone, which brought me to life again, while the eruption increased its venom more and more. Now that Mäng-sun is dead, my exile is not distant.’ The [new] Head of the Mäng family then shut his gate, and sent word to Ke-sun that Tsang-sun was about to raise a disturbance, and would not allow him to bury his father. Ke-sun did not believe it; but when Tsang-sun heard it, he took precautionary measures. In winter, in the 10th month, Mäng-sun was about to prepare the grave, and borrowed labourers from Tsang-sun, who ordered the superintendent of them to render his assistance; and when they were clearing the road at the east gate, he went himself with some men-at-arms to see them. Mäng-sun sent also information of this to Ke-sun, who was angry, and gave orders to attack Tsang. In consequence, on Yih-hae, Tsang Heih cut down the barrier at the Luh gate, made his escape, and fled to Choo.

“[Heih's father], Tsang Seuen-shuh had married a lady of Choo, who bore to him K'ea and Wei, and then died. He then raised to her place her niece, [who had come with her to the harem],—a daughter of the younger sister of Muh-k'ang (The mother of duke Ch'ing). This lady bore Heih, who grew up in the duke's palace; and being the object of the duchess K'ang's love, he was made successor to his father. When that took place, his [half-] brothers K'ea and Wei left the State and lived in Choo. Woo-chung [now] sent word from C'oo to K'ea of what had befallen him, and sent him a large tortoise, saying, ‘Through my want of ability, I have lost the change of our ancestral temple, and I venture to tell you of my pitiable case. My offence, however, is not of a character that should lead to the extinction of our sacrifices. Do you present to the duke this large tortoise, and ask to be permitted to continue them;—and it may be granted.’ K'ea replied, ‘What has happened is the misfortune of our family, and not through any fault of yours. I have received your commands.’ He then bowed twice, and received the tortoise, which he entrusted to [his brother] Wei to present with the request which had been suggested. But Wei preferred the request in his own behalf. Tsang-sun went to Fang (the city of the Tsang clan), and sent a message from it to the duke, saying, ‘It was not in my power to do any harm;—it was my

wisdom which failed me (Referring to his going with the men-at-arms to see the workmen). I do not presume to make any request for myself. But if you allow the maintenance of the sacrifices to my ancestors, and do not forget the merits of my two predecessors, shall I not leave this city?’ Upon this Tsang Wei was made Head of the family;—and Tsang Heih surrendered Fang, and fled to Ts'e. Some of his people said to him, ‘Will they make a covenant with reference to us?’ “They have nothing to allege in doing so,” said Heih. It was determined, however, to do so, and Ke-sun called the historiographer of the Exterior, and asked him how, in dealing with the case of a guilty minister, the covenant should be headed. The historiographer replied, ‘In the covenant about the minister Tung-mun, it was said, ‘Let no one act like Tung-mun Suy, who disregarded the order of the duke, putting to death the rightful heir, and raising the son of a concubine in his place.’ In the covenant about the minister Shuh-sun, it was said, ‘Let no one act like Shuh-sun K'äou-jou, who wished to set aside the regular order of the State, and overthrow our ducal House.’ Ke-sun said, ‘The guilt of Tsang-sun is not equal to that of either of these.’ Mäng Ts'äou suggested that the covenant should be grounded on his violence to the gate in breaking down the barrier. Ke-sun adopted the suggestion, and the covenant ran—“Let no one act like Tsang-sun Heih, who violated the rules of the State, and broke through the gate, cutting down the barrier.” When Tsang-sun heard these terms, he said, ‘There is a man in the State. Who was it? Was it not Mäng Ts'äou?’

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—“The people of Tsin reduced K'eh-yuh, and took Lwan Ying, when they put to death all the members and the partisans of the Lwan clan, Lwan Fang making his escape, and flying to Sung. In the text there is no mention of Ying's being “a great officer of Tsin,” because he had come [against it] from another State.’ Comp. the account of the death of Läng Seau in xxx. 7.

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—“When the marquis of Ts'e returned from Ts'in, without entering [his capital], he fell on Keu by surprise, and attacked the gate of Tseu-yu. A wound in the thigh obliged him to retire; but next day he resolved to renew the fight, and fixed on Show-shoo as the place of engagement. [In the meantime] Ke Chih and Hwa Seuen passed during the night in their armour through a defile near Tseu-yu, and reached the suburbs of the capital city. Next day, before the marquis, they met with the viscount of Keu at P'oo-how-she, who offered them large bribes to induce them not to fight to the death, and begged them to make a covenant with him. Hwa Chow (Hwa S'eu) replied, ‘If, coveting your bribes, we should cast away our orders, your lordship would hate us. If before mid-day we could forget the orders which we received at dawn, wherewith should we serve any ruler?’ On this the viscount himself

beat the drum, and urged on his men to attack them, when Ke Lëang (Ke Chih) was taken prisoner. After this the people of Keu made submission.

'When the marquis of Ts'e was returning home, he met the wife of Ke Lëang in the suburbs, and sent an officer to present to her his condolences. But she declined them, saying, "If Chih committed any offence, why should you condescend to send me any message? If he escaped committing any offence, there is the cottage of his father. I cannot listen to any condolences in the fields." The marquis then sent his condolences to her house.'

[We have here a narrative about Tsang-sun Heih in Ts'e:—The marquis of Ts'e was intending to make a grant of lands to Tsang-sun Heih, when at an audience which Heih had with him, he spoke with him about his invasion of Tsin. Heih replied, "You say you accomplished much, and

let it be so; but your lordship was like a rat. Now a rat lies hid in the day-time, and moves about at night. It does not have its holes in bed-chambers nor in ancestral temples:—from its fear of men. Now your lordship heard of the troubles in Tsin, and began your movements. If it had been quiet, you would have served it. If you were not a rat in this, what were you?"]

'After this, the marquis did not give him any lands. Chung-ne said, "It is hard to be wise. There was the wise Tsang Woo-chung, and yet he was not allowed to remain in Loo. And there was reason for it. He did what was not accordant with right, and did not act on the principle of reciprocity. One of the Books of Hëa (Shoo II. ii. 10) says, 'When you think of anything, be found yourself in that thing,' meaning that one's conduct should be accordant with right, and his actions on the principle of reciprocity."']

*Twenty-fourth year.*

二十<sup>二章</sup>有四年春，叔孫豹如晉。  
仲孫羯帥師侵齊。<sup>三章</sup>夏，楚子伐吳。  
秋<sup>四章</sup>七月甲子朔，日有食之。既。  
齊崔杼帥師伐莒。<sup>五章</sup>大水。<sup>六章</sup>  
八月癸巳朔，日有食之。<sup>七章</sup>公會晉  
侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、  
滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、于夷儀。<sup>九章</sup>  
冬<sup>十章</sup>楚子、蔡侯、陳侯、許男伐鄭。  
公至自會。<sup>十一章</sup>陳鍼宜咎出奔楚。  
叔孫豹如京師。<sup>十二章</sup>大饑。<sup>十三章</sup>

左傳曰：二十四年春，穆叔如晉，范宣子逆之，問焉，曰：古人有言曰：死而不朽，何謂也？穆叔未對。宣子曰：昔句之祖，自虞以主為陶唐氏，在夏為御龍氏，在商為豕韋氏，在周為唐杜氏，晉主夏盟為范氏，其是之謂乎？穆叔曰：以豹所聞，此之謂世祿，非不朽也。魯有先大夫曰臧文仲，既沒，其言立，其是之謂乎？豹聞之，犬上有立德，其次有立功，其次有立言，雖久不廢，此之謂不朽。若夫保姓受氏，以守宗祧，世不絕祀，無國無之，祿之大者，不可謂不朽。

○范宣子為政，諸侯之幣重，鄭人病之。二月，鄭伯如晉，子產寓書於子西，以告宣子曰：子為晉國，四鄰諸侯，不聞令德，而聞重幣，僑也惑之。僑聞君子長國家者，非無賄之患，而無令名之難。夫諸侯之賄，聚於公室，則諸侯貳，若吾子賴之，則晉國貳，諸侯貳，則晉國壞，晉國壞，則晉國貳，則子之家壞，何沒沒也？將焉用賄？夫令名，德之興也，德國家之基也，有基無壞，無亦是務乎？有德則樂，樂則能久。詩云：樂只君子，邦家之基。有令德也夫！上帝臨之，無貳爾心，有令名也夫！恕思以明德，則令名載而行之，是以遠至邇安，毋寧使人謂子，子實生我，而謂子浚我以生乎？象有齒以焚其身，賄也。宣子說，乃輕幣。是行也，鄭伯朝晉，為重幣故，且請伐陳也。鄭伯稽首，宣子辭，子西相曰：以陳國之介恃大國，而陵虐於敝邑，寡君是以請罪焉，敢不稽首。

孟孝伯侵齊，晉故也。

夏，楚子為舟師以伐吳，不為軍政，無功而還。

齊侯既伐晉而懼，將欲見楚子，楚子使薳啟疆如齊聘，且請期。齊社，蒐軍實，使客觀之。陳文子曰：齊將有寇，吾聞之，兵不戢，必取其族。秋，齊侯聞將有晉師，使陳無宇從薳啟疆如楚辭，且乞師。崔杼帥師送之，遂伐莒，侵介根。

會于夷儀，將以伐齊，水不克。

冬，楚子伐鄭以救齊，門於東門，次於棘澤。諸侯還救鄭，晉侯使張骼、輔  
 櫟致楚師，求御於鄭。鄭人卜宛射犬，吉。子大叔戒之曰：「大國之人，不可  
 與也。」對曰：「無有衆寡，其上一也。」大叔曰：「不然。」郤婁無松栢二子在幄，坐  
 射犬於外，既食而後食之，使御廣車而行，已皆乘乘車，將及楚師，而後  
 從之。乘皆踞轉而鼓琴，近不告而馳之，皆取冑於囊而胄，入壘皆下，搏  
 人以投，收禽挾囚，弗待而出，皆超乘，抽弓而射，既免，復踞轉而鼓琴，曰：「  
 公孫同乘，兄弟也，胡再不謀？」對曰：「曩者志入而已，今則怯也。」皆笑曰：「公  
 孫之亟也。」楚子自棘澤還，使薳啟疆帥師送陳無宇，吳人爲楚舟，師之  
 役故，召舒鳩人，舒鳩人叛楚，楚子師於荒浦，使沈尹壽與師祁犁讓之，  
 舒鳩子敬逆二子而告無之，且請受盟。二子復命，王欲伐之，還子曰：「不  
 可，彼告不叛，且請受盟，而又伐之，伐無罪也，姑歸息民，以待其卒，卒而  
 不貳，吾又何求？」若猶叛我，無辭，有庸，乃還。  
 陳人復討慶氏之黨，鍼宜咎出奔楚。  
 齊人城邾，穆叔如周聘，且賀城。王嘉其有禮也，賜之大路。  
 晉侯嬖程鄭，使佐下軍。鄭行人公孫揮如晉聘，程鄭問焉，曰：「敢問降  
 階何由？」子羽不能對，歸以語然明。然明曰：「是將死矣，不然將亡，貴而知  
 懼，懼而思降，乃得其階，下人而已，又何問焉？且夫既登而求降階者，知  
 人也，不在程鄭，其有亡釁乎？不然，其有惑疾，將死而憂也。」

- XXIV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, Shuh-sun P'aou went to Tsin.
- 2 Chung-sun K'eh led a force and made an incursion into Ts'e.
- 3 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Woo.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on K'eah-tsze, the first day of the moon, the sun was completely eclipsed.
- 5 Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu.
- 6 There were great floods.
- 7 In the eighth month, on Kwei-sze, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 8 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in E-e.

- 9 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, and the baron of Heu, invaded Ch'ing.
- 10 The duke arrived from the meeting [at E-e].
- 11 K'een E-k'ew of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 12 Shuh-sun P'aou went to the capital.
- 13 There was a great famine.

Par. 1. The object of this was probably, as Too says, to congratulate the marquis of Tsin on the quelling of the Lwan revolt. The Chuen says, 'When Muh-shuh (P'aou) went to Tsin, Fan S'uen-tsze met him, and asked the meaning of the saying of the ancients, "They died but suffered no decay," and, before he had replied, went on to say, "Anciently, the ancestor of the S'uen, anterior to the time of Yu (Shun), was the prince of T'aou and T'ang (Yaou; see on the Shoo, III. iii. 7). In the time of H'ea, their ancestors were the Yu-lung (see the Chuen after X. xxix. 4). In the time of Shang, they were the [lords of] Ch'e-wei. In the beginning of Chow, they were the [lords of] T'ang and Too. When Tsin obtained the presidency of covenants, we became the [lords of] Fan.—Is this what is meant by the saying?' Muh-shuh said, "According to what I have heard, this is what is called 'hereditary dignity,' but it is not that 'not decaying.' There was a former great officer of Loo, called Tsang Wan-chung, the excellence of whose words was acknowledged after his death. This may be what the saying intended. I have heard that the highest meaning of it is when there is established [an example of] virtue; the second, when there is established [an example of] successful service; and the third, when there is established [an example of] wise] speech. When these examples are not forgotten with length of time, this is what is meant by the saying—"They do not decay." As to the preservation of the surname and the giving off clan branches, by which the ancestral temples are preserved, and the sacrifices continued without interruption from age to age, where is the State, in which we have not that? The preservation of the greatest dignity cannot be called that freedom from decay.'

[There follows here the following narrative:—'Fan S'uen-tsze was chief minister of Tsin, and the offerings required from the different States became [constantly] more heavy, so that the people of Ch'ing were distressed about it. In the 2d month [of this year], the earl of Ch'ing was going to Tsin, and Tsze-ch'an entrusted to Tsze-se a letter for Fan S'uen-tsze, in which he said, "The administration of the government of Tsin is in your hands. The neighbouring States all about do not hear of any display of admirable virtue, but they hear of the great offerings which are required from them;—and this perplexes me. I have heard that to a superior man presiding over a State there is no trouble about the want of gifts, but his difficulty is lest he should not be obtaining a good name.'

"Now, when the offerings of the different princes are largely accumulated in your duke's house, those princes will become alienated from him. And if you, my master, put your confidence in these things, the State of Tsin will become alienated from you. If the States be-

come alienated from it, Tsin will go to ruin, and if Tsin become alienated from you, your family will go to ruin. In what a fatal course are you proceeding! Of what use would the gifts be then?

'A good name is the carriage in which virtue is conveyed about; and virtue is the [sure] foundation of a State. When there is a foundation, there is no crumbling to ruin;—is not this then of paramount importance? With virtue there is joyful satisfaction, a satisfaction that is permanent. The ode (She, II. ii. ode VII. 1) says,

'Objects of joyful complacency are these officers,  
The foundations of my State;

—with reference to the effect of admirable virtue. [And another ode (She, III. i. ode I. 7) says],

'God is with you,  
Have no doubts in your heart;'

—with reference to the effect of a good name. Strive with all your heart to make your virtue illustrious, and a good name will then carry the fame of it abroad; and in this way the remote will come to you and the near will repose in you. Had you not better cause men to say of you that you nourish them, than to say that you take from them to nourish yourself? The elephant has tusks to the destruction of its body;—because of their use as gifts." S'uen-tsze was pleased, and made the offerings [required from the States] lighter.

'On this visit, the earl of Ch'ing appeared at the court of Tsin, on account of the great offerings which were required, and to ask leave to invade Ch'in. He bowed with his head to the ground [before the marquis], and when S'uen-tsze wished to decline such an act of homage, Tsze-se, who was in attendance on the earl, said, "Through its reliance on the great State [of Ts'oo], Ch'in exercises an insolent oppression of our poor State. (On this account our ruler asks leave to call it to account for the offence;—how dare he but bow his head to the earth?)"

Par. 2. The appointment of K'eh to be successor to his father as a minister of Loo and head of the Chung-sun clan, is given in the Chuen on par. 10 of last year. He is known as M'ang H'eaou-pih (孟孝伯). Tso-she observes that the incursion in the text was made in behalf of Tsin. Kung-yang gives his name as 羯, 羯 and 偁.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded W'oo with a naval squadron; but through the neglect of the rules of war, it returned without accomplishing anything.'



Parr. 4, 7. The former of these eclipses is correctly recorded. It took place, and was total, about 1 h. 15 m. p. m., on June 12th, B.C. 548. The record of the second is a mistake, for which we cannot account any more than for the similar mistake in xxi. 6.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—“The marquis of Ts'e being under apprehension because of his invasion of Tsin, wished to have an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo, who sent Wei K'e-k'ang to Ts'e on a friendly visit, and to be informed as to the time of meeting. The marquis was sacrificing at the altar of the land, and inspected his munitions of war, that the visitor might see them. This made Ch'in W'an-tze remark that there would soon be rebellion in Ts'e. “I have heard,” said he, “that when weapons are not kept in their place, a prince will bring his own clans against himself.”

“In autumn, having heard that Tsin was contemplating an expedition against him, the marquis sent Ch'in Woo-yu after Wei K'e-k'ang to Ts'oo, to put off the meeting, and to beg the assistance of an army. Ts'uy Ch'oo escorted him with a force, and took the opportunity to invade Keu, making an incursion to K'ae-kin.”

It was stated in the Chuen on the last par. of last year that Keu and Ts'e had made peace. We have here another instance of the little value of truces between the States of those days.

Par. 6. See II. i. 5, *et al.* From the Chuen on next par. it appears that this flood extended beyond Loo.

Par. 8. E-e,—see on V. i. 3; and III. xxxii. 7. “This meeting,” says Tso, “was with the intention of attacking Ts'e; but in consequence of the floods, the purpose was not carried out.”

Here, as always, instead of 夷儀, Kung-yang

has 陳儀. Recent critics are severe on Tso, for throwing the failure of this meeting on ‘the floods;’ and what is said in the Chuen on the next par. gives some colour to their strictures.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—“In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, in order to relieve Ts'e, and attacked the eastern gate of its capital. He then halted at the marsh of Keih, while the States returned [from E-e] to relieve Ch'ing. The marquis of Tsin ordered Chang Loh and Foo Leih to flout the army of Ts'oo, when they begged Ch'ing to supply them with a charioteer. The people of Ch'ing consulted the tortoise-shell about the matter, and it was indicated that the appointment of Yuen Shih-k'ueu would be fortunate. Tsze-t'ae-shuh admonished him that he should not put himself on an equality with the officers of the great State; but he replied, “Whether they belong to a populous State or a small one, those above me are of the same degree.” “Not so,” said T'ae-shuh. “Small hillocks have no fir trees nor cypresses on them.”

“The two officers sat in their tent, while Yuen Shih-k'ueu waited outside. They took their food first, and then gave to him. They made him precede them in a wide war-chariot, while they followed in an easy one. It was not till they approached the army of Ts'oo that they entered his carriage, and then they squatted on a cross board at the back, playing a couple of lutes. When they came quite near, Yuen dashed on without telling them. They took their helmets from the bowcase and put them on;

and when they entered the entrenchments, they descended from the carriage, seized each a man and dashed him to the ground, seized each another, and carried him off under his arm. The chariot had drawn off out of the entrenchments, without waiting for them; but they sprang into it, took their bows, and began shooting. When they had got off, they resumed their squatting, playing upon their lutes. “Kung-sun,” said they [to their charioteer], “being in the same carriage, we are brothers; why did you act twice without consulting us?” “The first time,” he replied, “I was thinking of nothing but entering [the camp]; just now I was afraid.” What a hasty temper Kung-sun has!” responded they, laughing.

“The viscount of Ts'oo withdrew from the marsh of Keih and returned, when he sent Wei K'e-k'ang with a force to escort Ch'in Woo-yu [to Ts'e].

“The people of Woo, in consequence of the naval attack on them by Ts'oo (par. 3), invited the people of Shoo-k'ew to join them, and they agreed to revolt from Ts'oo. The viscount was then with his army in Hwang-p'oo, and sent Show, commandant of Shin, and Sze K'e-le to reprove them. The viscount of Shoo-k'ew met the two officers reverently, and assured them there was no such thing, requesting also to be allowed a covenant. When they returned with this report to the king, he [still] wanted to attack the place; but Wei-tsze said, “No. They say they are not revolting, and they ask us to impose a covenant on them. If you now go on to attack them, you are attacking the guiltless. Let us return for a time, and give the people rest, to wait for the issue. If the issue be that they show no disaffection, we have nothing more to ask of them. If after all they do revolt, they will have no excuse, and we can take successful action.” Accordingly [the army of Ts'oo] returned.”

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—“The people of Ch'in were taking further measures against the partisans of the K'ing (See xxiii. 5); and K'een E-k'ew fled from it to Ts'oo.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—“The people of Ts'e had [for the king] rebuilt the wall of K'eah (The K'eah-juh of the Chuen on VII. iii. 4). Muh-shuh went to Chow on a mission of friendly inquiries, and to congratulate the court on the rebuilding of the wall. The king admired his courteous deportment, and gave him a great carriage.”

The floods mentioned in par. 6 had extended to the capital, and the wall of the king's city had been thrown down. Ts'e had rebuilt it, wishing, in its differences with Tsin, to conciliate the king's favour. The critics observe that this was the first mission which S'ang had sent to the court, though he had been 5 times to Tsin, since his accession, and been 13 times present at meetings of the States.

Par. 13. There was a 饑 twice in the time of duke S'uen;—see VII. x. 18, xv. 10. Here we have the record of a great *ke*. Kuh-l'ang says here:—“When one of the [five] grains does not ripen, there is said to be a *k'een* (饑, a deficiency); when two, a *ke* (饑); when three, a *kin* (饑); when four, a *k'ang* (康); when the

whole five, a great *ts'in* (侵), or a great *ke*. In a great *ts'in* the rules were that the king should not have two dishes at once, nor plaster his towers and terraces; that he should discontinue his archery feasts, and leave the road in the archery ground uncared for; that different offices should be maintained, but nothing done in them; and that the Spirits should be prayed to, but no sacrifices offered.”

According to the rules of government, duke S'ang should have been prepared for such a season with the accumulations of eight years' superabundance; but it is assumed to have come on the State without any such provision for it.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative:—“The marquis of Tsin had appointed a favourite, called Ch'ing Ch'ing, to be assistant-commander of the third army. When Kung-

sun Hwuy, the messenger of Ch'ing, was at Tsin on a friendly mission, Ch'ing Ch'ing, asked him, saying, “I venture to inquire what is the meaning of descending the steps [to meet a guest]?” Tsze-yu (Hwuy) was not able to reply; but on his return he told Jen-ming of the circumstance. Jen-ming said, “He is going to die, or he is going to become a fugitive. Men of high rank know to be apprehensive; being apprehensive, they think of showing humility; and so there are those steps. They are simply emblematic of condescending to others; what is there to be asked about them? To desire to descend, when one has ascended high, is the part of a wise man; Ch'ing Ch'ing is not capable of it. Is he to be banished for something? Or if not, is he out of his mind with some perplexity, and feeling the sorrow of approaching death?”]

### Twenty-fifth year.

二十五年春，齊崔杼帥師伐我北  
 鄙。夏五月乙亥，齊崔杼弑其君光。  
 公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、莒子、  
 邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子于夷儀。  
 六月壬子，鄭公孫舍之帥師入陳。  
 秋八月己巳，諸侯同盟于重丘。  
 公至自會。衛侯入于夷儀。  
 楚屈建帥師滅舒鳩。  
 冬，鄭公孫夏帥師伐陳。  
 十有二月，吳子遏伐楚，門于巢，卒。

弑其君。崔子殺之。其弟嗣書而死者二人。其弟又書。乃舍之。南史氏聞大史盡死。執簡以往。聞既書矣。乃還。問丘嬰以帷縛其妻而載之。與申鮮虞乘而出。鮮虞推而下之。曰：「君昏不能匡。危不能救。死不能死。而知匿其暱。其誰納之行及弇中。將舍嬰曰：『崔慶其追我。』鮮虞曰：『一與一誰能懼我。』遂舍枕轡而寢。食馬而食。駕而行。出弇中。謂嬰曰：『速驅之。』崔慶之衆不可當也。遂來奔。崔氏側莊公於北郭。丁亥葬諸士孫之里。四妻不蹕。下車七乘。不以兵甲。

晉侯濟自泮。會于夷儀。伐齊。以報朝歌之役。齊人以莊公說。使隰鉏請成。慶封如師。男女以班。賂晉侯以宗器樂器。自六正五吏三十帥三軍之大夫百官之正長師旅及處守者皆有賂。晉侯許之。使叔向告於諸侯。公使子服惠伯對曰：「君舍有罪。以靖小國。君之惠也。寡君聞命矣。」

○晉侯使魏舒宛沒逆衛侯。將使衛與之夷儀。崔子止其帑以求五鹿。

初陳侯會楚子伐鄭。當陳隧者井埋木刊。鄭人怨之。六月鄭子展子產帥車七百乘伐陳。宵突陳城。遂入之。陳侯扶其犬子偃師奔墓。遇司馬桓子曰：「載余。」曰：「將巡城。遇賈獲載其母妻下之。而授公車。」公曰：「舍而母辭曰：『不祥與其妻扶其母以奔墓。亦免。』子展命師無入公宮。與子產親御諸門。陳侯使司馬桓子賂以宗器。陳侯免擁社使其衆男女別而壘。以待於朝。子展執紼而見。再拜稽首承飲而進獻。子美入數俘而出。祝祓社司徒致民司馬致節。司空致地。乃還。

秋七月己巳同盟于重丘。齊成故也。

○趙文子爲政。令薄諸侯之幣。而重其禮。穆叔見之。謂穆叔曰：「自今以往。兵其少弭矣。」齊崔慶新得政。將求善於諸侯。武也知楚令尹若敬行其禮。道之以文辭。以靖諸侯。兵可以弭。衛獻公入于夷儀。

左傳曰：二十五年春。齊崔杼帥師伐我北鄙。以報孝伯之師也。公患之。使告於晉。孟公綽曰：「崔子將有大志。不在病我。必速歸。何患焉。其來也不寇。使民不嚴。異於他日。齊師徒歸。」

齊棠公之妻東郭偃之姊也。東郭偃臣崔武子。棠公死。偃御武子以弔焉。見棠姜而美之。使偃取之。偃曰：「男女辨姓。今君出自丁。臣出自桓。不可。」武子筮之。遇困之大過。史皆曰吉。示陳文子。文子曰：「夫從風風隕。妻不可娶也。且其繇曰：『困于石。據于蒺藜。入于其宮。不見其妻。凶。』困于石。往不濟也。據于蒺藜。所恃傷也。入于其宮。不見其妻。凶。無所歸也。」崔子曰：「幣也何害。先夫當之矣。」遂取之。莊公通焉。驟如崔氏。以崔子之冠賜人。侍者曰：「不可。」公曰：「不爲崔子。其無冠乎。」崔子因是。又以其閒伐晉也。曰：「晉必將報。欲弑公以說於晉。而不獲間。公鞭侍人賈舉。而又近之。乃爲崔子閒公。夏五月莒爲且于之役故。莒子朝於齊。甲戌饗諸北郭。崔子稱疾不視事。乙亥公問崔子。遂從姜氏姜入於室。與崔子自側戶出。公拊楹而歌。侍人賈舉止衆從者而入閉門。甲與公登臺而請弗許。請盟弗許。請自刃於廟弗許。皆曰：「君之臣杼疾病。不能聽命。近於公宮。陪臣干掇有淫者。不知二命。公踰牆又射之中股。反隊。遂弑之。賈舉州綽邴師公孫敖封具鐸父。襄伊。偃堙皆死。祝佗父祭於高唐。至復命。不說弁而死於崔氏。申蒯侍漁者。退謂其宰曰：『爾以帑免。我將死。』其宰曰：『免。是反子之義也。與之皆死。』崔氏殺驪蔑於平陰。晏子立於崔氏之門外。其人曰：『死乎。』曰：『獨吾君也乎哉。吾死也。』曰：『行乎。』曰：『吾罪也乎哉。吾亡也。』曰：『歸乎。曰：『君死安歸。』曰：『君民者。豈以陵民。社稷是主。臣君者。豈爲其口實。社稷是養。故君爲社稷死。則死之。爲社稷亡。則亡之。若爲己死。而爲己亡。非其私暱。誰敢任之。』且人有君而弑之。吾焉得死之。而焉得亡之。將庸何歸。』門啟而入。枕尸股而哭。興三踊而出。人謂崔子必殺之。崔子曰：「民之望也。舍之得民。盧蒲癸奔晉。王何奔莒。叔孫宣伯之在齊也。叔孫還納其女於靈公。嬖生景公。丁丑崔杼立而相之。慶封爲左相。盟國人於大宮。曰：『所不與崔慶者。晏子仰天歎曰：『嬰所不唯忠於君利社稷者。是與。有如上帝。』乃歆。辛巳公與大夫及莒子盟。大史書曰：『崔杼』

楚遂子馮卒，屈建爲令尹，屈蕩爲莫敖。舒鳩人卒叛楚，令尹子木伐之，及離城，吳人救之，子木遽以右師先，子彊、息桓、子捷、子駢、子孟、帥左師以退。吳人居其間七日，子彊曰：「久將墊隘，隘乃禽也。」不如速戰。請以私卒誘之，簡師，陳以待我。我克則進，奔則亦視之，乃可以免。不然，必爲吳禽。從之。五人以其私卒先擊吳師，吳師奔，登山以望。見楚師不繼，復逐之。傳諸其軍，簡師會之。吳師大敗，遂圍舒鳩。舒鳩潰，八月，楚滅舒鳩。鄭子產獻捷於晉，戎服將事。晉人問陳之罪，對曰：「昔虞閼父爲周陶正，以服事我先王。我先王賴其利器用也，與其神明之後也。庸以元女大姬配胡公，而封諸陳，以備三恪。則我周之自出，至於今是賴。桓公之亂，蔡人欲立其出，我先君莊公奉五父而立之。蔡人殺之，我又與蔡人奉戴厲公。至於莊宣，皆我之自立。夏氏之亂，成公播蕩，又我之自入。君所知也。今陳忘周之大德，蔑我大惠，棄我姻親，介恃楚衆，蕩陵我敝邑，不可億逞。我是以有往年之告，未獲成命，則有我東門之役。當陳隧者，并堙木刊，敝邑大懼，不競，而恥大姬。天誘其衷，啟敝邑心，陳知其罪，授手於我，用敢獻功。」晉人曰：「何故侵小？」對曰：「先王之命，唯罪所在，各致其辟。且昔天子之地一圻，列國一同，自是以衰。今大國多數圻矣。若無侵小，何以至焉？」晉人曰：「何故戎服？」對曰：「我先君武莊，爲平桓卿士，城濮之役，文公布命曰：『各復舊職。』命我文公戎服輔王，以授楚捷，不敢廢王命故也。」士莊伯不能詰，復於趙文子。文子曰：「其辭順，犯順不祥，乃受之。」冬，十月，子展相鄭伯如晉，拜陳之功。子西復伐陳，陳及鄭平。仲尼曰：「志有之，言以足志，文以足言，不言誰知其志？言之無文，行而不遠，晉爲伯。」鄭入陳，非文辭不爲功，慎辭哉。

楚蒍掩爲司馬，子木使庀賦，數甲兵。甲午，蒍掩書土田，度山林，鳩藪澤，辨京陵，表淳鹵，數疆潦，規偃豬，町原防牧，隰臯井衍沃，量入修賦，賦車籍馬，賦車兵徒卒甲楯之數，旣成，以授子木禮也。

十二月，吳子諸樊伐楚，以報舟師之役。門于巢，巢牛臣曰：「吳王勇而輕，若啟之，將親門，我獲射之，必殪，是君也死，疆其少安。」從之。吳子門焉。牛臣隱於短牆，以射之，卒。

楚子以滅舒鳩賞子木，辭曰：「先大夫蒍子之功也，以與蒍掩。」

晉程鄭卒，子產始知然明，問爲政焉。對曰：「視民如子，見不仁者誅之，如鷹鷂之逐鳥雀也。子產喜，以語子犬叔，且曰：『他日吾見蔑之面而已。』今吾見其心矣。」子犬叔問政於子產，子產曰：「政如農功，日夜思之，思其始而成其終，朝夕而行之，行無越思，如農之有畔，其過鮮矣。」

衛獻公自夷儀，使與甯喜言，甯喜許之。犬叔文子聞之曰：「烏乎？詩所謂我躬不說，皇恤我後者，甯子可謂不恤其後矣。將可乎哉？殆必不可。」君子之行，思其終也，思其復也。書曰：「慎始而敬終，終以不困。」詩曰：「夙夜匪解，以事一人。」今甯子視君不如奕棋，其何以免乎？奕者舉棋不定，不勝其耦，而況置君而弗定乎？必不免矣。九世之卿族，一舉而滅之，可哀也哉。」

會于夷儀之歲，齊人城郕。其五月，秦晉爲成，晉韓起如秦，蒍盟。秦伯車如晉，蒍盟，成而不結。

- XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e led a force and attacked our northern borders.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-hae, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e murdered his ruler Kwang.
- 3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in E-e.
- 4 In the sixth month, on Jin-tsze, Kung-sun Shay-che of Ch'ing led a force, and entered [the capital of] Ch'in.
- 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ke-sze, the States made a covenant together in Ch'ung-k'ew.
- 6 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 7 The marquis of Wei entered into E-e.
- 8 K'eh K'een of Ts'oo led a force, and extinguished Shoo-k'ew.
- 9 In winter, Kung-sun H'ea of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Ch'in.
- 10 In the twelfth month, Goh, viscount of Woo, invaded Ts'oo, and died in an attack on one of the gates of Ch'aou.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This was in retaliation for the expedition of M'ang H'eaou-pih (See par. 2 of last year). The duke was distressed about it, and [was going to] send information to Tsin, when M'ang Kung-ch'oh said to him, "Ts'uy-tsze has a greater object in his mind. He is not set on troubling us; he is

sure to return back soon:—why need you be distressed? His coming this time is without injuring us, and he does not treat the people with severity. It is very different from other invasions." The army of Ts'e returned empty-handed.'

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—“The wife of the commandant of T'ang of Ts'e was an elder sister of Tung-kwoh Yen, who was a minister of Ts'uy Woo-tsze. When the commandant died, Yen drove Woo-tsze [to his house] to offer his condolences. Woo-tsze then saw T'ang K'ang (The wife of the commandant), and, admiring her beauty, wished Yen to give her to him for his wife. Yen said, “Husband and wife should be of different surnames. You are descended from [duke] T'ing, and I from [duke] Hwan; the thing cannot be.” Woo-tsze consulted the milfoil about it, and got the diagram K'wān (☵; 困), which then became the diagram

Ta-kwo (☵; 大過); which the diviners all said was fortunate. He showed it to Ch'in Wān-tsze, but he said, “The [symbol for] a man [in K'wān] is displaced by that for wind [in Ta-kwo]. Wind overthrows things. The woman ought not to be married. And moreover, [upon K'wān] it is said, ‘Distressed by rocks; holding to brambles; he enters his palace and does not see his wife. It is evil (see the Yih, on the third line of K'wān) ‘Distressed by rocks;’—in vain does one attempt to go forward. ‘Holding by brambles;’—that in which trust is placed wounds. ‘He enters his palace and does not see his wife; it is evil;’—there is nowhere to turn to.” Ts'uy-tsze replied, “She is a widow;—what does all this matter? Her former husband bore the brunt of it.” So he married her. Afterwards duke Chwang had an intrigue with her, and constantly went to Ts'uy's house. [On one occasion] he took Ts'uy's hat and gave it to another person; and when his attendants said that he should not do so, he remarked, “Although he be not Ts'uy-tsze, should he therefore be without a hat?”

“Ts'uy-tsze [was enraged] by these things; and because the duke took occasion [of its troubles] to invade T'sin, thinking that T'sin would be sure to retaliate, he wished to murder the duke in order to please that State. He did not, however, find an opportunity, till the duke had whipt one of his attendants, called K'ea Keu, whom notwithstanding he kept near him. This man then watched the duke for Ts'uy-tsze.

“In summer, in the 5th month, on account of the affair at T'seu-yu (See on xxiii. 13) the viscount of Keu came to the court of Ts'e, and on K'ea-sen the duke entertained him in the north suburbs. Ts'uy-tsze gave out that he was ill, and did not go to see the affair. Next day the duke went to ask for him, and went after the lady K'ang, who entered into a chamber, and passed out of it by a side door along with Ts'uy-tsze, while the duke patted a pillar and sang. [In the meantime], his attendant K'ea Keu stopped all the duke's followers, entered [the house himself], and shut the door. Men-at-arms made their appearance, and the duke, ascending a tower, begged them to let him off. They would not do so, and he then begged to make a covenant; but neither would they agree to this. He begged [finally] to be allowed to kill himself in the ancestral temple; but they again declined, all saying, “Your lordship's servant Ch'oo is very ill, and cannot receive your commands. And this is near the duke's palace. We are watchmen, [and have to take] an adulterer. We can know nothing of two commands.” The duke then attempted to get over a wall, when

they shot and wounded him in the thigh; and as he fell backwards, they murdered him. K'ea Keu, Chow Ch'oh, Ping Sze, Kung-sun Gaou, Fung Keu, Toh Foo, S'ang E, and Leu Yin, all died at the same time.

“The priest T'o-foo had been sacrificing in Kaou-t'ang, and when he came to report the execution of his commission, he was killed at Ts'uy's house, before he could take off his cap. Shin Kwae should have been superintending the fishermen, but he retired [from that duty], and said to his steward, “You can make your escape with your family. I will die [here].” The steward replied, “If I made my escape, I should be acting contrary to your righteous course.” So he went with him, and they both died. Ts'uy-tsze also put to death Tsung M'eh in P'ing-yin.

“Gan-tsze stood outside the gate of Ts'uy's house. His people said to him, “Will you die?” “Was he my ruler only?” replied he. “Why should I die?” “Will you leave then?” “Is his death my crime? Why should I flee?” “Will you [now] go back to your house?” “Our ruler is dead. Where should I go back to? Is it the business of the ruler of the people to merely be above them? The altars of the State should be his chief care. Is it the business of the minister of a ruler merely to be concerned about his support? The nourishment of the altars should be his object. Therefore when a ruler dies or goes into exile for the altars, the minister should die or go into exile with him. If he die or go into exile for his seeking his own ends, who, excepting his private associates, would presume to bear the consequences with him? Moreover, when another man murders his ruler, how can I die with him? how can I go into exile with him? of what use would it be for me to return home?” When the gate was opened, he went into the house, pillowed the corpse upon his thigh, and wept. He then rose, gave three leaps up, and went out. People advised Ts'uy-tsze to put him to death, but he said, “The people look up to him. Let him alone, and it will conciliate them.”

“Loo P'oo-kwei fled to T'sin, and Wang Ho fled to Keu. After Shuh-sun S'enen-pih (Shuh-sun K'eaou-joo; see VIII. xvi. 13) took up his residence in Ts'e, Shuh-sun S'enen introduced his daughter to duke Ling, with whom she became a favourite, and she bore him a son, [who now became] duke King. On Ting-ch'ow, Ts'uy Ch'oo raised him to the State, and became his chief minister, K'ing Fung being minister of the Left. They made a covenant with the people of the State in the temple of T'ne-kung, which began, “If we do not adhere to Ts'uy and K'ing,” when Gan-tsze looking up to heaven, sighed and broke in with, “If I do not adhere to those who are faithful to the ruler and seek the good of the altars, may God witness it!” With this he smeared his lips with the blood.

“On Sin-sze, the [new] duke and the great officers made a covenant with the viscount of Keu.

“The grand historiographer wrote [in his tablets]—“Ts'uy Ch'oo murdered his ruler;”—for which Ts'uy-tsze put him to death. Two of his brothers did the same after him, and were also put to death. A third wrote the same, and was left alone. The historiographer in the south, hearing that the grand historiographer and his bro-

thers had died in this way, took his tablets and set out [for the court]; but learning on his way that the record was made, he returned.

“Leu-k'ew Ying wrapped up his wife in a curtain, put her into a carriage, and then got into it with Shin S'een-yu, and quitted the capital. S'een-yu pushed the lady out of the carriage, saying [to Ying], “You could not correct the ruler in his blindness, nor save him in his peril, nor die with him in his death, and yet you know how to conceal your wife here:—who will receive you?” Coming to a narrow pass, they thought of resting in it, but Ying said, “Ts'uy and K'ing will be pursuing us!” The other replied, “Here it will be one to one. Who can frighten us?” They rested accordingly, and [Shin] slept with his head upon the reins. [In the morning], he fed their horses and then ate, himself joked their carriage, and issued from the pass. When they had done so, he said to Ying, “Now urge on the horses to their speed. The multitudes of Ts'uy and K'ing could not [here] be withstood.” In this way they came flying to Loo.

“Ts'uy-tsze placed the coffin of duke Chwang in the northern suburbs, and on T'ing-hae he buried it in the village of Sze-sun. There were [only] 4 plumes to the carriage; travellers were not warned out of the way; and there were [but] seven inferior carriages in the procession, without any men at arms.

The K'ang-he editors speak strongly against the conduct of Gan Ying, as described in the above Chuen, and condemn his principle that, when a ruler dies in pursuing his own selfish ends, only his parasites can be expected to die with him. They would have a blind, unreasoning loyalty override every other consideration of duty.

Par. 3. E-e;—see the 8th par. of last year. The object of this meeting was to arrange for the invasion of Ts'e; but it was prevented in the manner described in the Chuen:—“The marquis of T'sin crossed the P'wan, and assembled the States at E-e, [intending] to invade Ts'e, in retaliation for the campaign of Chaou-ko (See on xxiii. 8). The people of Ts'e, however, wished to please T'sin by [the death of] duke Chwang, and sent Seih Ts'oo to beg for peace. King Fung [also] went to the army [of T'sin], with rows of men and women, and bribed the marquis with vessels from the ancestral temple and instruments of music. The six commanders [of T'sin's armies], with the five [civil] officers and the thirty leaders, the great officers of the three armies, the superintendents of the different departments, and the multitude of officers, and those who had remained at home in charge of the State, all received gifts. The marquis granted peace, and sent Shuh-h'ang to inform the princes that he had done so. The duke [of Loo] sent Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih to reply, “That your lordship thus pardons the guilty, in order to give rest to our small States, is your kindness. I have heard your command.”

[The Chuen appends here:—“The marquis of T'sin sent Wei Shoo and Yuen Muh to meet the marquis of Wei (Who was a refugee in Ts'e; see xiv. 4), intending to make Wei give him E-e. Ts'uy-tsze, however, detained the marquis's family, as a means of asking for Woo-luh [from Wei].”]

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—“Before this, the marquis of Ch'in had joined the viscount of Ts'oo in invading Ch'ing (Par. 9 of last year), when the army of Ch'in had closed up the wells and cut down the trees along the ways by which they passed. The people of Ch'ing resented this conduct; and [now], in the 6th month, Tsze-chen and Tsze-ch'an invaded Ch'in with a force of 700 chariots, dug through the wall [of the capital] in the night time, and entered it. The marquis of Ch'in fled with his eldest son, Yen-sze, to the tombs. Meeting with the minister of War, Hwan-tsze [on the way], he asked him to take them in his carriage, but he replied that he was inspecting the wall. [By-and-by], they met with K'ea Hwoh, who was in a carriage with his mother and wife, but he put them down, and gave the carriage to the marquis. “You may leave your mother,” said the marquis; but Hwoh declined doing so, saying that it would not be auspicious. He and his wife then supported his mother, fled to the tombs, and made their escape.

“Tsze-chen ordered the army not to enter the palace, and took post himself with Tsze-ch'an to keep the gate of it. The marquis made the minister of War, Hwan-tsze, present to them the vessels of the ancestral temple, while he himself, in mourning, and carrying the tablet from the altar of the land, caused a multitude of the men and women in separate ranks, and bound, to wait with him in the court [for their victors]. Tsze-chen then was introduced to him, carrying a cord in his hand, bowed to him twice with his head to the ground, and went forward, holding a cup of spirits, which he presented to him. Tsze-mei (Tsze-ch'an) entered, declared the number of his prisoners, and went out. [The two commanders] then made the [principal] priest sprinkle the altar of the earth, restored to the minister of Instruction [his lists of] the people, to the minister of War his seal, and to the minister of Works [his charts of] the ground; and returned to Ch'ing.”

K'ao K'ang well remarks, that of all the ‘entrances’ into cities or States mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ew, there is none where the hostilities were conducted so courteously as by Tsze-chen and Tsze-ch'an.

Par. 5. Too Yu observes that there must be an error in the month here, for the day 己巳 must have been the 12th of the 7th month. The covenanting States must be those in par. 3. Ch'ung-k'ew was in Ts'e, most probably in the dis. of L'eaou-shing (聊城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. Tso-she says the covenant was made with reference to the peace which had been granted to Ts'e.

[The Chuen appends here:—“Chaou Wan-tsze was [now] chief minister [of T'sin], and gave orders to make the offerings required from the States lighter, and to behave to them with greater courtesy. Muh-shuh had an interview with him, when he said, “Hostile movements may henceforth be had recourse to somewhat less.” Ts'uy and K'ing of Ts'e have come [but] recently into the government of that State, and will wish to cultivate good relations with the rest of the States. I (Woo—武—was Chaou's



name) know the chief minister of Ts'oo. If I behave with respectful courtesy to him, and set him the example of polite communications, in order to give repose to the States, hostile measures may be obviated."]

Par. 7. This was duke Hsien (獻公衍), who had been driven from Wei in Ssang's 14th year. E-e had been the capital of Hing, and on the extinction of that State by Wei, in the 25th year of duke He, it had of course belonged to it. The purpose of the marquises of Tsin, mentioned in the Chuen appended to par. 3, was now carried out. The Ch'ün Ts'ew at this point recognizes "two marquises" of Wei, the one in par. 5 being P'eaou (鄆), who had been raised to the State on the expulsion of K'an.

Par. 8. Shoo-k'ew;—see on VII. viii. 7. It was the last of the Shoo States, which Ts'oo allowed to maintain a half sort of independence. The extinction of it here is the sequel of the narrative in the Chuen on par. 9 of last year.—Wei Tsze-p'ing of Ts'oo having died, K'ëuh K'een became chief minister [in his room], with K'ëuh Tang as the Moh-gaou. The people of Shoo-k'ew in the end revolted, and the chief minister of Ts'oo, Tsze-muh [K'ëuh K'een], proceeded to attack it. When he got to Le-shing, a body of men from Woo came to its assistance. Tsze-muh made a hurried march with the army of the right, and got before the rest of it to the city; but Tsze-k'ang, Seih Hwan, Tsze-ts'eh, Tsze-ping, and Tsze-yu, withdrew with the army of the left. The men of Woo thus occupied a position between the two bodies for seven days. Tsze-k'ang said [to Tsze-muh], "Ere long it will be raining, and we shall be reduced to such a straitness of ground, that we must be made prisoners. Our best plan is to fight soon. Allow us with our troops here to make a feint, while you have your army drawn up in order to wait for the result. If we are successful, you will advance. If we have to fly, you will still see what is best to be done. In this way we can escape; otherwise, we are sure to fall prisoners to Woo." Tsze-muh agreed to the plan, and the five men with their soldiers made an onset upon the troops of Woo, which fled. Going up a hill to look, however, and seeing that the [main] army of Ts'oo was not supporting their pursuers, they turned and drove those before them, till they approached their army. Then the fugitives were joined by the rest of the army that had been prepared for the occasion, and the troops of Woo received a great defeat. The siege of Shoo-k'ew was then prosecuted, the people dispersed, and in the 8th month, Ts'oo extinguished the State."

Par. 9. For 夏 Kung-yang has 蕭. The Chuen says:—"Tsze-ch'an of Ch'ing [went] to Tsin to report the victory [over Ch'in], and wore for the occasion his military attire. An officer (晉人; see below) asked what had been the offence of Ch'in, when Tsze-ch'an replied, "In former times, Oh-foo of Yu was chief potter to Chow, and with his art did service to our first king [Woo], who, in consequence of the profit which he derived from him in the supply of vessels, and his being the descendant of the spiritual and intelligent [Shun], gave his own eldest daughter, T'ae-ke, in marriage to [his son], duke

Hoo, and invested him with Ch'in, thus completing the number of the 'three honoured States.' Thus the princes of Ch'in originated with our Chow, and to the present time their dependence has been on it. In the troubles which occurred [after the death of] duke Hwan (see on II. v. 1, 6; vi. 4), the people of Ts'ae wanted to raise to the State a prince of Ch'in whose mother was a daughter of Ts'ae, when our ruler duke Chwang placed Woo-foo in the marquisate. The people of Ts'ae killed him, and then we and they appointed and maintained duke Le. The succeeding dukes, Chwang and S'eu, both owed their dignity to us. In the troubles occasioned by the Hsü family (see VII. x. 8; i. 5), duke Ch'ing was obliged to flee, but he owed his entrance [again] into his State to us, as [your] ruler knows."

"Now Ch'in has forgotten its great obligations to Chow, and makes no account of our great kindness to it, and has cast away [all consideration of] the affinity between us. Relying on the multitudes of Ts'oo, it has behaved with a cruel insolence to our State, with a determination which could not have been anticipated. On this account we made last year the announcement to you on the subject (See the Chuen after par. 1); and before we had received your explicit commands, [Ch'in and Ts'oo had invaded us, and] attacked our east gate. The troops of Ch'in stopped up the wells and cut down the trees along the roads by which they marched. We were greatly afraid in the consciousness that we were not strong, and were ashamed of the disgrace thus done to T'ae-ke. But Heaven moved our breasts and put it into our hearts; and Ch'in was made to acknowledge its offence, and surrender itself to us. And now we presume to report to you our success."

"The officer of Tsin [further] asked why they encroached upon a small State. Tsze-ch'an replied, "It was the command of the former kings, that, wherever there was guilt, it should in every case be punished. And moreover, the domain of the son of Heaven was fixed at 1000 *le* square, and that of the States at 100 *le*, and less according to a scale. But your great State now contains several times the amount of the king's domain. If you did not encroach upon small States, how have you reached this extent of territory?"

"The officer asked once more "Why do you appear in martial attire?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "Our former rulers, Woo and Chwang, were high ministers of the kings P'ing and Hwan. After the battle of Shing-puh (In He's 28th year), [your] duke Wän issued his orders that princes should all resume their old offices, and [specially] charged our duke Wän in martial attire to help the king; and therein he reported [to the court] the victory over Ts'oo. [I am now in that attire], because I do not dare to neglect the king's command." Sze Chwang-pih was not able to ask any more questions, and reported what had passed to Chaou Wän-tsze, who said, "His speeches are reasonable. To go against them would be inauspicious;" and accordingly he received Tsze-ch'an."

"In winter, in the 10th month, Tsze-chen attended the earl of Ch'ing to Tsin to acknowledge its acceptance of his service against Ch'in. Tsze-se again invaded Ch'in, when the two States made peace."

"Chung-ne said, "An ancient book says, 'Words are to give adequate expression to one's ideas; and composition, to give adequate power to the words.' Without words, who would know one's thoughts; without elegant composition of the words, they will not go far. Tsin was the leading State, and but for Tsze-ch'an's well-composed speeches would not have acknowledged Ch'ing's entrance into Ch'in as good service. Tsze-ch'an took great pains with his speeches."

The notice in the text of the invasion of Ch'in, after what is told in par. 4, is strange, and Maou ventures to say that this was not properly an invasion, but an expedition to make a covenant of peace.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about affairs in Ts'oo:—"Wei Yen was made [grand] marshal of Ts'oo, and Tsze-muh (The chief minister) commissioned him to regulate the levies [of the State], and make a schedule of its weapons and buff-coats. On K'eah-woo, Wei Yen set about describing the [different] lands; measuring the forests; defining the meres; marking out the higher lands and the downs; distinguishing the poor and salt tracts; enumerating the boundaries of flooded districts; raising small banks on the plains between dykes; assigning the wet low grounds for pasturage; dividing the wide rich plains into *tsings* (see Mencius, III. i. ch. III. 13); determining the levies according to the in-come of each; assigning the [contribution of] carriages and of horses; and of footmen; with the number of buff-coats and shields. When he had completed his task, he delivered the result to Tsze-muh. All this was proper."]

Par. 10. For 遏 Kung and Kuh have 謁. Ch'au,—see VI. xii. 4. The Chuen says:—"Choo-fan (The viscount of Woo,) now invaded Ts'oo in return for its naval expedition (xxiv. 3), and attacked the gate of Ch'au. N'ew Shin of that place said, "The king of Woo is daring and reckless. If we open the gate, he will attack it himself, and I shall have an opportunity to shoot him dead. Let him once die, and our boundaries will have a little rest." His advice was taken. The viscount attacked the gate, and N'ew Shin shot him from behind a low wall, so that he died."

This is the first occurrence in the text of 門 as a verb signifying to attack a gate (人攻門曰門. The character has often occurred in the Chuen in this sense.

[We have now four narratives in the Chuen:—1st. 'The viscount of Ts'oo wanted to reward Tsze-muh on account of his extinction of Shoo-k'ew, but that minister refused the reward, saying, "It was all the merit of our late great officer Wei-tsze. The reward was given [accordingly] to Wei Yen.'

2d. 'Ch'ing Ch'ing of Tsin died, and Tsze-ch'an then learned for the first time [what] Jen-ming [had said about him] (See the Chuen

at the end of last year). He therefore now consulted him about the practice of government, and Jen-ming replied, "The people should be looked on as one's children; and when a bad man is seen, he should be taken off as a hawk pursues a sparrow." Tsze-ch'an, full of joy, repeated his words to Tsze-t'ae-shuh, saying, "Formerly I had seen only M'eh's (Jen-ming's name) face, but now I see his heart." T'ae-shuh then asked Tsze-ch'an about government, and got the reply, "Government is like the work of husbandry. You must think of it day and night, thinking of what is to be done first, and how the end is to be accomplished. Then labour at it morning and evening; but in what you do, do not go beyond what you have thought over;—just as the husbandmen keep within their dividing banks. In this way you will commit few errors."

3d. 'Duke Hsien of Wei opened a communication from E-e with Ning He, who agreed to his proposals (See the Chuen at the end of the 20th year). When T'ae-shuh Wän-tsze heard of it, he said, "Ah! as it is said in the ode (She, II. v. ode III. 8),

'My person is rejected;  
Of what use is it to think of subsequent things?'

Ning-tsze may be said not to think of the future. Is what he is contemplating to be done? It cannot be done. The superior man, when he does anything, thinks of what will be the end of it, and whether it can be repeated. It is said in the Shoo, (V. xvii. 6), 'Be careful of the beginning and reverent of the end; then in the end you will have no distress.' The ode (She, III. iii. ode VI. 4) says,

'Never idle, day nor night,  
In the service of the one man.'

Ning-tsze is now dealing with his ruler not so carefully as if he were playing at chess. How is it possible for him to escape disaster? If a chess-player lifts his man without a definite object, he will not conquer his opponent; how much more must this be the case when one would put a ruler down without a definite object! He is sure not to escape ruin. Alas that by one movement a family whose Heads have been ministers for 9 generations should be extinguished!"

4th. 'In the year of the meeting at E-e, (This belongs to the 24th year), the people of Ts'e walled K'eah (for the king). In the 5th month, Ts'in and Tsin made a peace, Han-k'e of Tsin going to Ts'in to make a covenant, and Pih-keu of Ts'in going to Tsin to make one. The peace thus concluded, however, was not firmly knit.]

Twenty-sixth year.

二十有六年春王二月辛卯衛甯  
喜弑其君剽。  
衛孫林父入于戚以叛。  
甲午衛侯衎復歸于衛。  
夏晉侯使荀吳來聘。  
公會晉人。  
鄭良霄宋人曹人于澶淵。  
秋宋公殺其世子痤。  
晉人執衛甯喜。  
八月壬午許男甯卒于楚。  
冬楚子蔡侯陳侯伐鄭。  
葬許靈公。

左傳曰二十六年春秦伯之弟鍼如晉修成叔向命召行人子員行人子朱曰朱也當御三云叔向不應子朱怒曰班爵同何以黜朱於朝撫劍從之叔向曰秦晉不和久矣今日之事幸而集晉國賴之不集三軍暴骨子員道二國之言無私子常易之姦以事君者吾所能御也拂衣從之師曠曰公室懼卑臣不心競而力爭不務德而爭善私欲已侈能無卑乎衛獻公使子鮮為復辭敬姬強命之對曰君無信臣懼不免敬姬曰雖然以吾故也許諾初獻公使與甯喜言甯喜曰必子鮮在不然必敗故公使子鮮子鮮不獲命於敬姬以公命與甯喜言曰苟反政由甯氏祭則寡人甯喜告蘧伯玉伯玉曰緩不得聞君之出敢聞其入遂行從近關出告右宰穀右宰穀曰不可獲罪於兩君天下誰

畜之悼子曰吾受命於先人不可以貳穀曰我請使焉而觀之遂見公於夷儀反曰君淹恤在外十二年矣而無憂色亦無寬言猶夫人也若不已死無日矣悼子曰子鮮在右宰穀曰子鮮在何益多而能亡於我何為悼子曰雖然弗可以已孫文子在戚孫嘉聘於齊孫襄居守二月庚寅甯喜右宰穀伐孫氏不克伯國傷甯子出舍於郊伯國死孫氏夜哭國人召甯子甯子復攻孫氏克之辛卯殺子叔及犬子角書曰甯喜弑其君剽言罪之在甯氏也孫林父以戚如晉書曰入于戚以叛罪孫氏也臣之祿君實有之義則進否則奉身而退專祿以周旋戮也甲午衛侯入書曰復歸國納之也大夫逆於竟者執其手而與之言道逆者自車揖之逆於門者領之而已公至使讓犬叔文子曰寡人淹恤在外二三子皆使寡人朝夕聞衛國之言吾子獨不在寡人古人有言曰非所怨勿怨寡人怨矣對曰臣知罪矣臣不佞不能負羈紲以從扞牧圉臣之罪一也有出者有居者臣不能貳通外內之言以事君臣之罪二也有二罪敢忘其死乃行從近關出公使止之衛人侵戚東鄙孫氏愬於晉晉成茅氏殖綽伐茅氏殺晉成三百人孫蒯追之弗敢擊文子曰厲之不如遂從衛師敗之圍雍鉏殖綽復愬於晉鄭伯賞入陳之功三月甲寅朔享子展賜之先路三命之服先八邑賜子產大路再命之服先六邑子產辭邑曰自上以下隆殺以兩禮也臣之位位四且子展之功也臣不敢及賞禮請辭邑公固予之乃受三邑公孫揮曰子產其將知政矣讓不失禮晉人為孫氏故召諸侯將以討衛也夏中行穆子來聘召公也楚子秦人侵吳及雩婁聞吳有備而還遂侵鄭五月至於城麇鄭皇頡戍之出與楚師戰敗穿封戌囚皇頡公子圍與之爭之正於伯州犂伯州犂曰請問於囚乃立囚伯州犂曰所爭君子也其何不知土其手曰夫子

君夫人，余胡弗知。國人歸以告夫人，夫人使饋之錦與馬，先之以玉，曰：「君之妾棄使某獻，左師改命曰：『君夫人，而後再拜稽首受之。』」

鄭伯歸自晉，使子西如晉聘，辭曰：「寡君來煩執事，懼不免於戾，使夏謝不敏。」君子曰：「善事大國。」

初，楚伍參與蔡犬師子朝友，其子伍舉與聲子相善也。伍舉娶於王子牟，王子牟爲申公而亡。楚人曰：「伍舉實送之。」伍舉奔鄭，將遂奔晉，聲子將如晉，遇之於鄭郊，班荆相與食，而言復故。聲子曰：「子行也，吾必復子。」及宋向戌將平晉楚，聲子通使於晉，還如楚，令尹子木與之語，問晉故焉。且曰：「晉大夫與楚孰賢？」對曰：「晉卿不如楚，其大夫則賢，皆卿材也。如杞梓皮革，自楚往也。雖楚有材，晉實用之。」子木曰：「夫獨無族姻乎？」對曰：「雖有，而用楚材實多，歸生聞之，善爲國者，賞不僭而刑不濫，賞僭則懼及淫人，刑濫則懼及善人。若不幸而過，寧僭無濫，與其失善，寧其利淫，無善人，則國從之。」詩曰：「人之云亡，邦國殄瘁。」無善人之謂也。故夏書曰：「與其殺不辜，寧失不經，懼失善也。」商頌有之曰：「不僭不濫，不敢怠皇。」命于下國，封建厥福。此湯所以獲天福也。古之治民者，勸賞而畏刑，恤民不倦，賞以春夏，刑以秋冬，是以將賞爲之加膳，加膳則飫賜，此以知其勸賞也。將刑爲之不舉，不舉則微樂，此以知其畏刑也。夙興夜寐，朝夕臨政，此以知其恤民也。三者禮之大節也。有禮無敗，今楚多淫刑，其大夫逃死於四方，而爲之謀主，以害楚國，不可救療，所謂不能也。子儀之亂，析公奔晉，晉人寘諸戎車之殿，以爲謀主，繞角之役，晉將遁矣。析公曰：「楚師輕窺，易震蕩也。若多鼓鉤聲，以夜軍之，楚師必遁。」晉人從之。楚師宵潰，晉遂侵蔡，襲沈，獲其君，敗申息之師於桑隧，獲申麗而還。鄭於是不敢南面。楚失華夏，則析公之爲也。雍子之父兄，譖雍子君與大夫不善是也。雍子奔晉，晉人與之鄙，以爲謀主。彭城之役，晉楚遇於靡角之谷，晉將遁矣。雍子發命於軍曰：「歸老幼，反孤疾。」二人役歸，一人簡兵，蒐乘，秣馬，蓐食，師陳，焚次，明日將戰，行歸者而逸楚囚。楚師宵潰，晉降彭城而歸諸宋，以魚石歸。楚失東夷，子辛死之，則雍子之爲也。子反與子靈爭夏姬，而雍害

爲王子圍，寡君之貴介弟也。下其手曰：「此子爲穿封戌，方城外之縣尹也，誰獲子？」囚曰：「頡遇王子弱焉。」戌怒，抽戈逐王子圍，弗及。楚人以皇頡歸，印董父與皇頡戍城麇，楚人囚之，以獻於秦。鄭人取貨於印氏，以請之。子大叔爲令正，以爲請。子產曰：「不獲受楚之功，而取貨於鄭，不可謂國。秦不其然？若曰拜君之勤，鄭國微君之惠，楚師其猶在敝邑之城下，其可弗從？遂行。」秦人不子，更幣從子產，而後獲之。

六月，公會晉趙武、宋向戌、鄭良霄、曹人于澶淵，以討衛。疆戚田，取衛西鄙懿氏六十，以與孫氏。趙武不書，尊公也。向戌不書，後也。鄭先宋，不失所也。於是衛侯會之，晉人執甯喜，北宮遺，使汝齊以先歸。衛侯如晉，晉人執而囚之於士弱氏。秋七月，齊侯、鄭伯爲衛侯故如晉，晉侯兼享之。晉侯賦嘉樂，國景子相齊侯賦蓼蕭。子展相鄭伯，賦緇衣。叔向命晉侯拜二君曰：「寡君敢拜齊君之安我，先君之宗祧也，敢拜鄭君之不貳也。」國子使晏平仲私於叔向曰：「晉君宣其明德於諸侯，恤其患而補其闕，正其違而治其煩，所以爲盟主也。今爲臣執君，若之何？」叔向告趙文子，以告晉侯。晉侯言衛侯之罪，使叔向告二君。國子賦鸛之柔矣，子展賦將仲子兮，晉侯乃許歸衛侯。叔向曰：「鄭七穆，罕氏其後亡者也，子展儉而壹。」

初，宋芮司徒生女子，赤而毛，棄諸堤下，共姬之妾取以入，名之曰棄，長而美。平公入夕，共姬與之食，公見棄也，而視之尤，姬納諸御，嬖生佐，惡而婉。犬子瘳美而很，合左師畏而惡之。寺人惠牆伊戾爲犬子內師而無寵。秋，楚客聘於晉，過宋，犬子知之，請野享之。公使往，伊戾請從之。公曰：「夫不惡汝乎？」對曰：「小人之事君子也，惡之不敢遠，好之不敢近，敬以待命，敢有貳心乎？縱有共其外，莫共其內，臣請往也。」遣之。至，則欲用牲，加書徵之，而騁告公曰：「犬子將爲亂，既與楚客盟矣。」公曰：「爲我子又何求？」對曰：「欲速。」公使視之，則信有焉。問諸夫人，與左師，則皆曰：「固聞之。」公囚犬子。犬子曰：「唯佐也能免我，召而使請。」曰：「日中不來，吾知死矣。」左師聞之，晤而與之語，過期，乃縊而死。佐爲犬子，公徐聞其無罪也，乃享伊戾。左師見夫人之步馬者，問之，對曰：「君夫人氏也。」左師曰：「誰爲

其事。子靈奔晉。晉人與之邢，以爲謀主。扞禦北狄，通吳於晉。教吳叛楚，教之乘車，射御驅侵，使其子狐庸爲吳行人焉。吳於是伐巢，取駕，克棘，入州來。楚罷於奔命，至今爲患。則子靈之爲也。若敖之亂，伯賁之子賁皇奔晉，晉人與之苗，以爲謀主。鄢陵之役，楚晨壓晉軍，而陳晉將遁矣。苗賁皇曰：「楚師之良，在其中軍，王族而已。若塞井夷竈，成陳以當之，變范易行以誘之，中行二卻必克，二穆吾乃四萃於其王族，必大敗之。」晉人從之。楚師大敗，王夷師燬，子反死之。鄭叛吳興，楚失諸侯。則苗賁皇之爲也。子木曰：「是皆然矣。」聲子曰：「今又有甚於此，椒舉娶於申公子牟，子牟得戾而亡，君大夫謂椒舉，汝實遣之，懼而奔鄭，引領南望曰：『庶幾赦余。』亦弗圖也。今在晉矣。晉人將與之縣，以比叔向，彼若謀害楚國，豈不爲患？」子木懼，言諸王，益其祿爵而復之。聲子使椒鳴逆之。許靈公如楚，請伐鄭，曰：「師不興，孤不歸矣。」八月卒於楚。

楚子曰：「不伐鄭，何以求諸侯？」冬十月，楚子伐鄭，鄭人將禦之。子產曰：「晉楚將平，諸侯將和，楚王是故昧於一來，不如使逞而歸，乃易成也。」夫小人之性，鬻於勇，嗇於禍，以足其性，而求名焉者，非國家之利也。若何從之？子展說：「不禦寇，十二月乙酉，入南里，墮其城，涉於樂氏，門於師之梁，縣門發，獲九人焉。涉於汜而歸，而後葬許靈公。」

衛人歸衛姬於晉，乃釋衛侯。君子是以知平公之失政也。

晉韓宣子聘於周，王使請事，對曰：「晉士起將歸時事於宰旅，無他事矣。」王聞之曰：「韓氏其昌阜於晉乎？」辭不失舊。

齊人城邾之歲，其夏，齊烏餘以廩丘奔晉，襲衛羊角，取之。遂襲我高魚，有大雨，自其竇入，介於其庫，以登其城，克而取之。又取邑於宋，於是范宣子卒。諸侯弗能治也，及趙文子爲政，乃卒治之。文子言於晉侯曰：「晉爲盟主，諸侯或相侵也，則討而使歸其地，今烏餘之邑，皆討類也，而貪之，是無以爲盟主也。」請歸之。公曰：「諾，孰可使也？」對曰：「胥梁帶能無用師，晉侯使往。」

- XXVI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Sin-maou, Ning He of Wei murdered his ruler P'ëaou.
- 2 Sun Lin-foo of Wei entered Ts'ëih, and held it in revolt.
- 3 On K'eah-woo, K'an, marquis of Wei, returned to his dignity in that State.
- 4 In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent Sëun Woo to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 5 The duke had a meeting with an officer of Tsin, Lëang Sëaou of Ch'ing, an officer of Sung, and an officer of Ts'aou, in Shen-yuen.
- 6 In autumn, the duke of Sung put to death his heir-son Tso.
- 7 The people of Tsin seized and held prisoner Ning He of Wei.
- 8 In the eighth month, on Jin-woo, Ning, baron of Heu, died in Ts'oo.
- 9 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ts'ae, and the marquis of Ch'in, invaded Ch'ing.
- 10 There was the burial of duke Ling of Heu.

[The Chuen introduces here the narrative of an occurrence in Tsin, which probably took place in the 1st month of this year:—"This spring, K'ëen, a younger brother of the earl of Ts'in, went to Tsin, to cultivate the good relations [into which the States had recently entered] (See the 4th narrative at the end of last year). Shuh-hëang gave orders to call the internuncius Tsze-yun, when another, Tsze-choo, said, "I ought to go in [this time]." Thrice he said so, but Shuh-hëang gave him no answer, on which he became angry, and said, "His order and rank are the same as mine. Why do you [thus] degrade me in the court?" He then with his hand on his sword followed Shuh-hëang, who said to him, "Ts'in and Tsin have been in unfriendly relations for a long time. If to-day's affair be successfully concluded, it will be a matter of relief for the State. Should it not be so, the bones of our soldiers will lie on the field. Tsze-yun gives the words of the two States without any private admixture of his own, while you are continually changing them. Those who serve our ruler treacherously, I have power to keep back." And with this he shook his robe and followed him, till some parties came and separated them. Duke P'ing said, "Ts'in cannot be far from being well governed! That about which my ministers quarrel is great." The music-master Kwang said, "I am afraid the duke's House will be reduced low. The ministers do not contend together with their minds, but quarrel with their strength; they do not make virtue their object, but strive to be [thought] excellent. When such selfish desires are rampant, can it escape being reduced low?"']

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"Duke Hëen of Wei wanted to send [his brother] Tsze-sëen [to the capital] on the subject of his restoration, but Tsze-sëen declined the mission; and when [their mother]. King Sze, tried to force him to go, he replied, "The ruler will not keep his

word. I am afraid I shall not escape the consequences." She said, "It may be so, but go on my account;" and he then agreed to go. Before this, the duke had opened a communication with Ning He, who said, "Tsze-sëen must come here. If he do not do so, the attempt is sure to be defeated." It was on this account that the duke [now] sent Tsze-sëen, who, not having succeeded in getting a [contrary] command from King Sze, [went and] told Ning He the duke's message, "If I return, the government shall be in your hands, and the sacrifices in mine." Ning informed Keu Pih-yuh [of the negotiation], and that officer said, "I would not listen to the matter of the ruler's expulsion (See the Chuen on xiv. 4); dare I listen to his entrance again?" and he immediately went away, and left the State by the nearest gate upon the borders.

"Ning then told Kuh, the administrator of the Right, who said, "Do not. You [Nings] will have been criminals in the case of two rulers. Who under heaven will bear you?" But Taou-tsze (He) replied, "I received a charge [to do this] from my father (See the Chuen at the end of the 20th year), and I cannot swerve from it." Kuh then said, "Let me go [first] to E-c and see the duke." He accordingly did so, had an interview, and told He on his return, "The ruler has been long in sorrow abroad, even for 12 years; but there is no sadness in his looks, nor generosity in his speech. He is the same man that he was. If you do not abandon the enterprise, the day of your death is not distant." Taou-tsze urged, "There is Tsze-sëen." "And what will be the advantage of Tsze-sëen?" replied Kuh. "At the most he will have to go into exile;—what can he do for us?" Taou-tsze replied, "Notwithstanding that, I cannot abandon the thing."

"[At this time], Sun Wän-tsze was in Ts'ëih; and [his son] Sun Këa was on a friendly mission to Ts'ë, leaving [only] Sun Sëang in



charge [at the capital]. In the 2d month, on Käng-yin, Ning He and Kuh, administrator of the Right, made an unsuccessful attack on [the house of] the Suns, but wounded Pih-kwoh (Sëang). Ning-tsze left the city and lodged [with his family] in the suburbs (To be ready for flight), but Pih-kwoh died [of his wound]; and while they were lamenting during the night in his house, the people called for Ning He, when he and Kuh again attacked it, and took it. On Sin-maou, [He] put to death Tsze-shuh (P'ëaou; the marquis *de facto*), and his eldest son Këoh.

The words of the text, "Ning He murdered his ruler P'ëaou," show how the crime belonged to Ning He.

Par. 2. Lin-foo was already in Ts'eh, and did not need to enter it. The par. must be read as a whole, without any stop at 戚, the emphasis being on the concluding 以叛. Accord-

ing to Tso, Lin-foo now also transferred his allegiance to Tsin. He says:—"Sun Lin-foo [now] went [over] to Tsin with Ts'eh. The words of the text, "entered into Ts'eh to revolt" are condemnatory of his crime. The emolument of a minister (in this case derived from the revenues of Ts'eh) really belongs to the ruler. When righteous relations obtain between them, the minister comes forward and discharges his duties. When such relations do not obtain, he should retire with his single person. If he assert a right to his emolument in order to meet his necessities, he deserves death."

Par. 3. 復歸,—see II. xv. 5, *et al.* The Chuen here is a continuation of the two preceding:—"On Këah-woo, the marquis of Wei entered the capital. The words, "returned to his dignity," intimate that it was the State which restored him (?). Of the great officers who met him at the borders, he took the hands, and spoke with them. To those who met him [afterwards] on the road, he bowed, [saluting them with his hands]. To those [who were waiting] at the gate, he only nodded. When he arrived, he sent to reprove T'ae-shuh Wän-tsze, saying, "While I have been [thus] long in sorrow outside, one and another officer let me hear, morning and evening, what was passing in Wei. It was only you who were not for me. The ancients had a saying, 'Do not be angry where you ought not to be angry.' I have reason to be angry [with you]." Wän-tsze replied, "I know my offences. In my incompetency I was not able to carry a halter and tether, and follow you to play the part of a herd and a groom;—this is my first offence. There were you who had left the State, and there was he who was in it; I was not able to play a double part, and keep up a communication between the outside and inside of the State;—this is my second offence. With these two offences, I dare not forget my duty to die." He was then leaving the State by the nearest barrier-gate, when the duke sent and stopped him.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives:—1st. 'The people of Wei made an incursion into the eastern borders of Ts'eh, when Sun Lin-foo complained of them to Tsin, which sent a garrison to Maou-she. Chih Ch'oh (He had fled from Ts'e to Wei) attacked the place, and killed 300 of the garrison. Sun Kwac pursued him, but did not dare to attack him, on which

[his father] Wän-tsze said to him, "You are not equal to that devil." In consequence of this [Kwac] resumed the pursuit, and defeated the enemy at Yu, Yung Ts'oo capturing Chih Ch'oh. [Sun tsze] again sent a complaint to Tsin.'

2d. 'The earl of Ch'ing was rewarding the good service done in entering the capital of Ch'in, and in the third month, on Këah-yin, he feasted Tsze-chen, and gave him a first [-class] carriage, and the robes of a minister of three degrees, along with 8 cities. He [also] gave Tsze-ch'an a second [-class] carriage, and the robes of a minister of two degrees, along with 6 towns. Tsze-ch'an declined the towns, saying, "The rule is that from the highest rank downwards the amount of gifts conferred should diminish by two each rank; and my place is only the 4th. The merit, moreover, belonged to Tsze-chen. I dare not assume that I ought to be rewarded. Allow me to decline the towns." The earl, however, pressed them upon him, and he accepted three. Kung-sun Hwuy said, "Tsze-ch'an will yet administer the government [of Ch'ing]; while declining [the earl's favours], he did not fail in courtesy.'

Par. 4. Seun Woo was a son of Seun Yen, and appears as the Chung-hang Muh-tsze (中行穆子). The Chuen says:—"The people of Tsin, in consequence of [the complaints of] Sun Lin-foo, called out the States, intending to punish Wei. This summer, Chung-hang Muh-tsze came to Loo on a friendly mission, and called the duke [to the meeting].'

[We have here the following narrative with reference to Ch'ing:—"The viscount of Ts'oo, and an officer of Tsin, made an incursion into Woo, as far as Yu-low; but hearing that Woo was prepared for them, they returned, and proceeded to make an incursion into Ch'ing. In the 5th month they arrived at Shing-keun, the garrison of which was commanded by Hwang Këeh, who went out and fought with the army of Ts'oo. He was defeated, and taken prisoner, by Ch'uen-fung Seuh, with whom, however, king [Kung's] son Wei disputed the right of his possession. They referred their claims to Pih Chow-le, who said, "Let us ask the prisoner." Accordingly he set Hwang Këeh [before them], and said to him, "These disputants are both men of high degree; you must know which of them [is in the right]." Then holding up his hand, he said, "That gentleman is Wei, a son of our king [Kung], and the honourable brother of our ruler." Holding it down, he said, "This gentleman is Ch'uen-fung Seuh, director of the district outside our wall of defence. Which of them took you?" The prisoner said, "It was when I met with the king's son that I became weak." Seuh was enraged at this, took his spear, and pursued Wei, but could not overtake him. The people of Ts'oo then took Hwang Këeh back with them. They had also made prisoner Yfn Kin-foo, who had been associated with Hwang-këeh in guarding of the city, and him they presented to Tsin.

'The people of Ch'ing received property from Yin's family, with which to ask that he might be restored to them; and Tsze-t'ae-shuh who had the superintendence of the government-manifestoes, agreed to make application for them [to Tsin]. Tsze-ch'an said to him, "You will

not get him. [Ts'in] received him as a trophy of Ts'oo, and if it should take property for him from Ch'ing, it would not deserve to be called a State. It will not do so. If you say, 'We acknowledge your lordship's diligent service for the State of Ch'ing. If it had not been for your lordship's kindness, the army of Ts'oo would still have been at the foot of the wall of our capital;—that will succeed.' The other did not take his counsel, and a messenger proceeded to Tsin, but there they would not give up [their prisoner]. Tsze-t'ae-shuh then changed the money into offerings of silk, took the counsel of Tsze-ch'an, and obtained [Kin-foo's release].'

Par. 5. Shen-yuen,—see xx. 2. The Chuen says:—"In the 6th month, the duke had a meeting with Chaou Woo of Tsin, Hëang Seuh of Sung, Lëang Seau of Ch'ing, and an officer of Ts'au, in Shen-yuen,—to [arrange for] the punishment of Wei. They defined the boundaries of the lands of Ts'eh, and took 60 [towns] belonging to E-she in the western borders of Wei, and gave them to the Sun. Chaou Woo is not mentioned in the text,—out of honour to the duke (?); nor is Hëang Seuh,—because he arrived late. [The representative of Ch'ing] arrived before that of Sung, and so has a place before him in the list.

'At this meeting the marquis of Wei [also] made his appearance, [but he was not admitted to it]. The people of Tsin seized Ning He and Pih-kung E, and sent Joo Ts'e back with them to [Tsin], before doing anything else about them. The marquis of Wei then went to Tsin, where he was seized, and given in charge to Sze Joh as a prisoner. In autumn, in the 7th month, the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin in the interest of the marquis of Wei. The marquis entertained them at the same time, and sang the Këa loh (She, III. ii. ode V.). Kwoh King-tsze was in attendance on the marquis of Ts'e, and sang the Luh sëaou (She, II. ii. ode IX.). Tsze-chen was in attendance on the earl of Ch'ing, and sang the Tsze-e (She, I. vii. ode I.). Shuh-hëang instructed the marquis to acknowledge [the compliment paid by] the two princes, and then said, "My ruler ventures to thank the ruler of Ts'e for the rest which he secures to the ancestral tablets of our former princes. He ventures also to thank the ruler of Ch'ing for his unswerving adherence."

'Kwoh-tsze made Gan P'ing-chung say privately to Shuh-hëang, "The ruler of Tsin displays his brilliant virtue to the States, compassionating their distresses, repairing their defects, correcting their errors, and relieving their troubles. In this way he is the lord of covenants; but how is it that he has now in the behalf of a subject seized the ruler?" Shuh-hëang told this to Chaou Wän-tsze, who reported it to the marquis. The marquis explained to him the offence of the marquis of Wei (The slaughter of the garrison of Maou-she; see the first narrative appended to par. 3), and made Shuh-hëang inform the two princes of it. Kwoh-tsze on this sang the Pe che jow (A lost ode), and Tsze-chen sang the Tsëang Chung-tsze he (She, I. vii. ode II.). After this the marquis granted the return of the marquis of Wei. Shuh-hëang said, "Of the [descendants of the] seven sons of duke Muh of Ch'ing, the Han will be the last to perish. Tsze-chen is moderate and single-hearted."

Par. 6. Kuh-lëang has 座 for 瘞. The Chuen says:—"Before this, Juy, minister of Instruction in Sung, had a daughter born to him, who was so red and hairy, that he made her be thrown away under a bank. A concubine belonging to the harem of Kung Ke (The duke of Sung's mother) found her, and took her to the palace, where she was named K'e (Cast-away). As she grew up, she became beautiful; and one evening, when duke P'ing paid the customary visit to his mother, and was detained by her to supper, he saw the young lady, and looked at her intently. His mother in consequence introduced her to his bed. She became a favourite with him, and bore a son called Tso (左; not the Tso in the text), who was ugly but winning. [The duke's] eldest son, Tso, was beautiful, but quarrelsome. [Hëang Seuh] of Hoh, the master of the Left, was afraid of him, and hated him. The head of the eunuchs, Hwuy-ts'ëang E-le, was his master in the palace, but had no favour with him.

'This autumn, a visitor from Ts'oo, who was going on a friendly mission to Tsin, passed by [the capital of] Sung, and as the prince knew him, he asked leave to go out and give him an entertainment in the country. The duke commissioned him to go, when E-le asked leave to follow him. "Does he not hate you?" asked the duke. The eunuch replied, "When a small man like me serves a superior man like him, though hated, he does not presume to keep far from him, and though loved he does not presume to keep too near him. I will respectfully wait for his commands;—dare I have a double mind? There may be people to supply his outer wants, but there are none to supply his inner. Please allow me to go." The duke sent him after the prince. But when he arrived at the place, he took the blood of an animal as if for a covenant, placed a writing [on the vessel containing it], to attest what he meant to say, and then hurried away and told the duke that the prince was going to raise an insurrection, and had made a covenant with the visitor from Ts'oo. "He is my [eldest] son," said the duke; "what more does he want?" "He wishes your speedy [death]," was the reply. The duke sent to see [the place], and certainly there was [the pre-arranged evidence]. He then asked his wife, and the master of the Left, who both declared that they had heard of the thing. On this he imprisoned the prince, who said, "None but Tso can get me off." He called his brother, and sent him to intercede for him, saying, "If you do not come by midday, I shall know that I must die." The master of the Left heard of the arrangement, and kept up a [ceaseless] talk with the brother, till it was past time, and the prince strangled himself, after which his brother was declared successor to his father. By-and-by the duke ascertained that the prince had not been guilty, and boiled E-le.

'[One day], the master of the Left saw a man exercising the horses of [the duke's] lady, and asked him [whose they were]. "They belong," said the man, "to the duchess." "Who is the duchess?" asked the other; "how is it that I do not know?" The groom went home and told the lady, who thereupon sent to the master a piece of jade, followed by some embroidered silk, and a horse. The messenger said, "The

ruler's concubine K'e has sent me to present these things." The master of the Left made him say "The duchess" instead, then bowed twice with his head to the ground, and received the gifts."

Par. 7. The seizure was made at the meeting in Shen-yuen; but Too Yu supposes that the announcement of it to the States was not made till after the return of the officers of Ts'in from that place, and hence it is entered here as taking place in the autumn. From the account which we have of the death of He in Wei in the next year, we must suppose that Ts'in released him when it released the marquis of that State, of the seizure of whom the text makes no mention.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives:—1st. "When the earl of Ch'ing returned from Ts'in, he sent Tsze-se to that State on a mission of friendly inquiries, and to make the following speech:—"My ruler came and troubled your ministers, so that he is afraid he must have incurred the charge of offending you, and has sent me to apologize for his want of intelligence." The superior man will say that he knew well how to serve a great State."

2d. "Before this, Woo Ts'an of Ts'oo and Tsze-chau, the grand-master of Ts'ae, were friends, and Ts'an's son Woo Keu was [also] attached to [Tsze-chau's son], Shing-tsze. Woo Keu married [?] a daughter of [?] king [Kung's son, Mow, who was duke of Shin, and obliged to flee from the State. The people of Ts'oo said that he had been escorted away by Woo Keu, who then fled to Ch'ing, intending to continue his flight from thence to Ts'in. Shing-tsze was going at the time on a mission to Ts'in, and met him in the suburbs of Ch'ing. They spread some *king* branches on the ground, ate together, and talked about [whether Keu could] return [to Ts'oo]. Shing-tsze said, "Go your way now. I will be sure to procure your return."

"When Hsäng Seuh of Sung was trying to reconcile Ts'in and Ts'oo, Shing-tsze was sent to communicate with Ts'in; and on his return, he went to Ts'oo. The chief minister, Tsze-muh, talked with him, and asked about things in Ts'in. He asked him also whether the great officers of Ts'in or those of Ts'oo were the superior. "The high ministers of Ts'in," replied Shing-tsze, "are not equal to those of Ts'oo, but the great officers are superior. Every one of them has the abilities of a minister. And like the wood of the *ke* and the *tsze*, like skins and leather, they go from Ts'oo. The materials are Ts'oo's, but the using of them is Ts'in's." "And is Ts'in alone," asked the minister, "without its clans [connected with its ruling House], and its families in the relation of affinity?" "It has these," the other replied, "but it makes much use of the materials supplied to it by Ts'oo. I (His name was Kwei-säng, 歸生) have heard this, that the skilful administration of a State is seen in rewarding without error and punishing without excess. If rewards be conferred beyond what is proper, there is a danger of some reaching bad men; and if punishments be inflicted in excess, there is a danger of some reaching good men. If unfortunately mistakes cannot be avoided, it is better to err in the matter of rewards than of punishments. It is better that a bad man get an advantage

than that a good man be lost. If there be not good men, the State will follow them [to ruin]. The words of the ode (She, III. iii. ode X. 5),

'Men there are not,  
And the kingdom is sure to go to ruin,'

are descriptive of the consequences of there being no good men. And so in one of the Books of Hsü it is said, 'Rather than put to death an innocent person, you run the risk of irregularity,' indicating the fear that should be entertained of losing the good. In the sacrificial odes of Hsü (She, IV. iii. V. 4) it is said,

'He erred not in rewarding or punishing;  
He dared not to be idle.  
So was his appointment established over the States,  
And his happiness was made grandly secure.'

"It was thus that T'ang obtained the blessing of Heaven. The ancient rulers of the people encouraged themselves in rewarding, and stood in awe of punishing, and their compassion for the people was untiring. They rewarded in spring and summer; they punished in autumn and winter. Thus it was that when they were going to reward, they increased the number of their dishes, and in doing so they gave abundantly [to their ministers]:—showing us by this how they rejoiced in rewarding. But when they were going to punish, they would not take a full meal, and at the same time silenced their music:—showing us by this how they shrank from punishing. Early they rose and went to sleep late; morning and evening they were occupied with the government:—showing us how anxious they were for [the welfare of the people. These three things are the great points of propriety [in a government]; and where there is such propriety, there will be no such thing as overthrow.

"Now in Ts'oo there are many wrongful punishments, through which its great officers fly from it, and die everywhere in the other States, to which they become counsellors to the injury of Ts'oo; and this error cannot be cured:—this is what I mean by saying that [Ts'oo] cannot use its materials. In the insurrection raised by Tsze-e (See the Chuen after V. xiv. 7), the duke of Seih fled to Ts'in, the people of which placed him in the rear of their chariots, and employed him to direct their counsels. In the campaign of Jaou-koh (See the Chuen on VIII. vi. 11), Ts'in was going to retreat, when he said, 'The army of Ts'oo is excitable, and may be easily dispersed. If you beat many drums all at once, and attack it by night, it will be sure to retire.' The commanders of Ts'in took his advice, and the army of Ts'oo dispersed in the night. [The army of] Ts'in in consequence made an incursion into Ts'ae, surprised Shin, and took its ruler captive (See the Chuen on VIII. viii. 2), defeated the armies of Shin and Seih at Sang-suy, captured Shin Le, and returned to its own State. On this Ch'ing no [longer] ventured to turn its face to the south, and Ts'oo lost [its influence with] the States [of the north]:—all was the doing of the duke of Seih.

"The uncle and brother of Yung-tsze slandered him, and your ruler and the great officers did not accept his explanations. On this he fled to Ts'in, where they gave him [the city of] Ch'uh, and employed him to direct their counsels. In

the campaign of P'ang-shing (See VIII. xviii. 5), Ts'oo and Ts'in met in the valley of Mei-k'eh; and the army of Ts'in was about to fly, when Yung-tsze sent orders through it, saying, 'Let the old and the young return home. Send back single sons and the sick. Where there are two soldiers of one family, let one of them return. Select your weapons, and examine your carriages. Feed your horses, and take a good meal. When the army has been marshalled, burn your resting places. To-morrow we shall fight.' [Immediately after], they sent off those who were to return, and let loose their Ts'oo prisoners. [In consequence], the army of Ts'oo disappeared in the night; Ts'in obliged P'ang-shing to surrender and restored it to Sung; and carried Yu Shih, back with its army to Ts'in. That Ts'oo lost the E States of the east, and the death of Tsze-sin (See v. 6), were both the doing of Yung-tsze.

"Tsze-fan had a contention with Tsze-ling about Hsü Ke (See the 1st narrative in the Chuen after VIII. ii. 6), and injuriously defeated his intentions, so that Tsze-ling fled to Ts'in, where they gave him [the city of] Hing, and employed him to direct their counsels. He made head for them against the Teih of the north, brought about a communication between Woo and Ts'in, and made Woo revolt from Ts'oo. He taught its people how to use carriages, to shoot, to drive, to make headlong charges, and to make incursions. He placed his son Hoo Yung in Woo to direct its communications with other States. Woo then invaded Ch'au, took K'ea, subdued Keih, and took Chow-lae. Ts'oo was wearied with flying about at the instance of the various States, and still suffers the distress of it;—all through the doing of Tsze-ling.

"In the insurrection of the Joh-gaou (See the Chuen at the end of VII. iv.) Fun-hwang, the son of Pih-fun fled to Ts'in, where they gave him M'eaou, and employed him to direct their counsels. In the campaign of Yen-ling (VIII. xvi. 6), Ts'oo came close up in battle array to the army of Ts'in, which was about to flee. Then Fun-hwang of M'eaou said, 'The best troops of Ts'oo are in their centre army, which contains only the royal clans. If we close up the wells, and level the cooking places, we can marshal our host to meet the enemy. Let Lwan and Fan change their ranks in order to deceive them, and then Chung-hang, with the two K'eh, will be sure to vanquish the two Muh. Collecting then on every side of them, and attacking the royal clans, we shall give them a great defeat.' The people of Ts'in followed his counsel, and the army of Ts'oo was severely defeated. The king was wounded, and the army suffered as from a conflagration. Tsze-fan died in consequence of the defeat (See VIII. xvi. 7). Ch'ing revolted, Woo put itself in motion, and Ts'oo lost all the States;—through the doing of M'eaou Fun-hwang." "This is all correct," said Tsze-muh. "And there is now something worse than this," rejoined Shing-tsze, "Ts'auou Keu (? Keu of Ts'auou) married a daughter of Tsze-mow, duke of Shin; and when Tsze-mow was driven into exile for some offence, the great officers of your ruler said that Keu had sent him away. Keu became frightened and fled to Ch'ing, but kept looking with outstretched neck to the south, thinking that

perhaps he might be forgiven. But you have not given him a thought, and now he is in Ts'in. There they mean to give him a district, considering that he is equal to Shuh-hsäng. If he give them counsel to the injury of Ts'oo, will it not be a matter of sorrow?" Tsze-muh was afraid, and spoke on the subject to the king, who increased Keu's revenue and rank, and brought him back, Shing-tsze sending Ts'auou Ming to meet him.]

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"Duke Ling of Heu went to Ts'oo, and begged that it would invade Ch'ing, saying that he would not return [to Heu] till the army was in motion; and in the 8th month, he died in Ts'oo." Heu's wish that Ch'ing should be invaded, dates from the invasion of Heu in xvi. 7.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"The viscount of Ts'oo said, "If I do not invade Ch'ing, on what ground can I seek [the submission of] the States?" [Accordingly], in winter, in the 10th month, he invaded that State. The people of Ch'ing wished to resist him, but Tsze-ch'an said, "Ts'in and Ts'oo are about to become friends, and the States will be in harmony. The king of Ts'oo has blindly erred therefore in this attack on us. Our best plan is to let him have his way and return. Things will then be easily settled. As to those small men whose nature it is to be moved to deeds of daring, and to like times of confusion, thereby gratifying their nature and seeking for fame, [their schemes] will not be for the advantage of the State;—why should we follow them?" Tsze-chen was pleased, and did not resist the enemy. In the 12th month, on Yih-yew, [the troops of Ts'oo] entered Nan-le, and threw down the wall of it. They then crossed at [the ford of] Yoh-she, and attacked the gate Sze-che-l'ang, when nine men were captured by letting the port-cullis down. They [finally] crossed the Fan, and returned to Ts'oo, after which [the viscount] buried duke Ling of Heu."

Par. 10. [We have here three narratives:—1st. 'The people of Wei presented a daughter of their house to [the marquis of] Ts'in, on which he liberated the marquis of Wei. The superior man knows from this what a failure the government of duke P'ing was.'

2d. 'Han Seuen-tsze went on a friendly mission to Chow. The king sent to ask his business, when he said, "A [humble] officer of Ts'in, I wish to present the dues of the season to the subordinates of the prime minister. I have no other business." When the king heard his reply, he said, "This Han will flourish and be great in Ts'in. In his speeches he does not fail to observe the old rules."

3d. 'In the summer of the year that the people of Ts'e walled K'eah (In the 24th year), Woo Yu of Ts'e fled to Ts'in, making over to it [the city of] Lin-k'ew. [Afterwards], he surprised Yang-k'eh of Wei, and took it, and then took by surprise our Kaou-yu. There was then a great rain, and he managed to enter by the drains, plundered the military store, mounted the wall, his men having armed themselves from the store, conquered and took the city. He also took a city from Sung. At this time Fan Seuen-tsze was dead, and the States were not able to deal [with this marauder]; but when the government came into the hands of Chaou Wan-tsze, he was dealt with

at last. Wán-tsze said to the marquis, "Tsin is lord of covenants. If any of the States encroach on one another, we punish them, and make them restore the lands they have taken. Now all the cities of Woo Yu are of the kind for which punishment should in this way be inflicted. If we

covet them, we are not fit to be lords of covenants. Let them be returned." The duke agreed and said, "Who is proper to be sent on such a mission?" Wán-tsze said, 'Ssu Léang-tae can execute it without any military force.' The duke sent him on the duty.]

Twenty-seventh year.

二十有七年春，齊侯使慶封來聘。夏，叔孫豹會晉趙武、楚屈建、蔡公孫歸生、衛石惡、陳孔奐、鄭良霄、許人、曹人于宋。衛殺其大夫甯喜。衛侯之弟鱄出奔晉。秋七月辛巳，豹及諸侯之大夫盟于宋。冬十有二月乙亥朔，日有食之。

○左傳曰：二十七年春，胥梁帶使諸喪邑者具車徒以受地，必周使烏餘具車徒以受封。烏餘以其衆出，使諸侯僞效烏餘之封者，而遂執之，盡獲之，皆取其邑而歸諸侯。諸侯是以睦於晉。

齊慶封來聘，其車美，孟孫謂叔孫曰：慶季之車，不亦美乎？叔孫曰：豹聞之，服美不稱，必以惡終，美車何爲？叔孫與慶封食，不敬，爲賦相鼠，亦不知也。

宋向戌善於趙文子，又善於令尹子木，欲弭諸侯之兵，以爲名，如晉告趙孟、趙孟謀於諸大夫，韓宣子曰：兵民之殘也，財用之盡，小國之大蓄也，將或弭之，雖曰不可，必將許之。弗許，楚將許之，以召諸侯，則我失爲盟主矣。晉人許之，如楚，楚亦許之，如齊，齊人難之，陳文子曰：晉楚許之，我焉得已，且人曰弭兵，而我弗許，則固攜吾民矣，將焉用之？齊人許之，告於秦，秦亦許之，皆告於小國，爲會于宋。五月，

甲辰，晉趙武至於宋。丙午，鄭良霄至。六月，丁未朔，宋人享趙文子，叔向爲介，司馬置折俎，禮也。仲尼使舉是禮也，以爲多文辭。戊申，叔孫豹、齊慶封、陳須無、衛石惡至。甲寅，晉荀盈從趙武至。丙辰，邾悼公至。壬戌，楚公子黑肱先至，成言於晉。丁卯，宋向戌如陳，從子木成言於楚。戊辰，滕成公至。子木謂向戌：請晉楚之從，交相見也。庚午，向戌復於趙孟。趙孟曰：晉楚齊秦，匹也，晉之不能於齊，猶楚之不能於秦也。楚君若能使秦君辱於敝邑，寡君敢不固請於齊。壬申，左師復言於子木，子木使駟謁諸王。王曰：釋齊秦，他國請相見也。秋七月，戊寅，左師至。是夜也，趙孟及子皙盟，以齊言。庚辰，子木至自陳，陳孔奐、蔡公孫歸生至，曹許之大夫皆至，以藩爲軍，晉楚各處其偏。伯夙謂趙孟曰：楚氛甚惡，懼難。趙孟曰：吾左還入於宋，若我何？

衛甯喜專，公患之。公孫免餘請殺之，公曰：微甯子，不及此，吾與之言矣。事未可知，祇成惡名，止也。對曰：臣殺之，君勿與知。乃與公孫無地。公孫臣謀，使攻甯氏，弗克，皆死。公曰：臣也無罪，父子死余矣。夏，免餘復攻甯氏，殺甯喜及右宰穀。尸諸朝，石惡將會宋之盟，受命而出，衣其尸，枕之股而哭之，欲斂以亡懼，不免。且曰：受命矣，乃行。子鮮曰：逐我者出，納我者死，賞罰無章，何以沮勸？君失其信，而國無刑，不亦難乎？且鱄實使之，遂出奔晉。公使止之，不可及河，又使止之，止使者而盟於河，託於木門，不鄉衛國而坐。木門大夫勸之仕，不可。曰：仕而廢其事，罪也。從之。昭吾所以出也，將誰愬乎？吾不可以立於人之朝矣。終身不仕。公喪之如稅服，終身公與免餘邑六十，辭曰：唯卿備百邑，臣六十矣，下有上祿，亂也。臣弗敢聞，且甯子唯多邑，故死，臣懼死之速及也。公固與之，受其半，以爲少師。公使爲卿，辭曰：犬叔儀不貳，能贊大事，君其命之。乃使文子爲卿。

辛巳，將盟于宋西門之外。楚人夷甲、伯州犂曰：合諸侯之師，以爲不信，無乃不可乎？夫諸侯望信於楚，是以來服，若不信，是棄其所以服諸侯也。固請釋甲。子木曰：晉楚無信久矣，事利而已，苟得志焉，焉用有信？犬幸退，告人曰：令尹將死矣，不及三年，求逞志而棄信，志將逞乎？志以發言，言以出信，信以立志，參以定之，信亡，何以及？



與之邑六十。以示子罕。子罕曰：「凡諸侯小國，晉楚所以兵威之，畏而後上下慈和，慈和而後能安靖其國家，以事大國，所以存也。無威則驕，驕則亂生，亂生必滅，所以亡也。天生五材，民並用之，廢一不可，誰能去兵？兵之設久矣，所以威不軌而昭文德也。聖人以興，亂人以廢，廢興存亡，昏明之術，皆兵之由也。而子求去之，不亦誣乎？」以誣道蔽諸侯，罪莫大焉。縱無大討，而又求賞，無厭之甚也。削而投之，左師辭邑。向氏欲攻司城，左師曰：「我將亡，夫子存我，德莫大焉，又可攻乎？」君子曰：「彼己之子，邦之司直，樂喜之謂乎？何以恤我，我其收之，向戌之謂乎？」

①齊崔杼生成及彊而寡，娶東郭姜，生明。東郭姜以狐入，曰：「棠无咎與東郭偃相崔氏，崔成有疾而廢之，而立明，成請老於崔，崔子許之，偃與无咎弗子，曰：「崔宗邑也，必在宗主，成與彊怒，將殺之。」告慶封曰：「夫子之身，亦子所知也，唯无咎與偃是從，父兄莫得進矣。」大恐害夫子，敢以告。」慶封曰：「子姑退，吾圖之。」告盧蒲癸，盧蒲癸曰：「彼君之讐也，天或者將棄彼矣。」彼實家亂，子何病焉？崔之薄慶之厚也，他日又告慶封曰：「苟利夫子，必去之，難，吾助汝。」九月庚辰，崔成、崔彊殺東郭偃、棠无咎於崔氏之朝，崔子怒而出，其衆皆逃，求人使駕，不得，使圉人駕，寺人御而出，且曰：「崔氏有福，止余猶可，遂見慶封，慶封曰：「崔慶一也，是何敢然，請爲子討之。」使盧蒲癸帥甲以攻崔氏，崔氏堞其宮而守之，弗克，使國人助之，遂滅崔氏，殺成與彊，而盡俘其家，其妻縊。癸復命於崔子，且御而歸之，至則無歸矣，乃縊。崔明夜臨諸大墓，辛巳，崔明來奔，慶封當國。②楚薳罷如晉，蒞盟，晉侯享之，將出，賦既醉，叔向曰：「薳氏之有後於楚國也，宜哉，承君命，不忘敏，子蕩將知政矣，敏以事君，必能養民，政其焉往？」

③崔氏之亂，申鮮虞來奔，僕質於野，以喪莊公。冬，楚人召之，遂如楚爲右尹。十一月乙亥朔，日有食之，辰在申，司歷過也，再失閏矣。

XXVII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e sent K'ing Fung to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.

三趙孟患楚東甲，以告叔向。叔向曰：「何害也？匹夫一爲不信，猶不可，單斃其死，若合諸侯之卿，以爲不信，必不捷矣。食言者不病，非子之患也。夫以信召人，而以僭濟之，必莫之與也。安能害我？且吾因宋以守病，則夫能致死，與宋致死，雖倍楚，可也。子何懼焉？又不及是，曰：「弭兵以召諸侯，而稱兵以害我，吾庸多矣。非所患也。」李武子使謂叔孫，以公命曰：「視邾滕，既而齊人請邾，宋人請滕，皆不與盟。」叔孫曰：「邾滕人之私也，我列國也，何故視之？宋衛吾匹也，乃盟，故不書其族，言違命也。」晉楚爭先，晉人曰：「晉固爲諸侯盟主，未有先晉者也。」楚人曰：「子言晉楚匹也，若晉常先，是楚弱也，且晉楚狎主諸侯之盟也久矣，豈專在晉？叔向謂趙孟曰：「諸侯歸晉之德，只非歸其尸盟也。子務德，無爭先，且諸侯盟，小國固必有尸盟者，楚爲晉細，不亦可乎？乃先楚人，書先晉，晉有信也。壬午，宋公兼享晉楚之大夫，趙孟爲客，子木與之言，弗能對，使叔向侍言焉。子木亦不能對也。乙酉，宋公及諸侯之大夫盟于蒙門之外，子木問於趙孟曰：「范武子之德，何如？」對曰：「夫子之家事治，言於晉國，無隱情，其視史陳信於鬼神，無愧辭。」子木歸以語王，王曰：「尚矣哉，能歆神人，宜其光輔五君，以爲盟主也。」子木又語王曰：「宜晉之伯也，有叔向以佐其卿，楚無以當之，不可與爭。」晉荀盈遂如楚，蒞盟，鄭伯享趙孟於垂隴，子展、伯有、子西、子產、子大叔、二子石從。趙孟曰：「七子從君，以寵武也，請皆賦，以卒君貺，武亦以觀七子之志。」子展賦「草蟲」，趙孟曰：「善哉，民之主也，抑武也不足以當之。」伯有賦「鶉之賁賁」，趙孟曰：「牀第之言，不踰闕，況在野乎？非使人之所得聞也。」子西賦「黍苗」之四章，趙孟曰：「寡君在，武何能焉？」子產賦「隰桑」，趙孟曰：「武請受其卒章。」子大叔賦「野有蔓草」，趙孟曰：「吾子之惠也。」印段賦「蟋蟀」，趙孟曰：「善哉，保家之主也，吾有望矣。」公孫段賦「桑扈」，趙孟曰：「匪交匪敖，福將焉往？」若保是言也，欲辭福祿，得乎？卒享，文子告叔向曰：「伯有將爲戮矣。」詩以言志，志誣其上，而公怨之以爲賓，榮其能久乎？幸而後亡，叔向曰：「然，已侈，所謂不及五稔者，夫子之謂矣。」文子曰：「其餘皆數世之主也，子展其後亡者也，在上不忘降，印氏其次也，樂而不荒，樂以安民，不淫以使之，後亡，不亦可乎？」宋左師請賞，曰：「請免死之邑，公



- 2 In summer, Shuh-sun P'aou had a meeting with Chaou Woo of Tsin, K'ueh K'een of Ts'oo, Kung-sun Kwei-sang of Ts'ae, Shih Goh of Wei, K'ung Hwan of Ch'in, L'ang S'eaou of Ch'ing, an officer of Heu, and an officer of Ts'aou, in Sung.
- 3 Wei put to death its great officer Ning He.
- 4 Chuen, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, left the State, and fled to Tsin.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-sze, P'aou and the great officers of the States made a covenant in Sung.
- 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih-hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

[There follows here the conclusion of the narrative at the end of last year:—“This spring, Seu L'ang-tae called all who had lost cities to come, prepared secretly with chariots and men, to receive their lands; he also called Woo Yu to come, prepared in the same way to receive investiture. Yu appeared accordingly with all his people, and Seu made the princes assume an appearance as if they were going to invest him [with the cities]. He then took the opportunity to seize Yu, and make prisoners of all his followers, after which he took all the cities, and returned them to their owners. This event made the States all well-affected to Tsin].”

Par. 1. The object of this visit was to introduce, as it were, the new marquis of Ts'e to Loo. The Chuen says:—“K'ing Fung of Ts'e came to Loo on a friendly mission. His carriage was handsome, and M'ang-sun said to Shuh-sun, “Is not K'ing Ke's carriage handsome?” Shuh-sun replied, “I have heard that when a man's robes are finer than befits him, he will come to an evil end. What is the use of the fine carriage?” Shuh-sun gave the envoy an entertainment, at which he did not behave himself respectfully. The host sang with reference to him the S'ang shoo, (She, I. iv. ode VIII.), but K'ing Fung did not understand his meaning.”

Parr. 2, 5. Here and afterwards, for 孔奐.

Kung has 孔瑗. By ‘Sung’ we are to understand here the capital of that State. The Chuen says:—“H'ang Seuh of Sung was on good terms with Chaou W'an-tse [of Tsin], and also with Tsze-muh, the chief minister [of Ts'oo]. Wishing to stop the [constant] wars of the States, and thereby get a name, he went to Tsin, and told his object to Chaou-m'ang (Chaou Woo, or W'an-tse), who consulted with the great officers upon it. H'an S'eu-en-tse said, “War is destructive to the people, an insect that eats up the resources [of a State], and the greatest calamity of the small States. If any one try to put an end to it, though we may think it cannot be done, we must sanction his proposal. If we do not, Ts'oo will do so, and proceed to call the States together, so that we shall lose the presidency of covenants.” They then agreed in Tsin [to Seuh's proposals]. He next went to Ts'oo, where they also did the same.

He went to Ts'e, and there they were raising difficulties; but Ch'in W'an-tse said, “Since

Tsin and Ts'oo have agreed, how can we decline? And men will say that we refused to sanction the stoppage of wars, which will certainly make our people disaffected. Of what use will it be for us to decline?” So they agreed in Ts'e. He sent word [of his plan] to Tsin which also agreed. He then sent word to all the smaller States, and arranged for a meeting at [the capital of] Sung.

“In the 5th month, on K'eah-shin, Chaou Woo of Tsin arrived at that city, and on Ping-woo, L'ang S'eaou of Ch'ing arrived. In the 6th month, on Ting-we, the 1st day of the moon, they feasted Chaou W'an-tse in Sung, with Shuh-h'ang as subordinate to him, when the marshal caused the dishes to be set forth with the meat in pieces upon them;—which was proper. Chung-ne made [? me introduce here] this ceremony, because it afforded opportunity for many speeches. On Maou-shin, Shuh-sun P'aou, K'ing Fung of Ts'e, Seu Woo of Ch'in, and Shih Goh of Wei arrived. On K'eah-yin, Seun Ying of Tsin arrived, subsequent to the arrival of Chaou Woo. On Ping-shin, duke Ch'oh of Choo arrived. On Jin-seuh, the Kung-tse Hih-kwang of Ts'oo arrived before [the prime minister], and settled the words [of the covenant] on the part of Tsin. On Ting-maou, H'ang Seuh went to Ch'in, following Tsze-muh, to settle the words on the part of Ts'oo. Tsze-muh said to him that he had to request that the States which followed Tsin and Ts'oo respectively should be required—those of the one side to appear at the court of the other. On K'ang-woo, H'ang Seuh returned to report this to Chaou-m'ang, who said, “Tsin, Ts'oo, Ts'e, and Ts'in are equals; Tsin can do nothing more with Ts'e than Ts'oo can do with Ts'in. If Ts'oo can make the ruler of Ts'in condescend to come to our capital, our ruler will earnestly request [the ruler of] Ts'e to go to Ts'oo.” On Jin-shin, the master of the Left (H'ang Seuh) went to report this answer to Tsze-muh, who despatched a courier to lay it before the king [of Ts'oo]. The king said, “Leave Ts'e and Ts'in out, and let the other States be required to appear at both our courts.”

“In autumn, in the 7th month, on Maou-yin, the master of the Left arrived [from Ch'in]; and that night, Chaou-m'ang and Tsze-seih (The Kung-tse Hih-kwang) made a covenant about the terms to be adopted. On K'ang-shin, Tsze-

muh arrived from Ch'in, and at the same time K'ung Hwan of Ch'in and Kung-sun Kwei-sang of Ts'ae. When the great officers of Ts'aou and Heu were also arrived, they made an encampment with fences, Tsin and Ts'oo each occupying one side of it. Pih Suh said to Chaou-m'ang, “The spirit of Ts'oo is very bad. I fear there will be trouble;” but Chaou-m'ang replied, “We are on the left, and can turn and go into the city. What can they do to us?”

On Sin-sze they were about to covenant outside the western gate, when the men of Ts'oo wore their armour under their outer clothes. Pih Chow-le said [to Tsze-muh], “The multitude of the States are assembled here, and is it not undesirable [now] to show them our want of good faith? The States expect good faith from Ts'oo, and on that account they come to [indicate] their submission to it. If we do not keep faith, we are throwing away that by which we must effect the submission of the States.” He then earnestly begged that the armour might be put off; but Tsze-muh said, “There has been no good faith between Tsin and Ts'oo for long. We have to do merely with getting the advantage. If we get our will, what is the use of having good faith?” The grand-administrator on this retired, and told [some people] that the chief minister would die in less than 3 years. “When he is seeking to get his will,” he said “and casts away his faith, how can his will be got in that way? It is from the purpose in the mind that words come forth; it is by words that good faith is declared; and it is by good faith that the purpose in the mind is realized. The three are necessary in order to the stability of man. Having lost his good faith, how can he continue for three [years]?” Chaou-m'ang was troubled by the men of Ts'oo wearing their armour, and told Shuh-h'ang of it, who said to him, “What harm can it do? It will not do for even an ordinary man to violate his faith;—the end of it is sure to be his death. If they, at this meeting of the ministers of the States, commit a breach of faith, they will not be successful by it. He who is false to his word is sure to suffer for it. You need not be troubled about this. If they call men together by [assurances of] their good faith, and go on to accomplish their purpose by violating it, there will be none who will adhere to them. How can they injure us? And moreover, we have [the capital of] Sung to depend on, to guard against any injury. Thus we should be able to resist to the death, and with Sung doing the same, we should be twice as strong as Ts'oo;—what are you afraid of? But it will not come to this. Having called the States together to put a stop to war, if they should commence hostilities to injure us, our advantage would be great. There is no ground for being troubled.”

“Ke Woo-tse sent to say to Shuh-sun, [as if] by the duke's command, that Loo should be considered in the same rank as Choo and T'ang. But Ts'e had requested [that] Choo [should be considered as attached to it], and Sung had done the same in regard to T'ang, so that neither of these States took part in the covenant. Shuh-sun replied, “Choo and T'ang are like the private possessions of other States. We are a State among them. Why should we be put on the same footing as those? Sung and Wei are [only] our peers.” And accordingly he cove-

nanted. On this account the text [of par. 5] does not give his clan-name, intimating that he had disobeyed orders.

“Tsin and Ts'oo disputed about the precedence [at the covenant]. On the side of Tsin they said, “Tsin certainly is the lord of covenants. No State has ever taken precedence of it.” On the side of Ts'oo they said, “You have allowed that Tsin and Ts'oo are peers. If Tsin always take the precedence, that is a declaration that Ts'oo is weaker than it. And moreover, Tsin and Ts'oo have presided in turns over the covenants of the States for long. How does such presidency belong exclusively to Tsin?” Shuh-h'ang said to Chaou-m'ang, “The States acknowledge Tsin because of the virtue [of its government], and not because it presides over their covenants. Let that virtue be your chief concern, and do not quarrel for the point of precedence. Moreover, at the covenants of the States, it is understood that the smaller States should superintend the instruments of the covenanting. If Ts'oo will act this smaller part for Tsin, is it not proper that it should do so?” Accordingly the precedence was given to Ts'oo. The text, however, mentions Tsin first, because of its good faith (?).

“On Jin-woo, the duke of Sung entertained the great officers of Tsin and Ts'oo at the same time, Chaou-m'ang being the [chief] guest. When Tsze-muh conversed with him, he was not able to reply to him [suitably], on which he made Shuh-h'ang sit by him and maintain the conversation, when Tsze-muh could not reply [suitably]. On Yih-y'ew, the duke of Sung and the great officers of the States covenanted outside the Mung gate. Tsze-muh asked Chaou-m'ang of what kind had been the virtue of Fan Woo-tse (Sze Hwuy), and was answered “The affairs of his family were all well-regulated; in conversing [with his ruler] about the State, he concealed nothing; his officers of prayers set forth the truth before the Spirits, and used no speeches he could be ashamed of.” When Tsze-muh returned to Ts'oo, he told this to the king, who said, “This was admirable! He was able to find favour both with Spirits and men. Right was it he should distinguish and aid five rulers of Tsin, and make them the lords of covenants.” Tsze-muh also said to the king, “Well-deserved is the presidency of Tsin. With Shuh-h'ang to aid its ministers, Ts'oo has no man to match him. We cannot contend with it.” Seun Yin of Tsin shortly went to Ts'oo to ratify the covenant.

“The earl of Ch'ing entertained Chaou-m'ang [returning from Sung] in Chuy-lung. Tsze-chen, Pih-y'ew, Tsze-se, Tsze-ch'an, Tsze-t'ae-shuh, and the two Tsze-shih, were all in attendance on the earl. Chaou-m'ang said to them, “You seven gentlemen are all here with the earl, a [great] distinction and favour to me. Let me ask you all to sing, which will complete your ruler's beneficence, and likewise will show me your several minds. Tsze-chen then sang the Ts'aou ch'ung (She, I. ii. ode III.), and Chaou-m'ang said, “Good for a lord of the people, but I am not sufficient to answer to it.” Pih-y'ew sang the Shun cho pun pun (She, I. iv. ode V.), and Chaou-m'ang said, “Words of the couch should not go across the threshold; how much less should they be heard in the open country! This is what I cannot listen to.” Tsze-se sang

the 1th stanza of the Shoo m'au (She, II. iii. ode III.); and Chaou-m'ang said, "There is my ruler: how can I [accept this]?" Tsze-ch'an sang the Sih sang (She, II. viii. ode IV.); and Chaou-m'ang said, "Allow me to accept the 1st stanza of that ode." Tsze-t'ae-shuh sang the Yay y'ew man t'au (She, I. vii. ode XX.); and Chaou-m'ang said, "This is your kindness." Yin T'wan (The 1st Tsze-shih) sang the Sih tsuh (She, I. x. ode I.); and Chaou-m'ang said, "Good! a lord who preserves his family! I have hope [of being such]." Kung-sun T'wan (the 2d Tsze-shih) sang the Sang hoo (She, II. vii. ode I.); and Chaou-m'ang said,

'While the cup passes round, they show no pride;

Where should blessing and revenue go but to them?'

If one can verify those words, though he should wish to decline blessing and revenue, would it be possible for him to do so?'

When the entertainment was ended, Wan-tsze (Chaou-m'ang) said to Shuh-h'ang, 'Pih-y'ew will yet be put to death. We use poetry to express what is in our minds. He was calumniating his ruler in his mind; and though the earl would resent [the lines which indicated] that, he used them in honour of their guest. Can he continue long? He will be fortunate if exile precede his death.' Snuh-h'ang said, "Yes; and he is extravagant. The saying about not lasting five harvests is applicable to him." Wan-tsze added, "The rest of them will all continue for several generations; and the family of Tsze-chen will be the last to perish. Though his rank be high, he has not forgotten to be humble. Yin T'wan is next to him. He can enjoy himself without wild indulgence. Using [his love of] pleasure to give rest to the people, and not exacting services from them to an excessive degree, is it not right he should long perpetuate his family?"

[H'ang Seuh], Sung's master of the Left, asked that he might be rewarded, saying, "Please grant me some towns for arresting the occasion of death." The duke gave him sixty towns, and he showed the grant to Tsze-han, who said to him, "It is by their arms that Tsin and Ts'oo keep the small States in awe. Standing in awe, the high and low in them are loving and harmonious; and through this love and harmony they can keep their States in quiet, and thereby serve the great States. In this is the way of preservation. If they were not kept in awe, they would become haughty. That haughtiness would produce disorder; that disorder would lead to their extinction. This is the way of ruin. Heaven has produced the five elements which supply men's requirements, and the people use them all. Not one of them can be dispensed with;—who can do away with the instruments of war? They have been long in requisition. It is by them that the lawless are kept in awe, and accomplished virtue is displayed. Sages have risen to their eminence by means of them; and men of confusion have been removed. The courses which lead to decline or to growth, to preservation or to ruin, of blindness on the one hand, of intelligence on the other, are all to be traced to these instruments; and you have been seeking to do away with them:—is not your scheme a delusion? No

offence can be greater than to lead the States astray by such a delusion. You have escaped without a great punishment, and yet you have sought for reward;—with an extreme insatiableness." With this he cut [to pieces the document], and cast it away. The master of the Left on this declined the towns, [in consequence of which] members of his family wished to attack the minister of Works (Tsze-han). Seuh, however, said to them, "I was on the way to ruin, when he preserved me. I could not have received a greater service;—and are you to attack him?"

'The superior man will say, "May we not consider [the lines (She, I. vii. ode VI. 2)],

"That officer

In the country ever holds to the right,"

as applicable to Yoh He (Tsze-han)? and [those other lines, (She, IV. i. [i.] ode II.)],

"How shall he show his kindness?

We will receive [his favour],"

as applicable to H'ang Seuh!'"

I have thrown the Chuen on these two paragraphs together, because they relate to the same transaction, the details of which extended over several months, and because we cannot reconcile the latter par. and the narrative under it, without having recourse to the narrative under the second.

From the Chuen under par. 2, we learn that the representatives of 14 States (including Sung), came to the capital of that State, as if to be present at the meeting; but the text mentions only 9 of them as taking part in it (Not including Sung); but we learn also from it that the States of Ts'e and Ts'in were exempted from it because of its peculiar nature and their own greatness. Then from the narrative under par. 5, we learn that the States of Choo and T'ang were exempted because of their weakness, and through Ts'e and Sung taking the opportunity to have them publicly declared as being respectively under their jurisdiction. Ts'oo was willing, no doubt, to accede to the application of Ts'e and Sung, because the power of Tsin was thereby weakened.

With regard to the meeting and covenants themselves, they mark a revolution (大變) in the kingdom. Heretofore, for more than a hundred years, one State had struggled to maintain a presidency over the others;—avowedly in the interest of the Chow king. Ts'e first exercised it, and then Tsin. Nearly all the time Ts'oo had disputed their right and power; and now Tsin was obliged to agree to a presidency divided between it and Ts'oo, while both of them acknowledged their inability to control the great States of Ts'in and Ts'e. Evidently, the scheme of a presidential State had become an impracticability. A process of disorganization must go on, till some one Power should become supreme. An invigoration of Chow was out of the question; and whether Tsin, Ts'oo, Ts'in or Ts'e was to found the dynasty of the future, the future only could show.

Again, as the power of the Chow king had waned before the growth of the princes of the great States, the power of those princes was waning in the same way before the growing influence of their ministers and great officers. It might be expected, as actually occurred, that

the great States would nearly all be broken up, or the Houses which now ruled them give place to others.

As to H'ang Seuh, with whom the scheme of a general pacification to be secured by this covenant occurred, he appears to have been a restless dreamer, vain and selfish withal. The scheme itself was, as another officer of Sung pronounced it, a delusion. The time had not come then in China to dispense with the arbitrament of arms, as, alas! it has not yet come in China, or anywhere else in the world.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"Ning He of Wei assumed to himself the whole administration of the government, and the duke was vexed about it. Kung-sun M'een-yu asked leave to put He to death, but the duke said, "But for Ning-tsze, I should not have got to my present position, and I gave him my word. The issue [of any attempt], moreover, cannot be known, and I should only make a bad name [for myself]. Stop." The other replied, "I will kill him. Your lordship need know nothing about it." He then consulted with Kung-sun Woo-te and Kung-sun Shin, and made them attack the Ning. They were unsuccessful, and both died. The duke said, "Shin was guilty of no crime; and [now] both he and his father have died through me." In summer, M'een-yu again attacked the Ning, when he killed Ning He, and Kuh, the administrator of the Right, and exposed their bodies in the court. [At that time], Shih Goh was about to go to take part in the covenant at Sung. He had received his commission, and was coming out of the court. He threw a garment over [He's] body, pillowed it on his thigh and wept. It occurred to him that he would put it in a coffin, and then flee into exile, but he was afraid he should not escape. He said also to himself that he had received [the State's] commission, and so went on his way.'

Par. 4 For 轉 Kung and Kuh have 專. Chuen was the Tsze-s'een of the narrative under xxvi. 1. The Chuen says:—"Tszen-s'een said, "He who drove us out (Sun Lin-foo) has [merely] left the State, and he who received us back (Ning He) is dead. Without the clear [and right application of] rewards and punishments, how is it possible to deter [from evil] and to encourage [to good]? When the ruler has broken his faith, and there is no law in the State, is it not difficult [to carry on the government]? And it was really I who brought this about." With this he left the State to flee to Tsin. The duke sent to stop him, but in vain. When he had got to the Ho, a second messenger came to stop him, whom he detained till he had made an oath [that he would not return]. He then took up his residence in Muh-mun, where he would never sit with his face towards Wei. The commandant of that city advised him to take office [in Tsin], but he refused, saying, "If I took office, and failed in the business of it, I should be an offender; if I succeeded, I should [seem to] show that it was for the sake of office that I had left Wei:—to whom could I make my case clear? I must not stand in the court of any prince." And all his life he did not take office. The duke wore mourning for him all his life.

'The duke offered M'een-yu 60 towns, but he refused them, saying, "It is only a high minister who has the complete number of 100 towns. If I would take these 60, I should in my low position be having the revenue of a higher one. The thing would be disorderly and irregular. I dare not hear of it. And moreover it was Ning-tsze's many towns which caused his death. I am afraid lest death should quickly overtake me." The duke pressed them upon him, when he accepted the half, and became the Junior-tutor. The duke wished to make him minister, but he declined the office, saying, "T'ae-shuh E does not waver in his fidelity, and can help you in [all] great affairs. Give the appointment to him." Wan-tsze accordingly was made minister.'

Par. 5. [The Chuen appends here three narratives;—1st. 'Before Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e became a widower, he had two sons, Ch'ing and K'ang. After his marriage with Tung-kwoh K'ang (See on xxv. 2), she bore to him Ming, and also brought into his family T'ang Woo-k'ew, her son by her former husband, who, with Tung-kwoh Yen, took the management of Ts'uy's family. In consequence of some disease which he had, Ts'uy Ch'ing was degraded from his position [as the eldest son], and Ming appointed in his place, after which he begged that he might be put in possession till his old age of Ts'uy. Ts'uy-tsze granted him that city, but Yen and Woo-k'ew would not give it to him, saying, "Ts'uy is the ancestral city, and must be in the hands of the lord of the ancestral temple." Ch'ing and K'ang were enraged, and, having resolved to kill them, they told K'ing Fung, saying, "You know all about our father. He follows [now] only Woo-k'ew and Yen. None of our uncles or cousins of the clan can get him to listen to a word. The state of things, we are greatly afraid, will be injurious to him, and we presume to tell you of it." K'ing told them to retire for a time, while he considered the matter, which he laid before Loo-p'oo P'eh. P'eh said, "He showed himself the enemy of his ruler, and Heaven perhaps is now going to abandon him; but why should you feel any distress at disorder in his House? The thinner Ts'uy is, the thicker grows K'ing."

When the sons of Ts'uy came to K'ing Fung another day, he said to them, "If it be profitable for your father, you can remove the two men; and if you get into difficulties, I will assist you." In the 9th month, on K'ang-shin, Ts'uy Ch'ing and Ts'uy K'ang killed Tung Kwoh Yen and T'ang Woo-k'ew, while they were at the court of Ts'uy-tsze. In a rage he issued from the gate, but his people were all scattered. He sought for men to get his carriage in readiness, but it could not be done. [At last] he got a groom to yoke a carriage for him, and with a eunuch to drive him, he went forth, saying to himself, "It will be fortunate for the Ts'uy family, if only I perish." He then drove to see K'ing Fung, who said, "The Ts'uy and the K'ing are one. Who dared to act thus? Allow me to punish them for you." He then sent Loo-p'oo P'eh with a body of men-at-arms to attack the palace of Ts'uy. It was held, however, by men behind the parapets, who made a successful resistance, till the people were sent to assist the assaulters. P'eh then extinguished the House of Ts'uy, killed Ch'ing and K'ang, and carried off all in the

house, the wife of Ts'uy-tze having strangled herself. This done, he returned with a report to that officer, and then drove him back to his palace, where he found that he had nothing to come to, and strangled himself. Ts'uy Ming laid him at night in his fathers' grave;—and on Sin-tze he fled himself to Loo. King Fung took the administration of the State.

2d. 'Wei P'e of Ts'oo went to Ts'in to confirm the covenant, when the marquis entertained him. As he was leaving the feast, he sang the Ke tsuy (She, III. ii. ode III.). Shuh-héang said, "Right is it that this Wei should perpetuate his family in Ts'oo. Charged with his ruler's commission, he is not unmindful to show his intelligence. Tsze-tang will yet have the government of his State. Active and intelligent in serving his ruler, and thereby able to nourish the people, to whom should the government go but to him?"'

3rd. 'When Shin Sên-yu came a fugitive to Loo, in consequence of the troubles occasioned by Ts'uy Ch'oo (See the Chuen on xxv. 2), he hired a house for himself and servants in the suburbs, and there mourned for duke Chwang. This winter, an officer from Ts'oo came to invite him to that State. He went there accordingly, and became director of the Left.'

Par. 6. This eclipse took place on the 7th Oct. B.C. 545, and was visible in Loo in the morning; but that was the 12th cycle day of the text. The Chuen is correct, therefore, in assigning the eclipse to the 11th month; but Tso-she is in error when he goes on to say, "This was really the 9th month, through the error of the officers of the calendar. They had now omitted two intercalations." For the grounds which have been attempted to be made out for this remark, see on the 1st par. of next year.

### Twenty-eighth year.

二十有八年春無冰。夏衛石惡出奔晉。秋八月大雩。仲孫羯如晉。冬齊慶封來奔。十有一月公如楚。十有二月甲寅天王崩。乙未楚子昭卒。

左傳曰：二十八年春，無冰，梓慎曰：今茲宋鄭其饑乎？歲在星紀，而淫於玄枵，以有時菑，陰不堪陽，蛇乘龍，龍，宋鄭之星也。宋鄭必饑，玄枵，虛中也。枵，耗名也。土虛而民耗，不饑何為？  
 夏，齊侯陳侯蔡侯北燕伯杞伯胡子沈子白狄朝於晉。宋之盟故也。齊侯將行，慶封曰：我不與盟，何為於晉？陳文子曰：先事後賄，禮也。小事大，未獲事焉，從之如志，禮也。雖不與盟，敢叛晉乎？重丘之盟，未可忘也。子其勸衛人討甯氏之黨，故石惡出奔晉。衛人立其從子圃，以守石氏之祀，禮也。  
 邾悼公來朝，時事也。

秋八月大雩旱也。

○蔡侯歸自晉，入於鄭。鄭伯享之，不敬。子產曰：蔡侯其不免乎？日其過此也。君使子展廷勞於東門之外而傲，吾曰：猶將更之。今還受享而惰，乃其心也。君小國，事大國，而惰傲以為己心，將得死乎？若不免，必由其子，其為君也，淫而不父，僑聞之如是者，恒有子禍。

孟孝伯如晉，告將為宋之盟，故如楚也。

○蔡侯之如晉也，鄭伯使游吉如楚，及漢，楚人還之，曰：宋之盟，君實親辱，今吾子來，寡君謂吾子姑還，吾將使駟奔問諸晉，而以告子大叔。曰：宋之盟，君命將利小國，而亦使安定其社稷，鎮撫其民人，以禮承天之休，此君之憲令，而小國之望也。寡君是故使吉奉其皮幣，以歲之不易，聘於下執事，今執事有命曰：安何與政令之有，必使而君棄而封守，跋涉山川，蒙犯霜露，以逞君心，小國將君是望，敢不唯命是聽，無乃非盟載之言，以闕君德，而執事有不利焉？小國是懼，不然，其何勞之敢憚？子大叔歸，復命告子展曰：楚子將死矣，不修其政德，而貪昧於諸侯，以逞其願，欲久得乎？周易有之，在復之頤曰：迷復凶，其楚子之謂乎？欲復其願，而棄其本，復歸無所，是謂迷復，能無凶乎？君其往也，送葬而歸，以快楚心，楚不幾十年，未能恤諸侯也，吾乃休吾民矣。裨竈曰：今茲周王及楚子皆將死，歲棄其次，而旅於明年之次，以害鳥帑，周楚惡之。

○九月，鄭游吉如晉，告將朝於楚，以從宋之盟。子產相鄭伯，以如楚，舍不為壇，外僕言曰：昔先大夫相先君適四國，未嘗不為壇，自是至今，亦皆循之。今子草舍，無乃不可乎？子產曰：大適小，則為壇，小適大，苟舍而已，焉用壇？僑聞之，大適小，有五美，宥其罪戾，赦其過失，救其菑患，賞其德刑，教其不及，小國不困，懷服如歸，是故作壇以昭其功，宣告後人，無怠於德。小適大，有五惡，說其罪戾，請其不足，行其政事，共其職貢，從其時命，不然，則重其幣帛，以賀其福，而弔其凶，皆小國之禍也，焉用作壇以昭其禍，所以告子孫，無昭禍焉，可也。

○癸巳，天王崩，未來赴，亦未書禮也。

○崔氏之亂，喪羣公子，故鈕在魯，叔孫還在燕，賈在句瀆之丘，及慶氏亡，皆召之，具其器用，而反其邑焉。與晏子相殿，其鄙六十，弗受。子尾曰：「富人之所欲也，何獨弗欲？」對曰：「慶氏之邑，足欲，故亡。吾邑不足欲也，益之以邲，殿乃足欲，足欲亡無日矣。在外，不得宰吾一邑，不受邲，殿非惡富也，恐失富也。且夫富如布帛之有幅焉，爲之制度，使無遷也。夫民生厚而用利，於是乎正德以幅之，使無黜慢，謂之幅利，利過則爲敗，吾不敢貪多，所謂幅也。」與北郭佐邑六十，受之。與子雅邑，辭多受少。與子尾邑，受而稍致之，公以爲患，故有寵。釋盧蒲癸於北，竟求崔杼之月，將戮之，不得。叔孫穆子曰：「必得之。」武王有亂，臣十人，崔杼其有乎？不十人，不足以葬。既，崔氏之臣曰：「與我其拱壁，吾獻其柩。」於是得之。十二月，乙亥朔，齊人遷葬莊公，殯於大寢，以其棺尸，崔杼於市，國人猶知之，皆曰：「崔子也。」

爲宋之盟，故公及宋公、陳侯、鄭伯、許男如楚。公過鄭，鄭伯不在，伯有廷勞於黃崖，不敬。穆叔曰：「伯有無戾於鄭，鄭必有大咎，敬民之主也，而棄之，何以承守？鄭人不討，必受其辜。」濟澤之阿，行潦之蘋藻，賓諸宗室，季蘭尸之，敬也，敬可棄乎？

王人來告喪，問崩日，以甲寅告，故書之，以徵過也。

及漢，楚康王卒，公欲反，叔仲昭伯曰：「我楚國之爲，豈爲一人行也？子服惠伯曰：『君子有遠慮，小人從邇。』饑寒之不恤，誰遑其後？不如姑歸也。」叔孫穆子曰：「叔仲子專之矣，子服子始學者也，榮成伯曰：『遠圖者，忠也。』公遂行。」宋向戌曰：「我一人之爲，非爲楚也，饑寒之不恤，誰能恤楚？姑歸而恤民，待其立君而爲之備。」宋公遂反。

○楚屈建卒，趙文子喪之如同盟禮也。

齊慶封好田而嗜酒，與慶舍政，則以其內實，遷於盧蒲癸氏，易內而飲酒，數日，國遷朝焉。使諸亡人得賊者，以告而反之，故反盧蒲癸。癸，子之，有寵，妻之。慶舍之士謂盧蒲癸曰：「男女辨姓，子不辟宗，何也？」曰：「宗不余辟，余獨焉辟之？」賦詩斷章，余取所求焉。惡識宗，癸言王何而反之，二人皆嬖，使執寢戈而先後之。公膳，日雙雞，饔人竊更之以鶩，御者知之，則去其肉，而以其泊饋。子雅、子尾怒，慶封告盧蒲癸，盧蒲癸曰：「譬之如禽獸，吾寢處之矣。」使析歸父告晏平仲，平仲曰：「嬰之衆不足用也，知無能謀也。」言弗敢出，有盟可也。子家曰：「子之言云，又焉用盟？」告北郭子車，子車曰：「人各有以事君，非佐之所能也。」陳文子謂桓子曰：「禍將作矣，吾其何得？」對曰：「得慶氏之木百車於莊。」文子曰：「可慎守也。」已，盧蒲癸、王何卜攻慶氏，示子之兆，曰：「或卜攻讐，敢獻其兆。」子之曰：「克見血，冬十月，慶封田於萊，陳無宇從。丙辰，文子使召之，請曰：『無宇之母疾病，請歸。』慶季卜之，示之兆，曰：『死，奉龜而泣。』乃使歸。慶嗣聞之，曰：『禍將作矣。』謂子家速歸，禍作必於嘗，歸猶可及也。子家弗聽，亦無悛志。子息曰：『亡矣，幸而獲在吳越。』陳無宇濟水而戕舟，發梁，盧蒲姜謂癸曰：「有事而不告我，必不捷矣。」癸告之，姜曰：「夫子愎，莫之止，將不出，我請止之。」癸曰：「諾。」十一月，乙亥，嘗於大公之廟，慶舍蒞事，盧蒲姜告之，且止之，弗聽。曰：「誰敢者？」遂如公，麻嬰爲尸，慶隼爲上獻，盧蒲癸、王何執寢戈，慶氏以其甲環公宮，陳氏鮑氏之圉人爲優，慶氏之馬善驚，士皆釋甲束馬而飲酒，且觀優。至於魚里，變高陳鮑之徒，介慶氏之甲，子尾抽柄擊扉三，盧蒲癸自後刺子之，王何以戈擊之，解其左肩，猶援廟桷動於薨，以俎壺投殺人而後死。遂殺慶繩、麻嬰。公懼，鮑國曰：「羣臣爲君故也。」陳須無以公歸，稅服而如內宮，慶封歸，遇告亂者，丁亥，伐西門，弗克，還伐北門，克之，入伐內宮，弗克，反陳於嶽，請戰，弗許，遂來奔，獻車於季武子，美澤可以鑑，展莊叔見之，曰：「車甚澤，人必瘁，宜其亡也。」叔孫穆子食慶封，慶封汜祭，穆子不說，使工爲之誦茅鴟，亦不知。既而齊人來讓，奔吳，吳句餘子之朱方，聚其族焉而居之，富於其舊。子服惠伯謂叔孫曰：「天殆富淫人，慶封又富矣。」穆子曰：「善人富，謂之賞，淫人富，謂之殃，天其殃之也，其將聚而殲旃。」

- XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, there was no ice.  
2 In summer, Shih Goh of Wei fled from that State to Tsin.



- 3 The viscount of Choo came to the court of Loo.
- 4 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 5 Chung-sun K'eh went to Tsin.
- 6 In winter K'ing Fung of Ts'e came a fugitive to Loo.
- 7 In the eleventh month, the duke went to Ts'oo.
- 8 In the twelfth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.
- 9 On Yih-we, Ch'au, viscount of Ts'oo, died.

Par. 1. This would seem to be an extraordinary phenomenon, according to the general rule for such entries in the text; but if, intercalations had been omitted, so that the calendar was at least two months in advance of the proper time, then the first month of the Chow year began at this time really in our October or perhaps September, when the absence of ice was quite natural. Hence to bring things right, and make the phenomenon extraordinary and ominous, Too Yu introduces in his scheme of the calendar two intercalary months, one immediately after the other at the end of the previous year! The Chuen here says:—"There being no ice this spring, Tsze Shin said, 'This year there will be famine, it is to be feared, in Sung and Ch'ing. The year [-star] (Jupiter) [ought to be] in Sing-ke (Sagittarius-Capricorn), and it has licentiously advanced into H'eu-h'au (Capricorn-Aquarius). Hence this ominous character of the season, the *yin* not being able to overcome the *yang*. The Snake is mounted on the Dragon, which contains the stars of Sung and Ch'ing. Those States will have famine. The middle star in H'eu-h'au is Heu. But Heau denotes consumption and waste. The land empty, and the people with their resources consumed:—what can this mean but famine?"

[The Chuen appends here:—"In summer, the marquises of Ts'e, Ch'in, and Ts'ae, the earls of north Yen and Ke, the viscounts of Hoo and Shin, and the northern Teih, went to appear at the court of Tsin,—in accordance with the covenant of Sung. When the marquis of Ts'e was about to go, K'ing Fung said, 'We took no part in the covenant. What have you to do with Tsin?' Ch'in Wan-tse said to him, 'Business first and then gifts, is the rule. A small State, in serving a great one, before it has discharged the business [which is required], should first comply with its request [to go to it], in accordance with its wishes;—this [also] is the rule. Although we took no part in the covenant, dare we revolt from Tsin? Let us not forget the covenant of Ch'ung-k'ew (xxv. 5). Do you advise the marquis to go?"]

Par. 2. See the narrative under par. 3 of last year for the conduct of Shih Goh after the death of Ning He.

The Chuen here says:—"The people of Wei were punishing the partizans of the Ning, and Shih Goh fled in consequence to Tsin. In Wei they appointed his nephew, Foo, to take charge of the sacrifices of the Shih family;—which was according to rule."

Par. 3. Tso-she says that this appearance of duke Taou of Choo at the court of Loo was 'the usual affair,' meaning that it was not in consequence of the covenant of Sung, but a

discharge of the usual duty which Choo owed to that State.

Par. 4. "This," says Tso-she, "was because of drought."

[The Chuen appends here:—"When the marquis of Ts'ae was returning from Tsin (See the narrative after par. 1), he entered the capital of Ch'ing, where the earl entertained him, and he behaved disrespectfully. Tsze-ch'an said, 'The marquis of Ts'ae will not escape an evil death. When he was passing this (On his way to Tsin), our ruler sent Tsze-chen to go and compliment him outside the east gate, and then he carried himself arrogantly. I thought that he might still change his way; but now, when being feasted thus on his return, he is so remiss, such, it appears, is his nature. Ruler over a small State, and in his service of a great one thus so remiss and arrogant as to show that such is his nature, shall he die a natural death? If he do not escape an evil end, it will be sure to come from his son. He has played the ruler in a lustful and unfatherly way (He had debauched his son's wife), and I have heard that such persons always meet with calamity at the hand of their sons.'"

Par. 5. Tso-she says:—"M'ang H'au-pih [now] went to Tsin to inform that court, that, in accordance with the covenant of Sung, [the duke] was going to Ts'oo."

[We have here two narratives:—1st "When the marquis of Ts'ae went to Tsin, the earl of Ch'ing sent Y'ew Keih to Ts'oo. When he had got to the Han, the people of Ts'oo sent him back, saying, 'According to the covenant of Sung, your ruler ought to come in person; but here are you come. Our ruler says to you, 'Please return for the present. I will send a courier with all speed to ask Tsin, and then lay the matter before you.' " Tsze-t'ae-shuh (Y'ew Keih) replied, "In the covenant of Sung, your lordship's commands were for the benefit of the small States, and you also ordered us to seek the repose and stability of our altars, and the protection and comfort of our people, and thus by the observance of all proper rules we might enjoy the blessing of Heaven. These were your lordship's orders, and in accordance with them was the hope of our small State. On this account my ruler sent me with skins and silks, in consideration of the difficulties of the year (A famine), on a [merely] friendly visit to your ministers: But now I have their commands, saying, 'What have you to do with governmental matters? You must send your ruler. Let him leave his charge in his own State, travel over the hills and cross the streams, encounter the hoar-frost and the dew.' This [only] will satisfy your lordship. The hope of our small State is in you, and we dare not but listen to your commands,

though they are not in the engagements of the covenant, and will reflect on your lordship's virtue, and be disadvantageous to your ministers. This our small State was afraid of; but since it is not so, what labour is there from which we will shrink?" Tsze-t'ae-shuh then returned and gave a report of his commission, saying to Tsze-chen, "The viscount of Ts'oo will [soon] die. Instead of cultivating his government and virtue, he is blindly eager to command the States, and so gratify his ambition. If he wished to continue long, would it be possible for him to do so? The thing is contained in the Chow Yih. When the diagram Fuh (復, ䷗) becomes E (頤, ䷚), we

have, in reference to it, the words, 'Deceived as to return;—evil,' which we may well apply to the viscount of Ts'oo. Wishing after all to obtain what he desired, and abandoning what was essential to that, there is no place to return to:—this is what is taught in those words, 'Deceived as to return.' Is it possible evil should not come? Let our ruler go. He will accompany the [viscount's] funeral, and come back,—thus satisfying the wish of Ts'oo. It will not be ten years before Ts'oo is not able to think about the States, and we shall then seek the repose of our people." P'e Tsaou said, "At this time the king of Chow and the viscount of Ts'oo will both die. The year-star has left its proper place, and is sojourning in its place for next year, to the injury of the tail of *n'au*. Both Chow and Ts'oo may well hate this."

2d. "In the 9th month, Y'ew Keih of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to inform that court, that the earl was going to the court of Ts'oo in compliance with the covenant of Sung. Tsze-ch'an attended the earl to Ts'oo, and [when they approached the capital of that State], he caused a booth to be erected [for the earl], without rearing any high structure. The servants of the mission said, "Anciently, when our great officers attended their rulers to any other State, they always reared a high structure; and from that time till now the practice has been followed. Is it not improper in you now to make this booth upon the grass?" Tsze-ch'an told them, "When a great State goes to a small one, it rears a high structure. When a small State goes to a great one, it should only construct a booth. I have heard this:—When a great State visits a small one, it should do five good things;—be indulgent to its offences, pardon its errors and failures, relieve its calamities, reward it for its virtuous laws, and teach it where it is deficient. There is thus no pressure on the small State. It cherishes [the great] State's virtue and submits to it, fondly as one goes home. On this account a high structure is reared, to display the merit [of the great State], and to make it known to posterity, that they may not be idle in the cultivation of virtue. When a small State goes to a great one, it has five bad things to do. It must explain its trespasses, beg [forgiveness] for its deficiencies, perform its governmental services, contribute its proper dues, and attend to its seasonal commands. And not [only so]:—it has to double its various offerings, to felicitate [the great State] on its happiness, and show its condolence with it in its misfortunes. Now all these things are the sad fate of a small State. Why should it rear a high structure to display its sad fate?"

It is enough for it to do that which tells its posterity not to display their sad fate."]

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—"K'ing Fung of Ts'e was fond of hunting and drinking. He gave over the government to [his son] K'ing Shay, and then removed with his harem and valuables to the house of Loo-p'oo P'eh, with whom he drank, while they exchanged wives at the same time. For several days together, [the great officers] would have to go there, as he held his court in it. He gave orders that all the exiles who were held to be traitors should be restored on their application to him; and in this way he brought back Loo-p'oo Kwei, who became minister to Tsze-che (Fung's son Shay), and became such a favourite, that Shay gave him his own daughter to wife. Some of Shay's officers spoke to Kwei about this, saying, "Husband and wife should be of different surnames; how is it that you have not avoided taking a wife descended from the same ancestor as yourself?" He replied, "[Another representative of] that ancestor (Meaning Shay) would not avoid me; how should I alone have avoided the thing? I am as if you break off from the whole ode one stanza of it, and sing it. I have taken what I desired to get; how should I have recognized the [common] ancestry?"

"Kwei spoke [to Shay] about Wang Ho, and procured his return, who became a favourite as well as himself. Shay made them keep—one before and the other behind him, carrying spears as if guarding his bed.

"Every day two fowls were provided for the public meal at the palace, [under the superintendence of K'ing Fung]. The cook one day stealthily changed them for ducks, and the servants who knew it took away the flesh, and served [the bones up] with the broth. Tsze-ya and Tsze-we were enraged [at the stinginess and insult]; and when K'ing Fung reported that they were so to Loo-p'oo P'eh, the latter said, "They are like beasts;—I will sleep upon their skins." He then made Seih Kwei-foo tell Gan Ping-chung about the matter. Ping-chung said, "My numbers are not sufficient to be employed [on such a service] (Against Tsze-ya and Tsze-we), nor have I wisdom to help in such a plan; but I will not dare to speak a word about it. But there should be a covenant." Tsze-keä (Seih Kwei-foo) replied "Your words are enough. What is the use of a covenant?" He then spoke to Pih-k'woh Tsze-keu whose answer was "Every one is able in some way to serve his ruler, but this is not in the range of my ability."

"Ch'in Wan-tse said to [his son] Hwan-tse, "The overthrow [of the K'ing] is approaching. What shall we get [out of their property]?" "The hundred carriages of wood that are in the Chwang [street];" was the answer; and the father rejoined, "You can maintain a careful guard over yourself." Loo-p'oo Kwei and Wang Ho consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking the K'ing, and showed Tsze-che the indication which they had got, saying, "A man was consulting the tortoise-shell about attacking his enemy, and we venture to present to you the indication." Tsze-che observed, "He will be successful. I see the blood."

"In winter, in the 10th month, K'ing Fung went to Lae to hunt, Ch'in Woo-yu being in attendance upon him. On Ping-shin, [Chiu's

father] Wān-tsze sent to call him home. He asked leave from Fung to return, saying that his mother was very ill. Fung consulted the tortoise-shell, and showed him the indication, saying, "She is dead." [Woo-yu] took the shell in his hand, and wept. He was then sent back, and when K'ing Tsze heard of it, he said, "The calamity is about to commence," and then urged Tsze-k'ea (Fung's designation) to return immediately. "The calamity," said he, "will be sure to happen at the autumnal sacrifice. An immediate return may still prevent it." It was in vain, and Fung manifested no regret or change of purpose, which made Tsze-seih (K'ing Tsze) say, "We must fly. We shall be fortunate if we reach Woo or Yueh." [In the meantime]. Ch'in Woo-yu [was on his way back], and whenever he crossed a stream, he scuttled the boat, and destroyed the bridge.

'Loo-p'oo K'ang (K'ing Shay's daughter) said to her husband, "You have some business in hand; and if you do not tell me what it is, it will not succeed." Kwei then told her, when she said, "My father is self-willed. If some one do not ask him to stay at home, he will not come out. Let me go and ask him." "Very well," replied Kwei.

'In the 11th month, on Yih-hae, was the autumnal sacrifice in the temple of T'ae Kung, under the superintendence of K'ing Shay. Loo-p'oo K'ang went and told him [of what was intended], and begged him to stay at home, but he would not listen to her, saying, "Who will dare [to make an attempt on me]?" and with this he went to the temple. Ma Ying was the personator of the dead, and K'ing H'eh had offered the first cup. L o p'oo Kwei and Wang Ho were in attendance with their spears, and the men at arms of the K'ing surrounded the palace. The grooms of the Ch'in and Paou families began to get up a play, and the horses of some of the K'ing got frightened, on which [many of] the men at arms threw off their buffcoats, and secured them. They then fell drinking, and [were drawn off to] see the players to [the street of] Yu-le, the followers of the Lwan, the Kaou, the Ch'in, and the Paou mixing themselves among them. [At this point], Tsze-we struck one of the leaves of the door with a mallet, when Kwei stabbed Tsze-che from behind, and Wang Ho struck him with his spear. The blow cut off his left arm, but still he got hold [with the other] of a pillar of the temple, and shook it so that the rafters quivered. Then he hurled a stand and a vase, killed a man [with each of them], and died himself. [The conspirators] then killed K'ing Shing (H'eh) and Ma Ying. The duke was frightened, but Paou Kwoh said to him, "We are all acting in your interest." Ch'in Seu-woo took the duke away, when he threw off his robes, and went to the inner palace.

'K'ing Fung, on his way back from Lae, was met by parties who told him of the rising. On Ting-hae he attacked the western gate unsuccessfully, after which he turned to the northern, which he took, and entered, proceeding to attack the inner palace. Unsuccessful there, he withdrew, and arranged his forces in the Yoh [street]. There he challenged his enemies to battle, but they would not meet him. He then came to Loo a fugitive, and presented a chariot to Ke Woo-tsze, so beautiful and polished that men could see themselves in it. When Chen Chwang-shuh

saw it, he said, "When the carriage is highly polished, its owner is sure to come to distress. It was right he should come to exile." Shuh-sun Muh-tsze gave Fung an entertainment, at which he scattered the sacrificial thank-offerings about. Muh-tsze was displeased, and made the musicians sing for him the Maou ch'e (a lost ode), but he did not perceive the meaning.

'By-and-by the people of Ts'e sent to reproach [Loo for sheltering him], on which he fled to Woo, where Kow-yu gave him [the city of] Choo-fang. There he collected the members of his clan and settled them, becoming richer than he had been before. Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih said to Shuh-sun, "Heaven would seem to enrich bad men. K'ing Fung is rich again." Muh-tsze replied, "Riches may be called the reward of good men, and the ruin of bad men. Heaven will bring him to ruin. He will be destroyed utterly with all that are his."

[Appended here, we have two narratives:— 1st. 'On Kwei-sze, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died. No word was yet sent of the event, and therefore no record was made of it. This was according to rule.' See below on the last par.

2d. 'In the disorder occasioned by Ts'uy-tsze, all duke [Chwang's] sons had disappeared. Ts'oo had gone to Loo; Shuh-sun S'uen to Yen, and K'ea to the hill of Kow-tow. Now that K'ing Fung was driven into exile, they were all recalled, the furniture which they required supplied, and their cities restored to them. The duke conferred P'ei-t'een on Gan-tsze, in whose circuit there were 60 towns; but he would not receive it. Tsze-we said to him, "Riches are what men desire; how is it that you alone do not desire them?" He replied, "The towns of the K'ing were enow to excite men's desires, and hence he is now in exile. My cities are not enow to do that; but if I were to receive P'ei-t'een, they would be so, and the day of my exile would not be distant. Abroad, I should not have one town to preside over. My not receiving P'ei-t'een is not because I hate riches, but because I am afraid of losing my riches. Moreover, riches should be like pieces of cloth or silk, which are made up in lengths of a definite measurement, which cannot be altered. When the people have the means of sustentation abundant and conveniences of life, there must be the rectification of virtue (See the Shoo, II. ii. 7) to act as a limit or border to them. Let them not become abandoned and insolent, and you have what may be called a protecting border to their advantages. If those go beyond that, ruin will ensue. My not coveting to have more than I have is what is called the protecting limit." The duke gave Pih-kwoh Tso 60 towns, and he received them. He gave [many] to Tsze-ya, but he only accepted a few. He gave the same to Tsze-we, and he accepted them, but afterwards returned some. The duke considered the conduct [of these two] a proof of their fidelity, and showed them favour.

'He liberated Loo-p'oo P'eh and [banished him] to the northern borders. He sought for the body of Ts'uy Ch'oo, intending to take the head off, but could not find it. When Shuh-sun Muh-tsze heard of this he said, "They are sure to find it. King Woo had ten capable ministers; and did not Ts'uy Ch'oo have as many servants? Less than ten would not have been

enow to bury him." By-and-by one of Ts'uy's servants said, "Give me his peih which took the two arms to hold it, and I will give up his coffin." Thus they found [the body]. In the 12th month, on Yih-hae, the 1st day of the moon, the people of Ts'e removed duke Chwang from his grave, and put him in proper grave-clothes into a new coffin in the grand chamber, and in the [old] coffin they exposed Ts'uy Ch'oo's body in the market place. The people could all still recognize it, and said, "This is Ts'uy-tsze."

Parr. 7, 9. The Chuen says:—"In consequence of the covenant of Sung, the duke, and the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Heu, went to Ts'oo. When the duke passed by [the capital of] Ch'ing, the earl was not in it, [but had already gone]. Pih-y'ew, however, came out on a complimentary visit to the banks of the Hwang, and was not respectful. Muh-shuh said, "If Pih-y'ew be not dealt with as an offender by Ch'ing, he will do that State great injury. Respectfulness is an essential thing for the people. If a man cast it away, how shall he keep [the family] he has received from his ancestors? It the people of Ch'ing do not punish him, they are sure to suffer through him. The duckweed and pondweed, gathered by the banks of shallows and marshes and about standing pools, placed in the ancestral temple, and superintended by the young and elegant ladies, [are accepted] because of the reverence [in the thing] (See the She, I. ii. ode IV.). When the duke had reached the Han, king K'ang of Ts'oo was dead, and he wished to return. Shuh-chung Ch'au-pih said, "We are going for the sake of the State of Ts'oo, and

not on account of one man." Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih said, "The superior man is solicitous about what is remote; smaller men act from the impression of what is near. Who has leisure to attend to the future, without considering the [present] hunger and cold? Let us return for the present." Shuh-sun Muh-tsze said, "Shuh-chung is to be entirely followed. Tsze-fuh's opinion is that of one commencing his learning." Yung Ching-pih [also] said, "He who considers the remote is the faithful counsellor." On this the duke went on.

'H'ang-seuh said, "[Our journey was] on account of the one man, and not on account of Ts'oo. Who can think of Ts'oo, and not think of the [present] hunger and cold? Let us return for the present and rest our people. When they have settled the question of a new ruler, we can make the necessary preparations." On this the duke of Sung returned.

Par. 8. The king really died on Kwei-sze, 21 days before K'eah-yin;—acc. to the 1st narrative after p. 6. Tso-she says:—"An officer from the court came to announce the king's death. Being asked the day of it, he said it was K'eah-yin; and so it was recorded, to show the fault [of the late announcement] (?)."

If K'eah-yin was in the 12th month, Yih-we when the viscount of Ts'oo died, separated from K'eah-yin by 41 days could not be in it. This is held to prove that there was an intercalary month at the end of this year, to which Yih-we belonged.

[There is appended here:—"K'eh K'een of Ts'oo died, and Chaou Wān-tsze wore mourning for him according to the rule for those who had covenanted together;—which was right."]

Twenty-ninth year.

二十九年春王正月公在楚夏五月公至自楚  
仲孫羯會晉荀盈齊高止  
宋華定衛世叔儀鄭公孫  
段曹人莒人滕人薛人小  
邾人城杞  
杞子來盟  
侯使士鞅來聘  
閼弒吳子餘祭  
庚午衛侯衍卒

吳子使札來聘。秋九月，葬衛獻公。齊高止出奔北。燕冬仲孫羯如晉。

晉平公、杞出也。故治杞。六月，知悼子合諸侯之大夫以城杞。孟孝伯會之。鄭子大叔與伯石往。子大叔見大叔文子，與之語。文子曰：「甚乎其城杞也。」子大叔曰：「若之何哉？」晉國不恤周宗之闕，而夏肆是屏，其棄諸姬亦可知也。已諸姬是棄，其誰歸之？吉也。聞之，棄同即異，是謂離德。詩曰：「協比其鄰，昏姻孔云。」晉不鄰矣，其誰云之？○齊高子容與宋司徒見知伯，汝齊相禮賓出，司馬侯言於知伯曰：「二子皆將不免，子容專，司徒侈，皆亡家之主也。知伯曰：『何如？』對曰：『專則速及，侈將以其力斃，專則人實斃之，將及矣。』」

范獻子來聘，拜城杞也。公享之，展莊叔執幣射者三耦。公臣不足，取於家臣。家臣展瑕、展玉父爲一耦，公臣、公巫召伯仲顏莊叔爲一耦，鄆鼓父、黨叔爲一耦。

晉侯使司馬汝叔侯來治杞田，弗盡歸也。晉悼夫人愠曰：「齊也取貨，先君若有知也，不尙取之。」公告叔侯，叔侯曰：「虞虢、焦滑、霍楊、韓魏皆姬姓也，晉是以大，若非侵小，將何所取？武獻以下，兼國多矣，誰得治之？杞夏餘也，而即東夷，魯周公之後也，而睦於晉，以杞封魯，猶可，而何有焉？魯之於晉也，職貢不乏，玩好時至，公卿大夫相繼於朝，史不絕書，府無虛月，如是可矣，何必瘠魯以肥杞？且先君而有知也，毋寧夫人而焉用老臣？杞文公來盟，書曰：『子賤之也。』」

吳公子札來聘，見叔孫穆子，說之，謂穆子曰：「子其不得死乎？好善而不能擇人，吾聞君子務在擇人，吾子爲魯宗卿，而任其大政，不慎舉，何以堪之？禍必及子。」請觀於周樂，使工爲之歌。周南、召南曰：「美哉，始基之矣，猶未也，然勤而不怨矣。」爲之歌邶、鄘、衛，曰：「美哉，淵乎，憂而不困者也，吾聞衛康叔武公之德如是，是其衛風乎？」爲之歌王曰：「美哉，思而不懼，其周之東乎？」爲之歌鄭曰：「美哉，其細已甚，民弗堪也，是其先亡乎？」爲之歌齊曰：「美哉，泱泱乎，大風也哉，表東海者，其大公乎？國未可量也。」爲之歌豳曰：「美哉，蕩乎，樂而不淫，其周公之東乎？」爲之歌秦曰：「此之謂夏聲，夫能夏則大，大之至也，其周之舊乎？」爲之歌魏曰：「美哉，渢渢乎，大而婉，險而易行，以德輔此，則明

左傳曰：二十九年春，王正月，公在楚，釋不朝正於廟也。楚人使公親櫬，公患之。穆叔曰：「祓殯而櫬，則布幣也。」乃使巫以桃茢先祓殯。楚人弗禁，既而悔之。

○二月癸卯，齊人葬莊公於北郭。

○夏四月，葬楚康王。公及陳侯、鄭伯、許男送葬，至於西門之外。諸侯之大夫皆至於墓。楚郊敖即位，王子圍爲令尹。鄭行人子羽曰：「是謂不宜，必代之昌。」松柏之下，其草不殖。

公還及方城，季武子取卞，使公治間，璽書追而與之，曰：「聞守卞者將叛，臣帥徒以討之，既得之矣，敢告。」公治致使而退，及舍，而後聞取卞。公曰：「欲之而言叛，祇見疏也。」公謂公冶曰：「吾可以入乎？」對曰：「君實有國，誰敢違君？」公與公冶冕服，固辭，強之而後受。公欲無入，榮成伯賦式微，乃歸。五月，公至自楚。公治致其邑於季氏，而終不入焉。曰：「欺其君，何必使余？季孫見之，則言季氏如他日，不見，則終不言季氏。」及疾，聚其臣曰：「我死，必無以冕服斂，非德賞也，且無使季氏葬我。」○葬靈王。鄭上卿有事，子展使印段往。伯有曰：「弱不可。」子展曰：「與其莫往，弱不猶愈乎？」詩云：「王事靡盬，不遑啟處。」東西南北，誰敢寧處？堅事晉楚，以蕃王室也。王事無曠，何常之有？遂使印段如周。

吳人伐越，獲俘焉，以爲闕，使守舟。吳子餘祭觀舟，闕以刀弑之。

○鄭子展卒，子皮即位。於是鄭饑而未及麥，民病。子皮以子展之命，餽國人粟，戶一鍾，是以得鄭國之民。故罕氏常掌國政，以爲上卿。宋司城子罕聞之，曰：「鄰於善民之望也。」宋亦饑，請於平公，出公粟以貸，使大夫皆貸。司城氏貸而不書，爲大夫之無者貸，宋無饑人。叔向聞之，曰：「鄭之罕、宋之樂，其後亡者也，二者其皆得國乎？民之歸也，施而不德，樂氏加焉，其以宋升降乎？」

主也。爲之歌唐曰：思深哉！其有陶唐氏之遺民乎？不然，何憂之遠也？非令德之後，誰能若是？爲之歌陳曰：國無主，其能久乎？自鄆以下，無譏焉。爲之歌小雅曰：美哉！思而不貳，怨而不言，其周德之衰乎？猶有先王之遺民焉。爲之歌大雅曰：廣哉！熙熙乎！曲而有直體，其文王之德乎？爲之歌頌曰：至矣哉！直而不倨，曲而不屈，邇而不逼，遠而不攜，遷而不淫，復而不厭，哀而不愁，樂而不荒，用而不匱，廣而不宣，施而不費，取而不吝，處而不底，行而不流，五聲和，八風平，節有度，守有序，盛德之所同也。見舞象，象南籥者曰：美哉！猶有憾。見舞大武者曰：美哉！周之盛也，其若此乎？見舞韶，韶者曰：聖人之弘也，而猶有慙德，聖人之難也。見舞大夏者曰：美哉！勤而不德，非禹其誰能修之？見舞韶，韶者曰：德至矣哉！大矣！如天之無不幬也，如地之無不載也，雖甚盛德，其蔑以加於此矣。觀止矣！若有他樂，吾不敢請已。其出聘也，通嗣君也，故遂聘於齊，說晏平仲，謂之曰：子速納邑與政，無邑與政，乃免於難。齊國之政，將有所歸，未獲所歸，難未歇也。故晏子因陳桓子以納政與邑，是以免於難。高之難聘於鄭，見子產，如舊相識，與之編帶，子產獻紵衣焉。謂子產曰：鄭之執政侈，難將至矣。政必及子，子爲政，慎之以禮，不然，鄭國將敗。適衛，說遽瑗，史狗，史鮒，公子荆，公叔發，公子朝，曰：衛多君子，未有患也。自衛如晉，將宿於戚，聞鐘聲焉，曰：異哉！吾聞之也，辯而不德，必加於戮。夫子獲罪於君，以在此，懼猶不足，而又何樂？夫子之在此也，猶燕之巢於幕上，君又在殯，而可以樂乎？遂去之。文子聞之，終身不聽琴瑟。適晉，說趙文子，韓宣子，魏獻子，曰：晉國其萃於三族乎？說叔向，將行，謂叔向曰：吾子勉之，君侈而多良，大夫皆富，政將在家，吾子好直，必思自免於難。

秋九月，齊公孫蠆，公孫竈，放其大夫高止於北隰。乙未，出，書曰：出奔，罪高止也。高止好以事自爲功，且專，故難及之。

冬，孟孝伯如晉，報范叔也。

○爲高氏之難故，高豎以廬叛。十月，庚寅，間丘嬰帥師圍廬。高豎曰：苟使高氏有後，請致邑。齊人立敬仲之曾孫鄒良敬仲也。十一月，乙卯，高豎致廬而出奔晉。晉人城綿而寘旃。

○鄭伯有使公孫黑如楚，辭曰：楚鄭方惡，而使余往，是殺余也。伯有曰：世行也。子皙曰：可則往，難則已。何世之有？伯有將強使之。子皙怒，將伐伯有氏。大夫和之。十二月，己巳，鄭大夫盟於伯有氏。禘，謀曰：是盟也，其與幾何？詩曰：君子屢盟，亂是用長，今是長亂之道也。禍未歇也。必三年而後能紓。然明曰：政將焉往？禘，謀曰：善之代不善，天命也。其焉辟？子產舉不踰等，則位班也。擇善而舉，則世隆也。天又除之，奪伯有魄，子西卽世，將焉辟之？天禍鄭久矣，其必使子產息之，乃猶可以戾，不然，將亡矣。

- XXIX. 1 In his twenty-ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Ts'oo.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke arrived from Ts'oo.
- 3 On Käng-woo, K'an, marquis of Wei, died.
- 4 A gate-keeper murdered Yu-chae, viscount of Woo.
- 5 Chung-sun Këeh joined Sëun Ying of Tsin, Kaou Che of Ts'e, Hwa Ting of Sung, She-shuh E of Wei, Kung-sun Twan of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aou, Keu, T'äng, Sëeh, and little Choo, in walling [the capital of] Ke.
- 6 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Yang to Loo on a friendly mission.
- 7 The viscount of Ke came and made a covenant.
- 8 The viscount of Woo sent Chah to Loo on a friendly mission.
- 9 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was the burial of duke Hëen of Wei.
- 10 Kaou Che of Ts'e fled from that State to north Yen.
- 11 In winter, Chung-sun Këeh went to Tsin.

Par. 1. Tso-she says this notice is intended to explain how the duke did not welcome in the new year by repairing to the shrines in the ancestral temple on the first day of it. But there is probably more significance in it. Both duke Sëang and duke Ch'ing had been absent from Loo at the time of the new year on visits to Tsin; but the classic contains no par. like this in reference to those years. To be obliged to go to Ts'oo was an indignity to the marquis of Loo; while there, he was obliged to submit to peculiar indignities; and during his absence Ke Woo-taze had encroached upon his authority in the government of the State, so that he was even afraid to enter his capital on his return. All these things are hidden under the apparently innocent words of the text, in which many have traced the *stylos* of the sage himself. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ts'oo required the duke to bring grave-clothes with his own hand [for king K'ang]. He was troubled about it, but Muh-shuh said to him, "Have all about the coffin sprinkled, and then take the grave-clothes there. They will be but so much cloth or silk set forth [at court]." Accordingly a sorcerer was employed, who first executed the sprinkling with a branch of a peach tree and some reeds. The people of Ts'oo did not prevent him, but they afterwards regretted it.'



[We have here two notices about the burials of the princes of Ts'e and Ts'oo:—

1st. 'In the 2d month, on Kwei-maou, the people of Ts'e buried duke Chwang in the northern suburbs.

2d. 'In summer, in the 4th month, at the burial of king K'ang of Ts'oo, the duke, with the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Hsu, all accompanied it to the outside of the western gate, and the great officers of the States went to the grave. K'eh-gau (See at the end of the 1st year of duke Ch'au) then took the vacant seat, and king [Kung's] son Wei became chief minister. Tse-yu, the internuncius of Ch'ing, said, "This may be called incongruous. [Wei] will take the [king's] place, and flourish in his room. Beneath the pine and the cypress the grass does not flourish."

Par. 2. The duke arrived from Ts'oo, but it was with some hesitancy that he ventured to enter his own State again.

The Chuen says:—"When the duke on his return had got [to the barrier-wall of Ts'oo], Ke Woo-tsze had taken P'ien, [and appropriated it to himself]. He sent, however, Kung-yay to [meet the duke, and] inquire after his welfare, sending a messenger after him, who overtook him, with a sealed letter [for the duke], in which it was said, "The officer in charge of P'ien was intending to revolt. I led my followers to punish him, and have got the place. I venture to inform you of it." Kung-yay discharged his commission and withdrew; and when [the duke] came to his resting place, he learned that Ke Woo-tsze had taken P'ien. "He wished to get it," said the duke, "and pretends that it was revolting. This makes me feel that I am treated very distantly." He then asked Kung-yay whether it would be safe for him to enter [the State]. "The State," replied Kung-yay, "is your lordship's; who will dare to resist you?" On which the duke gave him the cap and robes [of a minister]. That officer firmly declined them, and only received them after he was hard pressed to do so. The duke wished not to enter the State, till Yung Ch'ing-pih sang to him the Shih we (She, I. iii. ode XI.), after which he took his way back to the capital. He arrived from Ts'oo in the 5th month, and Kung-yay resigned the city which he held from Ke Woo-tsze, and never afterwards entered his house, saying that he would not be in the employment of such a deceiver of his ruler. If Ke-sun went to see him, he would speak of his business as in former days. If he did not go to see him, he never spoke of the affairs of the family. When he was ill, he assembled his servants, and said to them, "When I am dead, be sure and not put me in my coffin with my ministerial cap and robes. They were not a reward of virtue. And do not let the Ke bury me."

Par. 3. [The Chuen appends here:—"At the burial of king Ling, the highest ministers of Ch'ing being [otherwise] occupied, Tsze-chen proposed that Yin T'wan should go [to the capital]. Pih-yew objected on the ground that T'wan was too young; but Tsze-chen said, "Is it not better that a young man should go than that no one at all should go? The ode (She, II. i. ode II. 2) says,

'The king's business was not to be slackly performed;

I had no leisure to kneel or to sit.'

East, west, south and north, who dares to dwell at ease? We steadily serve Tsin and Ts'oo, in order to protect the royal House. The king's business must not be undischarged, but there is no regular rule as to the person." Accordingly, he sent Yin T'wan to Chow.')

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"The people of Woo, in an invasion of Yueh, took a prisoner, whom they made a door-keeper (*i.e.*, after cutting off his feet), and then appointed him to the charge of the [viscount's] boat. The viscount, Yu-chae, was inspecting the boat [on one occasion], when the door-keeper murdered him with a knife."

There is no doubt as to the meaning of 閹; but how the murder should be the act of a 'door-keeper' seems to need some explanation. Both Kung-yang and Kuh-l'ang say that the person in question was 刑人, 'mutilated,' and Kuh-l'ang further says the mutilation consisted in his being a eunuch (寺). But we need not suppose this. Persons mutilated in their feet were in those times often employed as gate-keepers; and officers were so punished, and then that occupation was given to them. This must be the meaning, I think, of the 以爲閹 in Tso-she, and we can understand how the man should revenge himself by the murder of the viscount.

[We have here the following narrative:—"Tsze-chen of Ch'ing died, and [his son], Tsze-p'e, succeeded to his place. At this time the State was suffering from famine, and as the wheat crop was not yet ripe, the people were very badly off. Tsze-p'e then, [as if] by his father's command, presented each family with a *chung* of millet, thereby winning the attachment of the people; and in consequence of this the government of the State regularly continued in the hands of the Han family, its chiefs being the highest minister."

"When Tsze-han, minister of Works in Sung, heard what Tsze-p'e had done, he said, "As we are neighbours to [the State where such] good [is done], our people will expect the same from us." Sung was also suffering from famine, and he begged duke P'ing to lend [to the people] out of his public stores of grain, and made the great officers all lend in the same way. He himself kept no record of what he lent, [saying that he did it] for the great officers who had none. The consequence was that none in Sung suffered from want. Shuh-h'ang heard of it and said, "Many families will perish before the Han of Ch'ing, and the Yoh of Sung. They two are likely to have the chief sway in their States. The people will be attached to them. But in giving, and not considering it an act of virtue, the Yoh has the advantage. His descendants will rise and fall along with Sung."

Par. 5. For 世叔儀, Kung-yang has 世叔齊; and both he and Kuh-l'ang have 邾人 after 莒人. The Chuen says:—"The mother of duke P'ing of Tsin was a daughter of the House of Ke, in consequence of

which he took the management of that State. In the 6th month, Che Taou-tsze (Seun Ying) assembled the great officers of the States to fortify its capital. M'ang H'au-pih (Chung-sun K'eh) was among them; and from Ch'ing Tsze-t'ae-shuh and Pih-shih (Kung-sun T'wan) went. The former of these visited T'ae-shuh W'an-tsze (T'ae-shuh of Wei), and spoke with him [about the undertaking]. "Very great" said W'an-tsze, "is this walling of K'e." Tsze-t'ae-shuh said, "How is it that Tsin has no thought about the wants of the States that are connected with the house of Chow, and sets itself to protect this branch of H'ea? We can well know from it how Tsin has abandoned all us Ke (States of the 姬 or Chow surname). But if it abandon them, who will remain attached to it? I have heard that to abandon one's own, and seek to strangers, is a proof of estrangement from virtue. The ode (She, II. iv. ode VIII. 12) says,

'They assemble their neighbours,  
And their kinsfolk are full of their praise.'

As Tsin does not play a neighbour's part, who will praise it?"

"Kaou Tsze-yung (Kaou Che) of Ts'e and the minister of Instruction of Sung (Hwa Ting), visited Che Pih (Seun Ying), when Joo Ts'e was master of the ceremonies. When the guests were gone, the marshal How (Joo Ts'e) said to Che Pih, "Neither of those gentlemen will escape an evil end. Tsze-yung is self-sufficient, and the minister of Instruction is extravagant. They are both men who will ruin their families." Che Pih said, "[As between them], how will it be?" The reply was, "Self-sufficiency brings its fate on more rapidly. Extravagance comes to ruin along with [the exhaustion of] its means; but other men deal ruin to self-sufficiency. In this case it will [soon] come."

It was certainly ill-advised in the marquis of Tsin to call out the States to an undertaking like the walling of Ke. The partiality displayed in it did much to shake the supremacy which Tsin had maintained so long. Loo, and other States probably as well, were made to restore to Ke lands which they had taken from it.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—"The visit of Fan H'een-tsze (Sze Yang) was in acknowledgment of the walling of Ke. The duke entertained him, when Chen Chwang-pih held the silks [presented to him], and three pairs of archers displayed their skill. The duke's own officers, however, were not sufficient to supply that number, and it was necessary to get some from one of the clans. That supplied Chen H'ea and Chen Yuh-foo, who formed one pair. Of the duke's officers, Kung-woo Shau-pih-chung and Yen Chwang-shuh formed a pair, and the other consisted of Ts'ang Koo-foo and Tang Shuh."

Par. 7. The marquis sent the marshal J'ao Shuh-how to Loo to manage the matter about the lands of Ke, when we did not restore all [that we had taken]. Taou, the marquis's mother, was indignant, and said that Ts'e (Shuh-how) had taken bribes, and that if their former rulers could know it, they would not approve of his doing so. The marquis told this to Shuh-how, who replied, "The princes of Yu, Kwoh, Ts'au, Hwah, Hoh, Yang, Han, and Wei were Kes (姬), and Tsin's greatness is

owing to [its absorption of] them. If it had not encroached on the small States, where should it have found territory to take? Since the times of Woo and H'een, we have annexed many of them; and who can call us to account for the encroachments? Ke is a remnant of [the House of] H'ea, and has assimilated to the wild tribes of the east. [The princes of] Loo are the descendants of the duke of Chow, and are in most friendly relations with Tsin; if we should confer all Ke on Loo, we should not be doing anything strange, so that there is nothing to make to do about [in the present matter]. In its relations with Tsin, Loo contributes its dues without fail; its valuable curiosities are always arriving; its princes, ministers, and great officers come, one after another, to our court. Our historiographers do not cease recording; our treasury is not left empty a month. Let such a state of things alone. Why should we make Loo thin in order to fatten Ke? If, moreover, our former rulers could know of the case, would they not be angry with the lady, rather than find occasion to reprove me?"

"Duke W'an of Ke [now] came to Loo, and made a covenant [with reference to the restored lands]. The text calls him viscount, in contempt for him (?)."

Par. 8. The Chah introduced here appears in an honourable way in the narrative appended to xiv. 1. The difficulties connected with his present mission will be touched on after the long narrative in the Chuen:—"The Kung-tsze Chah of Woo, having come to Loo on a complimentary mission, visited Shuh-sun Muh-tsze, and was pleased with him. He said to him, however, "You will not, I am afraid, die a natural death! You love good men, and yet are not able to select such [for office]. I have heard that it is the object of a superior man, high in office, to select [good men]. You are a minister of Loo, and a scion of its House. You are entrusted with a great part of its government, and yet you are not careful in the men you raise to office;—how will you bear the consequences? Calamity is sure to come upon you." He then begged that he might hear the music of Chow; and [the duke] made the musicians sing to him the [odes of the] Chow Nan and the Shau Nan (She, I. i., ii.) [with all the accompaniments]. "Admirable!" he said; "here was the beginning and foundation [of king W'an's transforming influence], yet still it was not complete. Notwithstanding, there is [the expression of] earnest endeavour, without any resentment."

"They sang to him the [odes of] P'ei, Yung, and Wei (She, I. iii. iv. v.). "Admirable!" he said. "How deep [was the influence]! Here are those who sorrow, and yet are not distressed." I hear [and I know]:—it was the virtue of K'ang-shuh and duke Woo, which made these odes what they are,—the odes of Wei."

"They sang to him the [odes of] Wang (She, I. vi.). "Admirable!" he said. "Here is thought without fear, as befitted Chow after its removal to the east!"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ch'ing (I. vii.). He said, "Admirable! But the minutiae in them are excessive, and the people could not endure them. It is this which will make Ch'ing the first to perish."

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ts'e (I. viii.). He said, "Admirable! How loudly sound

these odes of a great State! It was T'ae-kung who made such an object of distinction by the east sea. The destinies of this State are not to be measured."

"They sang to him the [odes of] Pin (I. xv.). He said, "Admirable! [Their sound] is grand. They are expressive of enjoyment without license,—as befitted the duke of Chow in the east!"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ts'in (I. xi.). He said, "Here are what we call the sounds of the cultivated States! Ts'in was able to become one of these, and so is great, very great. Was it not because it occupies the old seat of Chow?"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Wei (I. ix.). He said, "Admirable! What harmony! There is grandeur and delicacy, like a dangerous defile yet easily traversed! To this let there be added the aids of virtue, and [Wei] should produce intelligent lords."

"They sang to him the [odes of] T'ang (I. x.). He said, "How expressive of thought and deep [anxiety]! Did not T'ang possess the people that came down from [the rule of the prince of] T'ao and T'ang? But for that how should there have been here an anxiety so far-reaching? But for the remaining influence of his excellent virtue, who could have produced anything like this?"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ch'in (I. xii.). He said, "A State without [proper] lords!—how can it continue long?" On [the music of] Kwei and Ts'ao (I. xiii. xiv.), he made no remarks.

"They sang to him the [odes of the] S'ao (She, II.). He said, "Admirable! Here is thoughtfulness, but no disaffection; resentful feeling, but not the expression of it. Is there not indicated some decay in the virtue of Chow? But still there were the people that had come down from the early kings."

"They sang to him the [odes of the] Ta Ya (She, III.). He said, "How wide! How harmonious and pleasant! Amid all the winding [of the notes], the movement is straight-onward. Is there not here the virtue of king Wān?"

"They sang to him the Sacrificial Odes (She, IV.). He said, "This is perfect! Here are straight-forwardness without rudeness; winding but no bending; nearness without pressure; distance without estrangement; changes without license; repetitions without satiety; disconsolateness without deep sorrow; joy without wild indulgence; the use of resources without their ever failing; wide [virtue] without display; beneficence without waste; appropriation without covetousness; conservation without obstruction; and constant exercise without any dissipation. The five notes are harmonious; the [airs of the] eight winds are equally blended; the parts [of the different instruments] are defined; all is maintained in an orderly manner; the complete virtue [of Chow and Shang and of Loo] appears united here."

"When he saw the dancers with the ivory pipes, and those with the southern flageolets, he said, "Admirable! And still we must regret [that Wān's sway was not universal]."

"When he saw the dancers of the Ta-woo (the dance of king Woo), he said, "Admirable! Chow was now complete! Here is the witness of it!"

"When he saw the dancers of the Shaou-hoo (The dance of T'ang of Yin), he said, "The magnanimity of the sage! and still there was something to be ashamed of [in T'ang];—his position was hard [even] for a sage."

"When he saw the dancers of the Ta-h'ea (the music of Yu), he said, "Admirable! Zealous labour without any assumption of merit!—who but Yu could have accomplished this?"

"When he saw the dancers of the Shaou-s'ao (the music of Shun), he said, "Virtue was here complete. This is great. It is like the universal overshadowing of heaven, and the universal sustaining of the earth. The most complete virtue could add nothing to this. Let the exhibition stop. If there be any other music, I shall not presume to ask to hear it."

"Chah had come out to pay complimentary visits, to introduce the new ruler of Woo to the other princes; so he now went on to Ts'e, where he was pleased with Gan P'ing-chung, and said to him, "Quickly return [to the State] your towns and your share in the government. If you are without towns and charge, you will escape the troubles [that are coming]. The government of Ts'e will come into the hands of the right person; but until that happens, its troubles will not cease." Gan-tsze on this resigned his share in the government and his towns through Ch'in Hwan-tsze; and in this way he escaped the troubles of Lwan and Kaou.

"[From Ts'e] Chah went on to Ch'ing, where he visited Tsze-ch'an, as if they had been old acquaintances, presenting him with a sash of the plain, white silk [of Woo], and receiving from him a robe of the grass-cloth [of Ch'ing]. He said to Tsze-ch'an, "The [acting] chief minister of Ch'ing is extravagant, and troubles will [soon] arise. The government is sure to fall to you, and you must be careful to observe the rules of propriety in the conduct of it. If you are not so, the State will go to ruin."

"He went on to Wei, where he was pleased with Keu Yuen, Sze Kow, Sze Ts'ew, the Kung-tsze King, Kung-shuh Fah, and the Kung-tsze Chaou, and said, "There are many superior men in Wei, and it will not yet have any sorrows."

"From Wei he went to Ts'in, and [on the way] was going to pass the night in Ts'eih. Hearing the sound of bells in it, however, he said, "This is strange! I have heard that he who strives, and does so not virtuously, is sure to be executed. It is because he offended against his ruler that he is here. If to live in apprehension were not enough for him, why should he go on to have music? He lives here like a swallow which has built its nest in a tent. When his ruler is still in his coffin in the ancestral temple, is it a time to have music?" With this he left the place; but when [Sun] Wān-tsze heard his words, he never afterwards listened to a lute all his life.

"Arrived at Ts'in, he was pleased with Chaou Wān-tsze, Han Seuen-tsze, and Wei H'een-tsze, and said, "The [rule of the] State of Ts'in will be concentrated in the families of these three." He was pleased [also] with Shuh-h'ang; and when he was going away, he said to him, "You must do your best. Your ruler is extravagant, and there are many [deemed to be] good men [about the court]. The great officers are wealthy, and the government will come into their families. You love what is straightforward, and will take

thought how to escape yourself from calamities [that are coming]."

"There is considerable difficulty in connexion with this mission of Ke-chah. Acc. to Tso-she, it was to open communications between the new ruler of Woo and the other princes. But the former ruler of Woo was murdered only in the 5th month; and that same month, Chah must have been despatched;—a thing irreconcilable with the proprieties of China. Too Yu supposes that he was sent away by Yu-chae before his murder, and went on his mission, without hearing of it. But as the news of that event soon reached Loo, it could not but also reach him. This is one of those questions which cannot be satisfactorily solved, and which there is therefore little use in discussing.

In his history of Woo, (Historical Records, Bk. XXXI.) Sze-ma Ts'een gives Yu-chae 17 years of rule, and a natural death, so that the Ch'un Ts'ew and his Work here contradict each other.

Par. 10. This is the first appearance of North Yen in the classic. It was a Ke State, held by the descendants of Shih, the duke of Shaou famous in the Shoo, as earls, or, acc. to Sze-ma Ts'een, marquises. Its capital was in Ke (前), in the pres. dis. of Ta-hing, one of the districts in which Peking is. There is still a Ke-chow in the dep. of Shun-t'een.

The Chuen says.—"In autumn, in the 9th month, Kung-sun Ch'ae and Kung-sun Ts'ao of Ts'e drove the great officer Kaou Che to north Yen. He went from the capital on Yih-we. The words of the text, that he left the State and fled, are condemnatory of him (?). He was fond of assuming the merit of anything that was done, and acting on his own authority; and hence trouble came upon him."

Par. 11. This visit was, acc. to Tso-she, in return for that to Loo of Fan Shuh (Sze Yang) in the summer.

[We have here two narratives:—

1st. "In consequence of the troubles about Kaou Che, [his son] Kaou Shoo held [the city of] Loo in revolt. In the 10th month, on K'ang-

yin, Leu-k'ew Ying led a force, and invested Loo, when Shoo said that he would surrender it, if they agreed that the Kaou family should continue to have its representative. The people then appointed to that position Yen the great-grandson of King-chung (The Kaou He in the Chuen in III. ix. 6), out of their esteem for King-chung. In the 11th month, on Yih-maou, Kaou Shoo surrendered Loo, and fled to Ts'in, where they walled M'een, and placed him in it."

2d. "Pih-yew of Ch'ing wished to send Kung-sun Hih on a mission to Ts'oo, but he declined to go, saying, "Ts'oo and Ch'ing are now offended with each other;—to send me there is to kill me." Pih-yew urged that such missions were hereditary in his family; but he replied, "When it is possible, we go; when there are difficulties, we do not;—what hereditary duty is there in the case?" Pih-yew wanted to force him to go, which enraged him—Tsze-seih—so that he arranged to attack the family of Pih-yew; but the great officers reconciled them. In the 12th month, on Ke-se, the great officers made a covenant with the Pih-yew, when P'e Chin said, "How long will this covenant be adhered to? The ode (She, II. v. ode IV. 8) says,

"The superior is continually making covenants,  
And the disorder is thereby increased."

The present is the way to prolong disorder; our misery will not yet cease. It will take 3 years before we are relieved from it." Jen-ming said, "To whom will the govt. go?" and Chin replied, "It is the rule of Heaven that good men should take the place of bad. To whom should it go but to Tsze-ch'an? His elevation will not be out of order, but what is due to his position. His elevation as a good man will be approved by all. Heaven is destroying Pih-yew, and has taken away his reason. When Tsze-se is dead, Tsze-ch'an cannot escape being chief minister. Heaven has long been afflicting Ch'ing, and will make Tsze-ch'an give it rest. Through him the State may still be settled; if it be not so, it will go to ruin.""]

### Thirtieth year.

三十年春，王正月，  
楚子使薳罷來聘。  
夏四月，蔡世子般  
弒其君固。  
五月甲午，宋災，宋  
伯姬卒。  
天王殺其弟佖夫，  
王子瑕奔晉。  
秋七月，叔弓如宋，  
葬宋共姬。

蔡景侯爲犬子般娶於楚，通焉。犬子弑景侯。或叫於宋大廟曰：「譖譖出出，鳥鳴於臺社。」如曰：「譖譖。」甲午，宋大災。宋伯姬卒，待姆也。君子謂宋共姬女而不婦，女待人，婦義事也。

初，王僖卒，其子括將見王而歎。單公子愆期，爲靈王御士，過諸廷，聞其歎而言曰：「烏乎，必有此夫。」入以告王，且曰：「必殺之，不感而願大，視躁而足高，心在他矣。」不殺，必害。王曰：「童子何知？」及靈王崩，僖括欲立王子倭夫，倭夫弗知。戊子，僖括圍蔣，遂成愆，成愆奔平。時五月癸巳，尹言多，劉毅單蔑甘過，鞏成殺倭夫，括瑕，寥奔晉。書曰：「天王殺其弟倭夫，罪在王也。」

⑤六月，鄭子產如陳，陳復命，告大夫曰：「陳亡國也，不可與也，聚禾粟，繕城郭，恃此二者，而不撫其民，其君弱植，公子侈，大夫卑，大夫教政多門，以介於大國，能無亡乎？不過十年矣。」秋七月，叔弓如宋，葬共姬也。

鄭伯有嗜酒，爲窟室，而夜飲酒，擊鐘焉。朝至，未已，朝者曰：「公焉在？」其人曰：「吾公在壑谷。」皆自朝布路而罷。既而朝，則又將使子皙如楚，歸而飲酒。庚子，子皙以駟氏之甲伐而焚之。伯有奔雍梁，醒而後知之，遂奔許。大夫聚謀，子皮曰：「仲虺之志云：『亂者取之。』亡者侮之，推亡固存，國之利也。」罕駟豐同生，伯有汰侈，故不免。人謂子產就直助彊，子產曰：「豈爲我徒？國之禍難，誰知所敝，或主彊直，雖乃不生，姑成吾所。」辛丑，子產斂伯有氏之死，而殯之，不及謀而遂行，印段從之。子皮止之，衆曰：「人不我順，何止焉？」子皮曰：「夫子禮於死者，況生者乎？」遂自止之。壬寅，子產入，癸卯，子石入，皆受盟于子皙氏。乙巳，鄭伯及其大夫盟於犬宮，盟國人於師之梁之外。伯有聞鄭人之盟已也，怒，聞子皮之甲不與攻己也，喜，曰：「子皮與我矣。」癸丑，晨，自墓門之澗入，因馬師頡，介於襄庫，以伐舊北門，駟帶帥國人以伐之，皆召子產。子產曰：「兄弟而及此，吾從天所與。」伯有死於羊肆，子產櫟之，枕之股而

鄭良霄出奔許。

自許入于鄭，鄭

人殺良霄。

冬十月，葬蔡景

公。晉人，齊人，

宋人，衛人，鄭人，

曹人，莒人，邾人，

滕人，薛人，杞人，

小邾人，會于澶

淵，宋災故。

左傳曰：三十年春，王正月，楚子使薳罷來聘，通嗣君也。穆叔問王子之爲政何如，對曰：「吾儕小人，食而聽事，猶懼不給命，而不免於戾焉，與知政固間焉，不告。」穆叔告大夫曰：「楚令尹將有大事，子蕩將與焉，助之，匿其情矣。」

⑤子產相鄭伯，以如晉，叔向問鄭國之政焉。對曰：「吾得見與否，在此歲也。」駟良方爭，未知所成，若有所成，吾得見，乃可知也。叔向曰：「不既和矣乎？」對曰：「伯有侈而愎，子皙好在上，莫能相下也，雖其和也，猶相積惡也，惡至無日矣。」

⑥二月，癸未，晉悼夫人食，與人之城杞者，絳縣人，或年長矣，無子，而往與於食，有與疑年，使之年曰：「臣，小人也，不知紀年。」臣生之歲，正月甲子朔，四百有四十，五甲子矣，其季於今，三之一也。吏走問諸朝，師曠曰：「魯叔仲惠伯，會卻成子於承匡之歲也，是歲也，狄伐魯，叔孫莊叔於是乎敗狄於鹹，獲長狄僑如及虺也，豹也，而皆以名其子，七十三歲矣。」史趙曰：「亥有二首六身，下二如身，是其日數也。」士文伯曰：「然則二萬六千六百有六旬也。」趙孟問其縣大夫，則其屬也，召之而謝過焉。曰：「武不才，任君之大事，以晉國之多虞，不能由吾子，使吾子辱在泥塗久矣，武之罪也，敢謝不才。」遂仕之，使助爲政，辭以老，與之田，使爲君復陶，以爲絳縣師，而廢其輿尉。於是魯使者在晉，歸以語諸大夫，季武子曰：「晉未可喻也，有趙孟以爲大夫，有伯瑕以爲佐，有史趙，師曠而咨度焉，有叔向，女齊以師保其君，其朝多君子，其庸可喻乎？勉事之而後可。」

⑦夏四月己亥，鄭伯及其大夫盟。君子是以知鄭難之不已也。

哭之。斂而殯諸伯有之臣在市側者，既而葬諸斗城。子駟氏欲攻子產，子皮怒之曰：「禮，國之幹也，殺有禮，禍莫大焉。」乃止。於是游吉如晉還，聞雖不入復命於介。八月，甲子，奔晉，駟帶追之，及酸棗，與子上盟，用兩珪質于河。使公孫肸入盟大夫，己巳，復歸。書曰：「鄭人殺良霄，不稱大夫，言自外入也。」於子驥之卒也，將葬，公孫揮與裨竈晨會事焉。過伯有氏，其門上生莠。子羽曰：「其莠猶在乎？」於是歲在降婁，降婁中而旦，裨竈指之曰：「猶可以終歲，歲不及此大也。」及其亡也，歲在阞訾之口，其明年乃及降婁。僕展從伯有與之皆死，羽頡出奔晉，爲任大夫。雞澤之會，鄭樂成奔楚，遂適晉，羽頡因之，與之比，而事趙文子，言伐鄭之說焉，以宋之盟故，不可。子皮以公孫鉏爲馬師。

⑤楚公子圍殺大司馬蔣掩，而取其室。申無宇曰：「王子必不免，善人，國之主也，王子相楚，國將善，是封殖，而虐之，是禍國也。」且司馬令尹之偏，而王之四體也，絕民之主，去身之偏，艾王之體，以禍其國，無不祥大焉，何以得免。

爲宋災故，諸侯之大夫會，以謀歸宋財。冬十月，叔孫豹會晉趙武、齊公孫蠆、宋向戌、衛北宮佗、鄭罕虎及小邾之大夫，會于澮淵。既而無歸於宋，故不書其人。君子曰：「信其不可不慎乎？澮淵之會，卿不書，不信也。夫諸侯之上卿，會而不信，寵名皆棄，不信之不可也。如是，詩曰：『文王陟降，在帝左右。』信之謂也。又曰：『淑慎爾止，無載爾偽。』不信之謂也。書曰：『某人某人會于澮淵。』宋災故，尤之也。不書魯大夫諱之也。

⑥鄭子皮授子產政，辭曰：「國小而偪，族大寵多，不可爲也。」子皮曰：「虎帥以聽，誰敢犯子？」子善相之，國無小，小能事大，國乃寬。子產爲政，有事伯石，略與之邑。子大叔曰：「國皆其國也，奚獨略焉？」子產曰：「無欲實難，皆得其欲，以從其事，而要其成，非我有成，其在人乎？何愛於邑？邑將焉往？」子大叔曰：「若四國何？」子產曰：「非相違也，而相從也，四國何尤焉？」鄭書有之曰：「安定國家，必大焉先。」姑先安大，以待其所歸。既，伯石懼而歸邑，卒與之。伯有既死，使

大史命伯石爲卿。辭。大史退，則請命焉。復命之，又辭。如是三，乃受策入拜。子產是以惡其爲人，也使次己位。子產使都鄙有章，上下有服，田有封洫，廬井有伍，大人之患儉者，從而與之，泰侈者因而斂之。豐卷將祭，請田焉。弗許，曰：「唯君用鮮，衆給而已。」子張怒，退而徵役。子產奔晉，子皮止之，而逐豐卷。豐卷奔晉。子產請其田里，三年而復之，反其田里，及其入焉。從政一年，與人誦之曰：「取我衣冠而縗之，取我田疇而伍之，孰殺子產，吾其與之。」及三年，又誦之曰：「我有子弟，子產誨之，我有田疇，子產殖之，子產而死，誰其嗣之。」

- XXX. 1 In the [duke's] thirtieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the viscount of Ts'oo sent Wei P'e to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, Pan, heir-son of Ts'ae, murdered his ruler Koo.
- 3 In the fifth month, on K'eah-woo, there was a fire in [the palace of] Sung, [in which] the eldest daughter [of our duke Ch'ing], [who had been married to duke Kung] of Sung, died.
- 4 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] put to death his younger brother, Ning-foo.
- 5 The king's son H'ea fled to Tsin.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, Shuh Kung went to the burial of Kung Ke of Sung.
- 7 L'ang S'eaou of Ch'ing fled from that State to Heu. From Heu he entered [again] into [the capital of] Ch'ing, when the people of Ch'ing put him to death.
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke King of Ts'ae.
- 9 Officers of Tsin, Ts'e, Sung, Wei, Ch'ing, Ts'au, Keu, Choo, T'ang, S'eh, Ke, and Little Choo, had a meeting at Shen-yuen, in consequence of the calamity of fire in Sung.

Par. 1. For 罷 Kung-yang has 頗. This visit from Ts'oo was to open communications between the court of Loo, and the new ruler of Ts'oo, whose accession is mentioned in the Chuen in the last par. of the 28th year. The Chuen here says:—'Muh-shuh asked the envoy how king [Kung's] son was going on in his government, and was answered, "We little men eat, and receive instructions as to the business to be done by us, always apprehensive lest we do not fulfil our duties aright, and do not escape being charged with some transgression; how can we have anything to do with taking knowledge of the government?"' Muh-shuh pressed for a more definite reply, but did not obtain it, on

which he said to the great officers, "The chief minister of Ts'oo is going to make a *coup d'état*, and Tsze-tang (Wei P'e) will take a part in it. He is aiding him, and conceals the matter." [There are appended here three narratives:—1st. 'Tsze-ch'an attended the earl of Ch'ing on a visit to Tsin, when Shuh-h'ang asked him how [it was going to go] with the government of Ch'ing. He replied, "Whether I can see it, or cannot see it, the thing will be determined this year. Sze (The Kung-sun Hih, Tsze-seih;—see the Chuen at the end of the last year) and L'ang (Pih-y'ew) were quarrelling, and I do not know the issue. If the issue were come, and I see it, then [what you ask about] may be known." Shuh-h'ang said, "Have they not



been reconciled?" "Pih-yëw," answered Tsze Ch'an, "is extravagant and self-willed; and Tsze-seih likes to be above others. The one of them cannot be below the other. Although they were reconciled, they are still gathering evil against one another; and it will come to a head at no [distant] day."

2d. 'In the 2d month, on Kwei-we, the [dowager-] marchioness Taou of Tsin entertained all the men who had been engaged in the walling of K'eh. Belonging to the district of K'ang was a childless old man who went and took his place at the feast. Some who were present doubted about his age, and would have him tell it. He said, "A small man like me does not know how to keep a record of the years. Since the year of my birth, which began on a K'eah-tse, the 1st day of the moon (The H'ea year, not the Chow), there have been 445 K'eah-tse, and to-day is the 20th day of the cycle now running (20 days =  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 60)." The officers [of the feast] ran to the court to ask [the year of his birth]. The music-master Kwang said, "It was the year when Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih of Loo had a meeting with K'eh Ching-tze in Shing-k'wang (See VI. xi. 2). In that year, the Teih invaded Loo, and Shuh-sun Chwang-shuh defeated them at H'een, taking their giants K'eaou-foo, Hwuy, and P'aou, after whom he named his sons. It is 73 years ago." The historiographer Chaou said, "The character *hae* (亥, anciently, in the seal character 𠄎) is composed of *two* at the head and *sixes* in the body of it. If you take the *two* and place it alongside the *sixes* of the body (𠄎), you get the number of the man's days." Sze Wan-pih said, "Then they are 26,660."

'Chaou-mäng asked the commandant of the district, and found that it belonged to his own jurisdiction, on which he called the [old] man, and apologized for the error [that had been committed]. "In my want of ability," said he, "and occupied with [all] the great business of our ruler, through the many subjects of anxiety in connection with the State of Tsin. I have not been able to employ you, [as you ought to be employed], but have made you be occupied with earth and plaster too long. It was my fault, and I apologize for my want of ability." He then made the man an officer, and wanted him to assist in the government. The man declined this on the ground of his age, when he gave him some lands, and made him keeper of the marquis's wardrobe. He also made him one of the [land-] masters for the district of K'ang, and degraded the commissary [who had employed him].

'At this time the commissioner of Loo (Chung-sun K'eh) was in Tsin, and he told this circumstance to the other great officers on his return. Ke Woo-tse observed, "Tsin is not to be slighted. With Chaou-mäng as [the chief of its] great officers, and Pih-h'ea (Sze Wan-pih) as his assistant; with the historiographer Chaou, and the music-master Kwang, to refer to; and with Shuh-h'ang and Joo 'Ts'e, as tutor and guardian to its ruler, there are many superior men in its court. It is not to be slighted. Our proper course is to exert ourselves to serve it."

3d. 'In summer, in the 4th month, on Ke-hae, the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant with his great officers. The superior man can know from this that the troubles of Ch'ing were not yet at an end'.

Par. 2. See the remarks of Tsze-ch'an in the narrative appended to xxviii. 4. The Chuen here says:—'The marquis King of Ts'ae had taken a wife for his eldest son from Ts'oo, and debauched her. The son [now] murdered the marquis.' 般 is also found 班.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Some one called out in the grand temple of Sung. "Ah! ah! come out, come out." A bird [also] sang at the altar of P'oh, as if it were saying, "Ah! Ah!" On K'eah-woo there occurred a great fire in Sung, when duke [Ch'ing's] eldest daughter who had been married to the ruler of Sung, died;—through her waiting for the instructress of the harem. The superior man may say that Kung Ke acted like a young lady, and not like a woman of years. A girl should wait for the instructress [in such a case]; a wife might act as was right in the case.'

The lady of Loo who died in this fire was the same whose marriage occurred in the 9th year of duke Ch'ing, so that she must now have been not less than 60, and might very well have made her escape from the flames without being exposed to the charge of immodesty. Tso-she's remark on the case may well excite a smile. A superior woman might dispense with the help of the duenna in a case of fire. The critics are wroth with Tso-she for the modified reflection which he makes on the lady, who covered herself, they say, with imperishable glory (足以風勵千古).

Par. 4. For 倭夫 Kung-yang has 年夫. The Chuen says:—'Before this, after king [K'een's] son Chen Ke's death, his son Kwoh was going to have an audience of [his brother] king [Ling] and sighed. K'een-k'e, son of the duke of Shen, who was the king's charioteer, was passing through the court, and heard the sigh, with the words, "Ah! this shall be mine;" so he went in, and reported the thing to the king, saying, "You must put him to death. He shows no sorrow [for his father's death], and has great ambitions. His looks are fierce, and he lifts his feet high,—his thoughts elsewhere. If you do not kill him, he will do hurt." The king replied, "He is a boy; what does his knowledge extend to?"

'When king Ling died, Chen Kwoh wished to raise his brother Ning-foo to the throne, that prince knowing nothing of it; and on Mow-tze he laid siege to Wei, and drove out Ch'ing K'een, who fled to P'ing-che. In the 5th month, Yin Yen-to, L'ew E, Shen M'eh, Kan K'wo, and Kung Ch'ing, put Ning-foo to death. Kwoh, H'ea, and L'eaou fled to Tsin. The text says that "The king put his younger brother to death," thereby condemning the king.' (1)

Par. 5. This H'ea must have been another son of king Ling, and a brother of Ning-foo. His flight is mentioned in the preceding narrative. We have here simply 奔, 'fled,' and not 出奔, 'went out and fled,' because all the kingdom was Chow.

[We have here the following narrative:—'In the 6th month, Tsze-ch'an of Ch'ing went to Ch'in to superintend the business of a covenant. When he reported the execution of his commission, he said to the great officers, "Ch'in is a doomed State, with which we should have nothing to do. [Its government] is collecting rice and millet, and repairing the walls of its capital and suburbs, relying on these two things, without doing anything for the comfort of the people. The ruler is too weak to stand to anything; his brothers and cousins are extravagant; his eldest son is mean: the great officers are proud; the government is in the hands of many families:—in this connection, and so near to the great State [of Ts'oo], can it avoid perishing? It will perish within ten years."']

Par. 6. Kuh-l'ang omits the 宋 before 共. Shuh Kung was a son of Shuh Laou, mentioned xiv. 1, et al. The lady has the name of Kung, being so called from the posthumous title of her husband. The sad death which had overtaken her, and what was considered her heroic conduct in it, made Loo pay her this extraordinary honour.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Pih-yëw of Ch'ing, in his fondness for drinking, made a chamber under ground, where he would drink all night, with bells beating around him. [On one occasion], when parties came to wait on him in the mooning, [his debauch] was not over; and when they asked where he was, the servants told them that he was in the valley, on which they all retired, and went their different ways. After this he repaired to the [earl's] court, and again insisted that Tsze-seih should go to Ts'oo (See the 2d narrative at the end of last year). Then on his return home, he fell to drinking.

'On K'ang-tse, Tsze-seih, with the men-at-arms of the Sze family, attacked and burned his house, when he fled (= was carried off by his servants) to Yung-l'ang, only becoming aware of what had happened, when he awoke. He then fled to Heu.

'The great officers collected to take counsel [as to what should be done]. Tsze-p'e said, "We read in the Book of Chung-hwuy (Shoo, IV. ii. 7), "Take what they have from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those who are going to ruin. Overthrow the perishing, and strengthen what is being preserved;"—this will be profitable for the State. The founders of the Han, Sze, and Fung families were the sons of one mother. Pih-yëw [belongs to a different mother, and] is so excessively extravagant that he could not escape [his fate]." People said that Tsze-ch'an would take the part of the right and help the strong. Tsze-ch'an, however, said, "How should I be made a partizan? It is hard to know who should die for the miseries and troubles of the State. Suppose I took my stand with these, the strong and upright, would troubles not arise? I must be allowed to occupy my proper place."

'On Sin-ch'ow, Tsze-ch'an shrouded those belonging to Pih-yëw's household who had died, and placed them in their coffins for burial; and then, without having taken part in the counsels [of the other officers], proceeded to leave. Yin Twan and Tsze-P'e followed him, to stop him, but [the majority] said, "Why should you detain a man who will not act along with us?" Tsze-

p'e replied, "He has behaved properly to the dead; how much more will he do so to the living!" With this he went himself and induced him to remain."

'On Jin-yin, Tsze-ch'an entered the capital, and, on Kwei-maou, Tsze-shih (Yin Twan); and both accepted a covenant with Tsze-seih. On Yih-sze, the earl and the great officers made a covenant in the grand temple, and they bound [also] the people of the State, outside the gate Sze-che-l'ang. When Pih-yëw heard that they had made a covenant in Ch'ing with reference to himself, he was enraged; and when he heard that Tsze-p'e's men-at-arms had not been present at the attack on him, he was glad, and said, "Tsze-p'e is for me." On Kwei-ch'ow, early in the morning, he entered the city by the drain at the Moo gate; by means of K'eh, the master of the horse, procured arms from the repository of S'ang; and proceeded to attack the old north gate. Sze Tae led the people to attack him; and both parties called out for Tsze-ch'an. "You are both," said Tsze-ch'an, "my brethren, and since things have come to this pass, I will follow him whom Heaven favours." Pih-yëw then died in the Sheep-market. Tsze-ch'an covered him with a shroud, pillowed his body on his thigh, and wept over it. He then had it dressed and put into a coffin, which was deposited in the house of an officer of Pih-yëw, who lived near to the market, burying it afterwards in T'ow-shing.

'The head of the Sze family wanted to attack Tsze-ch'an, but Tsze-p'e was angry with him, and said, "Propriety is the bulwark of a State. No misfortune could be greater than to kill the observer of it." On this the other desisted from his purpose.

'At this time Yëw Keih, who had been on a mission to Tsin, was returning; but when he heard of the troubles, he did not enter the capital. Entrusting to his assistant-commissioner the report of his mission, in the 8th month, on K'eah-tse, he fled to Tsin. Sze Tae pursued him as far as Swan-tsaou, and there Keih made a covenant with him,—Tsze-shang,—dropping two batons of jade into the Ho, in attestation of his sincerity. He then sent Kung-sun Heih into the city to make a covenant with the great officers, after which, on Ke-sze, he returned himself, and took his former position.

'The text simply says that "The people of Ch'ing put to death L'ang S'eaou," not designating him a great officer of the State, because he entered it from abroad.

'After the death of Tsze-k'eaou (Kung-sun Ch'ae; in the 19th year) when he was about to be buried, Kung-sun Hwuy and P'e T'eaou came together early in the morning to be present. As they passed the gate of Pih-yëw's house, there were some weeds growing on the top of it; and Tsze-yu (Kung-sun Hwuy) said, "Are those weeds still there?" At this time the year-star was in H'ang-low; and when that reached the meridian, it was morning. P'e T'eaou pointed to that constellation, and said, "The year-star may still complete a revolution, but it will not arrive at this point where it now is. When Pih-yëw died, the year-star was in the mouth of Tseu-tse; and the year after, it again reached H'ang-low."

'Puh Chen had followed Pih-yëw, and died along with him. Yu K'eh left the State and fled to Tsin, where he became commandant of Jin.

At the meeting of Ke-tsih, Yoh Ch'ing of Ch'ing had fled to Ts'oo, and thence gone to Ts'in. Yu K'eh sought his help, and they were friendly. He served Chaou Wan-tsz, and spoke with him about invading Ch'ing; but that could not be done, in consequence of the covenant of Sung. Tsze-p'e made Kung-sun Ts'oo master of the horse.

Par. 8. [The Chuen appends here:—The Kung-tsz Wei of Ts'oo put to death the grand-marshal Wei Yen, and took to himself all his property. Shin Woo-yu said, "The king's son (Wei) is sure not to escape an evil death. Good men are the reliance of the State. As chief minister of the State, he ought to promote and support the good, but he oppresses them,—to the calamity of the State. The marshal moreover stands in as close proximity to the chief minister as his own side, and is the four limbs of the king. [Thus the king's son] has destroyed the reliance of the people, removed his own side, and injured the king's limbs:—there could be nothing worse or more inauspicious than this. How is it possible he should escape an evil death?" ]

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—In consequence of the fire in Sung, the great officers of the States assembled to consult about making contributions for the benefit of that State. In winter, Shuh-sun P'aou joined Chaou Woo of Ts'in, Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ts'e, H'ang Seuh of Sung, Pih-kung 't'o of Wei, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, and a great officer of Little Choo, in a meeting at Shen-yuen; but the issue was that no contributions were made to Sung. On this account the names of the parties who met are not given.

"The superior man will say that good faith is a thing about which men should be most careful. The ministers who met at Shen-yuen are not recorded because they did not keep good faith, and their rank and names were all thrown on one side;—such is the declaration of the evil of the want of faith. The ode (She, III. i. ode I. 1) says,

"King Wan ascends and descends  
In the presence of God."

There is the declaration of [the value of] good faith. Another ode (One of those which are lost) says,

"Be wisely careful as to your conduct;  
Let nothing be done in hypocrisy."

That is spoken of the want of good faith. The words of the text that such and such men met at Shen-yuen, and that it was on account of the calamity of Sung, is condemnatory of them [all]. The great officer of Loo is not mentioned,—to conceal [the shame of that State] (?).

[There is here a narrative about Tsze-ch'an in the government of Ch'ing:—Tsze-p'e of Ch'ing wished to resign the government of that State to Tsze-ch'an, who declined it, saying, "The State is small, and is near to [a great one]; the clans are great, and many [members of them] are favourites [with our ruler]. The government cannot be efficiently conducted." Tsze-p'e replied, "I will lead them all to listen [to your orders], and who will dare to come into collision with you? With your ability presiding over its administration, the State will not be small. Though it be small, you can with

it serve the great State, and the State will enjoy ease." On this Tsze-ch'an undertook the government. Wishing to employ the services of Pih-shih (Kung-sun 'Twan), he conferred on him a grant of towns. Tsze-t'ae-shuh said, "The State is the State of us all; why do you make such a grant to him alone?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "It is hard for a man not to desire such things; and when a man gets what he desires, he is excited to attend to his business, and labours to compass its success. I cannot compass that; it must be done by him. And why should you grudge the towns? Where will they go?" "But what will the neighbouring States think?" urged Tsze-t'ae-shuh. "When we do not oppose one another," was the reply, "but act in harmony, what will they have to blame? It is said in one of our own Books, 'In order to giving rest and settlement to the State, let the great families have precedence.' Let me now for the present content them, and wait for that result." After this Pih-shih became afraid, and returned the towns; but in the end, [Tsze-ch'an] gave them to him. And now that Pih-y'ew was dead, he sent the grand historiographer to Pih-shih with the commission of a minister. It was declined, and the historiographer withdrew, when Pih-shih requested that the offer might be repeated. On its being so, he again declined it; and this he did three times, when at last he accepted the tablet, and went to the court to give thanks for it. All this made Tsze-ch'an dislike the man, but he made him take the position next to himself.

"Tsze-ch'an made the central cities and border lands of the State be exactly defined, and enjoined on the high and inferior officers to wear [only] their distinctive robes. The fields were all marked out by their banks and ditches. The houses and *tsing* were divided into fives, responsible for one another. The great officers, who were faithful and temperate, were advanced to higher dignities, while the extravagant were punished and taken off. Fung K'ueu, in prospect of a sacrifice, asked leave to go a-hunting, but Tsze-ch'an refused it, saying, "It is only the ruler who uses venison. The officers use in sacrifice only the domestic animals." Tsze-chang was angry, withdrew, and got his servants ready, intending to attack Tsze-ch'an, who thought of flying to Ts'in. Tsze-p'e, however, stopped him, and drove out Fung K'ueu, who fled to Ts'in. Tsze-ch'an begged his lands and villages from the duke, got K'ueu recalled in three years, and then restored them all to him, with the income which had accrued from them.

"When the government had been in Tsze-ch'an's hands one year, all men sang of him,

"We must take our clothes and caps, and  
hide them all away;  
We must count our fields by fives, and  
own a mutual sway.  
We'll gladly join with him who this Tsze-  
ch'an will slay."

But in three years the song was,

"'Tis Tsze-ch'an who our children trains;  
Our fields to Tsze-ch'an owe their gains.  
Did Tsze-ch'an die, who'd take the reins?" ]

君密州。十有一月，莒人弑其君密州。

癸酉，葬我君襄公。

冬十月，滕子來會葬。

己亥，仲孫羯卒。

秋九月，癸巳，子野卒。

楚宮。

夏六月，辛巳，公薨于楚宮。

三十有一年，春，王正月。

Thirly-first year.

○左傳曰：三十一年，春，王正月，穆叔至自會。見孟孝伯，語之曰：趙孟將死矣。其語偷，不似民主。且年未盈五十，而諄諄焉如八九十者，弗能久矣。若趙孟死，為政者其韓子乎？吾子盍與季孫言之，可以樹善。君子也。晉君將失政矣，若不樹焉，使早備魯，既而政在大夫，韓子懦弱，大夫多貪，求欲無厭，齊楚未足與也。魯其懼哉？孝伯曰：人生幾何？誰能無偷？朝不及夕，將安用樹？穆叔出而告人曰：孟孫將死矣。吾語諸趙孟之偷也，而又甚焉。又與季孫語晉故，季孫不從。及趙文子卒，晉公室卑，政在侈家，韓宣子為政，不能圖諸侯，魯不堪晉求，讒慝弘多，是以有平丘之會。

○齊子尾害閭丘嬰，欲殺之，使帥師以伐陽州。我問師故，夏五月，子尾殺閭丘嬰，以說于我師。工偃灑，消竈，孔廴，賈寅，出奔莒。出羣公子。

公作楚宮，穆叔曰：犬誓云：民之所欲，天必從之。君欲楚也，夫故作其宮，若不復適楚，必死是宮也。六月，辛巳，公薨于楚宮。叔仲帶竊其拱璧，以與御人，納諸其懷，而從取之，由是得罪。

立胡女敬歸之子子野，次于季氏。秋九月，癸巳，卒。毀也。立敬歸之弟齊歸之子公子稠。穆叔不欲，曰：犬子死，有母弟則立之，無則立長年鈞擇賢，義鈞則卜，古之道也。非適嗣，何必弟之子？且是人也。

之釋矣。民之莫矣。其知之矣。鄭子皮使印段如楚。以適晉告禮也。莒犁比公生去疾。及展與。既立展與。又廢之。犁比公虐國人患之。十一月。展與因國人以攻莒子。弑之。乃立去疾。奔齊。齊出也。展與。吳出也。書曰。莒人弑其君買朱鉏。言罪之在也。

○吳子使屈狐庸聘於晉。通路也。趙文子問焉。曰。延州來。季子。其果立乎。巢隕諸樊。闔戕戴吳。天似啟之。何如。對曰。不立。是二王之命也。非啟季子也。若天所啟。其在今嗣君乎。甚德而度。德不失民。度不失事。民親而事有序。其天所啟也。有吳國者。必此君之子孫實終之。季子。守節者也。雖有國不立。

○十二月。北宮文子相衛襄公。以如楚。宋之盟故也。過鄭。印段廷勞於棗林。如聘禮而以勞辭。文子入聘。子羽爲行人。馮簡子與子犬叔逆客。事畢而出。言於衛侯曰。鄭有禮。其數世之福也。其無大國之討乎。詩云。誰能執熱。逝不以濯。禮之於政。如熱之有濯也。濯以救熱。何患之有。子產之從政也。擇能而使之。馮簡子能斷大事。子犬叔美秀而文。公孫揮能知四國之爲。而辨於其大夫之族姓。班位。貴賤。能否。而又善爲辭令。裨諲能謀。謀於野。則獲。謀於邑。則否。鄭國將有諸侯之事。子產乃問四國之爲於子羽。且使多爲辭令。與裨諲乘。以適野。使謀可否。而告馮簡子。使斷之。事成。乃授子犬叔使之。以應對賓客。是以鮮有敗事。北宮文子所謂有禮也。

鄭人游於鄉校。以論執政。然明謂子產曰。毀鄉校。如何。子產曰。何爲。夫人朝夕退而游焉。以議執政之善否。其所善者。吾則行之。其所惡者。吾則改之。是吾師也。若之何毀之。我聞忠善以損怨。不聞作威以防怨。豈不遽止。然猶防川。大決所犯。傷人必多。吾不克救也。不如小決使道。不如吾聞而藥之也。然明曰。蔑也。今而後知吾子之信可事也。小人實不才。若果行此。其鄭國實賴之。豈唯二三臣。仲尼聞是語也。曰。以是觀之。人謂子產不仁。吾不信也。

○子皮欲使尹何爲邑。子產曰。少。未知可否。子皮曰。愿。吾愛之。不吾叛也。使夫往而學焉。夫亦愈知治矣。子產

居喪而不哀。在感而有嘉容。是謂不度。不度之人。鮮不爲患。若果立之。必爲季氏憂。武子不聽。卒立之。比及葬。三易衰。衰衽如故。衰於是昭公十九年矣。猶有童心。君子是以知其不能終也。

己亥。孟孝伯卒。冬十月。滕成公來會葬。情而多涕。子服惠伯曰。滕君將死矣。怠於其位。而哀已甚。兆於死所矣。能無從乎。癸酉。葬襄公。

○公薨之月。子產相鄭伯。以如晉。晉侯以我喪故。未之見也。子產使盡壞其館之垣。而納車馬焉。士文伯讓之。曰。敝邑以政刑之不修。寇盜充斥。無若諸侯之屬辱在寡君者何。是以令吏人完客所館。高其閭閥。厚其墻垣。以無憂客使。今吾子壞之。雖從者能戒。其若異客何。以敝邑之爲盟主。繕完葺牆。以待賓客。若皆毀之。其何以共命。寡君使曰。請命。對曰。以敝邑褊小。介於大國。誅求無時。是以不敢寧居。恐索敝賦。以來會時事。逢執事之不閒。而未得見。又不獲聞命。未知見時。不敢輸幣。亦不敢暴露。其輸之。則君之府實也。非薦陳之。不敢輸也。其暴露之。則恐燥濕之不時。而朽蠹。以重敝邑之罪。僭聞文公之爲盟主也。宮室卑庫。無觀臺榭。以崇大諸侯之館。館如公寢。庫廩繕修。司空以時平易道路。圻人以時墁館公室。諸侯賓至。甸設庭燎。僕人巡宮。車馬有所。賓從有代。巾車脂轄。隸人牧圉。各瞻其事。百官之屬。各展其物。公不留賓。而亦無廢事。憂樂同之事。則巡之。教其不知。而恤其不足。賓至如歸。無寧菑患。不畏寇盜。而亦不患燥濕。今銅鞮之宮數里。而諸侯舍於隸人門。不容車。而不可踰越。盜賊公行。而天禍不戒。賓見無時。命不可知。若又勿壞。是無所藏幣。以重罪也。敢請執事。將何所命之。雖君之有魯喪。亦敝邑之憂也。若獲薦幣。脩垣而行。君之惠也。敢憚勤勞。文伯復命。趙文子曰。信。我實不德。而以隸人之垣。以贏諸侯。是吾罪也。使士文伯謝不敏焉。晉侯見鄭伯。有加禮。厚其宴好。而歸之。乃築諸侯之館。叔向曰。辭之不可以已也。如是夫。子產有辭。諸侯賴之。若之何其釋辭也。詩曰。辭之輯矣。民之協矣。辭

曰不可人之愛人求利之也今吾子愛人則以政猶未能操刀而使割也其傷實多子之愛人傷之而已其誰敢求愛於子子於鄭國棟也棟折榱崩僑將厭焉敢不盡言子有美錦不使人學製焉大官大邑身之所庇也而使學者製焉其爲美錦不亦多乎僑聞學而後入政未聞以政學者也若果行此必有所害譬如田獵射御實則能獲禽若未嘗登車射御則敗績厭覆是懼何暇思獲子皮曰善哉虎不敏吾聞君子務知大者遠者小人務知小者近者我小人也衣服附在吾身我知而慎之大官大邑所以庇身也我遠而慢之微子之言吾不知也他日我曰子爲鄭國我爲吾家以庇焉其可也今而後知不足自今請雖吾家聽子而行子產曰人心之不同如其面焉吾豈敢謂子面如吾面乎抑心所謂危亦以告也子皮以爲忠故委政焉子產是以能爲鄭國

○衛侯在楚北宮文子見令尹圍之威儀言於衛侯曰令尹似君矣將有他志雖獲其志不能終也詩云靡不有初鮮克有終終之實難令尹其將不免公曰子何以知之對曰詩云敬慎威儀惟民之則令尹無威儀民無則焉民所不則以在民上不可以終公曰善哉何謂威儀對曰有威而可畏謂之威有儀而可象謂之儀君有君之威儀其臣畏而愛之則而象之故能有其國家令聞長世臣有臣之威儀其下畏而愛之故能守其官職保族宜家順是以下皆如是是以上下能相固也衛詩曰威儀棣棣不可選也言君臣上下父子兄弟內外大小皆有威儀也周詩曰朋友攸攝攝以威儀言朋友之道必相教訓以威儀也周書數文王之德曰大國畏其力小國懷其德言畏而愛之也詩云不識不知順帝之則言則而象之也紂囚文王七年諸侯皆從之囚紂於是乎懼而歸之可謂愛之文王伐崇再駕而降爲臣蠻夷帥服可謂畏之文王之功天下誦而歌舞之可謂則之文王之行至今爲法可謂象之有威儀也故君子在位可畏施舍可愛進退可度周旋可則容止可觀作事可法德行可象聲氣可樂動作有文言語有章以臨其下謂之有威儀也

- XXXI. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-first year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Sin-sze, the duke died in the Ts'oo palace.  
 3 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Kwei-sze, the [duke's] son Yay died.  
 4 On Ke-hae, Chung-sun Kēh died.  
 5 In winter, in the tenth month, the viscount of T'äng came to be present at the [duke's] interment.  
 6 On Kwei-yēw, we buried our ruler, duke Sēang.  
 7 In the eleventh month, the people of Keu murdered their ruler, Meih-chow.

Par. 1. [We find here in the Chuen the two following narratives:—

1st. 'This spring, in the 1st month, when Muh-shuh returned from the meeting [at Shen-yuen], he visited Mäng Heau-pih, and said to him, "Chaou-mäng will [soon] die. His language was irrelevant, not becoming in a lord of the people. And moreover, though his years are not yet 60, he keeps repeating the same thing like a man of 80 or 90—he cannot endure long. If he die, the government, I apprehend, will fall into the hands of Han-tze. You had better speak to Ke-sun, so that he may establish a good understanding [with Han-tze], who is a superior man. The ruler of Ts'in will lose his [control of the] government. If we do not establish such an understanding, so that [Han-tze] may be prepared to act in behalf of Loo, then when the government [of Ts'in] comes to be with the great officers, and Han-tze turns out to be weak, we shall find those officers very covetous, and their demands upon us will be insatiable. We shall find [also] that neither Ts'e nor Ts'oo is worth our adhering to it, and Loo will be in a perilous case." Heau-pih observed, "Man's life is not long; who can keep from that irrelevancy? The morning may not be followed by the evening; of what use would it be to establish that good understanding?" Muh-shuh went out from the interview, and said to a friend, "Mäng-sun will [soon] die. I told him of the irrelevancy of Chaou-mäng, and his own language was still more irrelevant." He then spoke [himself] to Ke-sun about the affairs of Ts'in, but [that minister] did not follow [his counsel].

'When Chaou Wän-tze died, the ducal House of Ts'in was reduced to a low State. The government was ruled by the ambitious families. Han Seuen-tze was chief minister, but could not deal with the cases of the States. Loo was unable to endure the requirements of Ts'in, and slanderous charges against it multiplied, till [at last] there came the meeting of P'ing-k'ew (See below in the 13th year of duke Ch'au).

2d. 'Tsze-we of Ts'e hated Lēw-k'ew Ying; and, wishing to put him to death, he made him lead a force, and attack Yang-chow. We went to ask the reason of such an expedition; and in summer, in the 5th month, Tsze-we put Lēw-k'ew Ying to death, to satisfy our army. Kung-low Sha, Sing Tsaou, K'ung Hwuy, and Kēa Yin, fled from Ts'e to Keu. All the sons of the previous dukes were driven out.'

Par. 2. Duke Sēang was thus still a young man when he died, being only in his 35th year. The history of his rule much belies his name of Sēang, for the conduct of affairs during it was the reverse of successful.

On his visit to Ts'oo, the duke had admired its palaces, and erected one on his return after their pattern, giving to it the name of that State.

The Chuen says:—'When the duke built the Ts'oo palace, Muh-shuh said, "We read in the Great Declaration (Shoo, V. i. Pt. i. 11), "What a man desires, Heaven is sure to gratify him in." Our ruler's desire is for Ts'oo, and therefore he has made this palace. If he do not again go to Ts'oo, he is sure to die here. [Accordingly], in the Ts'oo palace he did die, on Sin-sze, in the 6th month.

'Shuh-chung Tse (The Shuh-chung Ch'au-pih of the Chuen on vii. 4) stole [on this occasion] the large peih, giving it [first] to his charioteer, who put it in his breast, and afterwards getting it from him again. In consequence of this he was deemed an offender [by the people].'

Par. 3. Comp the 子般卒 in III. xxxii.

5. But the death of duke Chwang's son was a death of violence, and should have been so described, while the death of Yay in the text was from disease.

The Chuen says:—'[On the duke's death], Yay, his son by King Kwei, a lady of the house of Hoo, was appointed his successor, and lived in the mansion of Ke-sun; but in autumn, in the 9th month, on Kwei-sze, having been pining away, he died. Ke-sun then declared the succession to be in the Kung-tze Chow, the duke's son by Ts'e Kwei, the cousin of King Kwei, [who had accompanied her to the harem]. Muh-shuh was dissatisfied with the choice, and said, "When the eldest son [by the wife] dies, his own younger brother should have the succession. And if he have no own brother, then the eldest of his father's other sons [by concubines]. When there are two of the same age, the worthier should be chosen; where they do not differ in regard to their righteousness, the tortoise-shell should be consulted:—this was the ancient way. [Yay] was not the heir as being the wife's son, and it was not necessary to appoint the son of his mother's cousin. This man, moreover, has shown no grief in his mourner's place; in the midst of the sorrow he has looked pleased. He is what may be pronounced 'a man without rule', and it is seldom that such an one does not occa-



sion trouble. If indeed he be appointed marquis, he is sure to give sorrow to the family of Ke." Ke Woo-tsze would not listen to his remonstrance, and the issue was that Chow was appointed. By the time of the burial, he had thrice changed his mourning, and the flaps of his coat looked quite old. At this time, he—duke Ch'au—was 19 years old, and he still had a boy's heart, from which a superior man could know that he would not go on well to the end."

Par. 4. This was Māng Hēau-pih. He was succeeded by his son Hwōh (獲), known as Māng He-tsze (孟 傳子), as Head of the Chung-sun clan, and minister.

Par. 5. This is the first instance we have of the lord of another State coming in person to Loo to the funeral of one of its marquises. It was an innovation on the rules which regulated the intercommunion of the States. Ch'in Foo-lāng (陳 傅良; Sung dyn.) says:—"At the second burial of duke Hwuy, the marquis of Wei came and was present, but duke Yin did not see him (See the 2d narrative after I. i. 5); for, in the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, Loo still held fast the rules of propriety. On the death of duke King of Ts'in, duke Ch'ing went to present his condolences (VIII. x. 6). By that time Loo had been brought low, and they detained him in Ts'in, and made him attend the burial. None of the other princes were present, and the people of Loo felt the disgrace, for up to that time no prince of another State had been present at the funeral of the president of the States even. At the burial of king K'ang of Ts'oo, the duke [of Loo], with the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Heu, had attended it to the outside of the west gate. Thus the princes of the kingdom had been present at the funeral of [a lord of] Ts'oo; and now the viscount of T'ang came to the funeral of duke S'ang. In the end of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, it became a sort of allowable thing for one prince to be present at the funeral of another, but to hurry away to the ceremonies immediately following after death was still too great a breach of rule." The rule was, according to the old regulations, that on the death of any prince, the other States should immediately despatch an officer to express their condolences, and then despatch a great officer to attend the funeral. The Chuen says:—"Duke Ch'ing of T'ang came to be present at the burial, but he behaved rudely, while at the same time he shed many tears. Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih said, 'The ruler of T'ang will [soon] die. Rude in his place [of mourning,] and yet showing an excessive grief, here is a premonition in the place of death:—must he not [soon] follow [our duke]?'"

Par. 6. [We have here the following narrative:—"In the month of duke [S'ang's] funeral, Tsze-ch'an attended the earl of Ch'ing on a visit to Ts'in. The marquis, on the pretence of the death of our duke, did not immediately give the earl an interview, on which Tsze-ch'an made all the walls about their lodging-house be thrown down, and brought in their carriages and horses. Sze Wān-pih went to complain of the proceeding, and said, 'Through want of proper attention in our State to the government and the administration of the penal laws, robbers have become quite rife. For the sake, however,

of the princes of the States and their retainers, who condescend to come to him, our ruler has made his officers put in good repair the reception-houses for guests, raising high their gates, and making strong the walls around, that they might be free from anxiety [on account of the robbers]. And now you have thrown these down, so that, though your followers may be able to guard you, how will it be in the case of other guests? Our State, as lord of covenants, has to keep the walls of those houses in good repair, with the tops of them safely covered to, be in readiness for its visitors; and if all were to throw them down, how should we be able to respond to the requirements on us? My ruler has sent me to ask what you have to say in the matter." Tsze-ch'an replied, "Through the smallness of our State, and its position between great States, whose demands upon it come we know not when, we do not dare to dwell at ease, but collect all the contributions due from us, and come to consult about the business of the times. It has happened now that your ministers are not at leisure, and we have not obtained an interview with the marquis, nor have we received any instructions, so that we might know when we should do so. We did not dare, [without a previous interview], to send in our offerings, nor did we dare to leave them exposed. If we should send them in [without that interview], they would be [but the regular] appurtenances of your ruler's treasures:—without the display of them at it, we dare not send them in. If we should leave them exposed, then we were afraid that, through the sudden occurrence of [excessive] heat or rain, they might decay or be injured by insects, and our State be chargeable with a heavy offence."

"I have heard that when duke Wān was lord of covenants, his own palace was low and small, and he had no prospect-towers or terraces;—that he might make the reception-houses for the princes the more lofty and large. The chambers were as large as his own, and the repositories and stables belonging to them were kept in good order. The minister of Works saw at the proper seasons that the roads were made in good condition. The plasterers in the same way did their duty on the apartments. Then when the visiting princes arrived, the foresters supplied the torches for the courtyards; the watchmen made their rounds about the buildings; the followers of the guests were relieved of their duties by men supplied for the purpose; there were menials, herdsmen, and grooms, to see what might be required of them to do; and the officers belonging to the various departments had the articles which they had to prepare for the guests ready for supply. The duke did not detain his guests, and yet there was nothing neglected. He shared with them their sorrows and joys. He examined any business [they had to lay before him], teaching them where their knowledge was deficient, and compassionating them where in anything they fell short. Guests [then] came to Ts'in as if they were going home;—what calamity or distress had they to think of? They did not have to fear robbers, or to be troubled about the heat or the damp."

"But now the palace of T'ung-te extends over several *le*, and the princes have to occupy what seem the houses of menials. The gates will not admit their carriages, and they cannot

be taken over the walls. Robbers move about openly, and there is no defence against the evil influences [of heat and damp]. No time is fixed for the guests to have an interview, and they have no means of knowing when they will be summoned to it. If we are further required not to throw down the walls, we shall have nowhere to deposit our offerings, and may lie open to the charge of a grave offence. Allow me to ask what charge you have to give us. Although your ruler has to mourn the death of [the duke of Loo], that is also an occasion of sorrow to our State. If we shall be permitted to present our offerings, and to depart after repairing the walls, it will be a kindness on the part of your ruler;—shall we presume to shrink from performing the labour diligently?"

Wān-pih reported the result of his commission, and Chaou Wān-tsze said, "It is true. We are verily wanting in virtue. That we cause the princes to take up their residences within walls only fit for very inferior officers is our crime." Sze Wān-pih was then sent to apologize for the want of attention. The marquis saw the earl, and showed him more than ordinary courtesy. He entertained him liberally, sent him away with proofs of his friendship, and built reception-houses for the princes. Shuh-h'ang said, "Thus indispensable is the gift of speech-making! Tsze-ch'an has that gift, and all the States are under obligations to him. On no account may speeches be dispensed with. The words of the ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 2),

'Let your words be in harmony with the right,  
And the people will agree with them.  
Let your words be gentle and kind,  
And the people will be settled,'

show that the author knew this."

Tsze-p'e of Ch'ing sent Yin T'wan to Ts'oo, to report how [the earl] had gone to Ts'in:—which was proper."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Duke Le-pe of Keu had two sons, K'eu-tsih and Chen-yu. He first declared that the succession would be in Chen-yu, and then disannulled that arrangement. He was tyrannical, and the people were distressed by their sufferings. In the 11th month, Chen-yu, with the help of the people, attacked and murdered him, and then took his place. K'eu-tsih fled to Ts'e, to which State his mother belonged, while Chen-yu was the son of a daughter of the House of Woo. The text, in saying that the people of Keu murdered their ruler, Mae-choo-ts'oo, shows that he was a criminal (?)."

[There follow here five narratives:—

1st. 'The viscount of Woo sent K'eh Hoo-yung (The son of Woo-shin; see on VII. vii. 5) on a complimentary mission to Ts'in, to keep the way [between the two States] open. Chaou Wān-tsze asked him, "Has Ke-tsze of Yen and Chow-lae (Ke-chah) really become your ruler? At Ch'au you lost Choo-fan (See xxv. 10); a door-keeper killed Tae-woo (See xxix. 4):—it would seem as if Heaven had been opening [the way] for him. How is it?" The envoy replied, "He has not been appointed our ruler. That was the fate of the two kings, and not any opening [of the way] for Ke-tsze. If you speak of Heaven's opening the way, I should say it was for our present ruler, who has succeeded [to his brother]. He has great virtue, and takes [wise] measures.

Virtuous, he does not lose the [attachment of the] people. Taking [wise] measures, he does not err in [the conduct of] affairs. By this attachment of the people, and by his orderly conduct of affairs, Heaven has opened the way for him. The rulers of the State of Woo must be the descendants of this ruler,—yes, to the end. Ke-tsze is one who maintains his purity. Although he might have had the State, he refused to be ruler."

2d. 'In the 12th month, Pih-kung Wān-tsze attended duke S'ang of Wei on a visit to Ts'oo, undertaken in compliance with the covenant of Sung; and as they passed by [the capital of] Ch'ing, Yin T'wan went out to comfort them under the toils of the journey, using the ceremonies of a complimentary visit, but the speeches appropriate to such a comforting visit. Wān-tsze entered the city, to pay a complimentary visit [in return]. Tsze-yu was the internuncius. P'ing K'een-tsze and Tsze-t'ac-shuh met the guest. When the business was over, and [Wān-tsze] had gone out [again], he said to the marquis of Wei, "Ch'ing observes the proprieties. This will be a blessing to it for several generations, and save it, I apprehend, from any inflictions from the great States. The ode says (She, III. iii. ode III. 5),

'Who can hold anything hot?  
Must he not dip it [first] in water?'

The rules of propriety are to government what that dipping is to the consequences of the heat. With the dipping to take away the heat, there is no distress." Tsze-ch'an, in the administration of his government, selected the able and employed them. P'ing K'een-tsze was able to give a decision in the greatest matters. Tsze-t'ac-shuh was handsome and accomplished. Kung-sun Hwuy told what was doing in the States round about, and could distinguish all about their great officers, their clans, surnames, order, positions, their rank whether noble or mean, their ability or the reverse; and he was also skillful in composing speeches. P'e Chin was a skillful counsellor;—skillful when he concocted his plans in the open country, but not when he did so in the city. When the State was going to have any business with other States, Tsze-ch'an asked Tsze-yu what was doing round about, and caused him to compose a long speech. He then took P'e Chin in his carriage into the open country, and made him consider whether the speech would suit the occasion or not. Next he told P'ing K'een-tsze, and made him give a decision in the case. When all this was done, he put the matter into the hands of Tsze-t'ac-shuh to carry it into effect, replying to the visitors [from the other States]. In this way it was seldom that any affair went wrong. This was what Pih-kung Wān-tsze meant in saying that Ch'ing observed the proprieties.' Comp. Ana. XIV. ix.

3d. 'A man of Ch'ing rambled into a village school, and fell discoursing about the conduct of the government.

'[In consequence,] Jen-ming proposed to Tsze-ch'an to destroy [all] the village schools; but that minister said, "Why do so? If people retire morning and evening, and pass their judgment on the conduct of the government, as being good or bad, I will do what they approve of, and I will alter what they condemn;—they

are my teachers. On what ground should we destroy [those schools]? I have heard that by loyal conduct and goodness enmity is diminished, but I have not heard that it can be prevented by acts of violence. It may indeed be hastily stayed for a while, but it continues like a stream that has been dammed up. If you make a great opening in the dam, there will be great injury done,—beyond our power to relieve. The best plan is to lead the water off by a small opening. [In this case] our best plan is to hear what is said, and use it as a medicine." Jen-ming said, "From this time forth I know that you are indeed equal to the administration of affairs. I acknowledge my want of ability. If you indeed do this, all Ch'ing will be benefited by it, and, not we two or three ministers only."

'When Chung-ne heard of these words, he said, "Looking at the matter from this, when men say that Tsze-ch'an was not benevolent, I do not believe it."

4th. 'Tsze-p'e wanted to make Yin Ho commandant of his city. Tsze-ch'an said, "He is young, and I do not know that he can be so employed." "He is honest and careful," replied Tsze-p'e. "I love him. He does not go against me. Let him go and learn, and he will by-and-by know all the better how to rule." Tsze-ch'an objected, "When a man loves another, he seeks to benefit him; but when you, in your love for [this man], wish to confer a post on him, it is as if you would employ a man to cut before he is able to handle a knife;—the injury done to him must be great. If your love for a man only issues in your injuring him, who will venture to seek your love? You are the main support of the State of Ch'ing. If the main support be broken, the rafters will tumble down. I shall be crushed beneath them, and I must therefore speak out all my mind. If you have a piece of beautiful embroidered silk, you will not employ a [mere] learner to make it up. A great office and a great city are what men depend on for the protection of their persons; and you will employ a [mere] learner to undertake them!—are they not much more important than your beautiful embroidery? I have heard that a man must first learn, and then enter on the conduct of government; I have not heard that one is to learn in the exercise of that conduct. If you do indeed do this, you are sure to do injury. Take the case of hunting:—when a man is accustomed to shoot and to drive, his hunting will be successful. If he have never mounted a chariot nor shot nor driven, he will be utterly unsuccessful; and amid his fear lest he should be overturned, what leisure will he have to think of the game?" Tsze-p'e said, "Good. I have shown myself unintelligent. I have heard that what the superior man makes it a point to know is the great and the remote, while the small man is concerned to know the small and the near. I am a small man. The garment which fits to my body I know and am careful about, but the great office and the great city, on which my body depends for protection, were far off and slighted by me. But for your words, I should not have known [my error]. On a former day I said that if you governed the State and I governed my family, and so preserved myself, it would do. Henceforth I know that I am insufficient even for this, and must be allowed even in the rule of my family to act

as I shall be instructed by you." Tsze-ch'an said, "Men's minds are different just as their faces are. How should I presume to say that your face must be as mine? But if [I see] that which makes my mind, as we say, uneasy, I will tell you of it." Tsze-p'e, impressed with his faithfulness, entrusted to him the government, and thus it was that Tsze-ch'an was able to conduct the affairs of Ch'ing.'

5th. 'When the marquis of Wei was in Ts'oo, Pih-kung Wan-tze, perceiving the carriage and display of the chief minister Wei, said to the marquis, "The [pomp] of the chief minister is like that of the ruler; he must have his mind set on some other object. But though he may obtain his desire, he will not hold it to the end. The ode (She, III. iii. ode I. 1) says,

'All have their beginning,  
But there are few that can secure the end.'

The difficulty is indeed with the end. The chief minister will not escape [an evil death]." The marquis said, "How do you know it?" Wan-tze replied, "The ode (She, III. iii. ode II. 2) says,

'Let him be reverently careful of his dignified manner,  
And he will be the pattern of the people.'

But the chief minister has no dignified manner [such as becomes him], and the people have no pattern in him. Let him, in whom the people find no pattern, be placed above them, yet he cannot continue to the end." "Good!" said the duke. "What do you mean by a dignified manner?" The reply was, "Having majesty that inspires awe, is what we call dignity. Presenting a pattern which induces imitation is what we call manner. When a ruler has the dignified manner of a ruler, his ministers fear and love him, imitate and resemble him, so that he holds [firm] possession of his State, and his fame continues through long ages. When a minister has the dignified manner of a minister, his inferiors fear and love him, so that he can keep [sure] his office, preserve his clan, and rightly order his family. So it is with all classes downwards, and it is by this that high and low are made firm in their relations to one another. An ode of Wei (She, I. iii. ode I. 3) says,

'My dignified manner is mixed with ease,  
And cannot be made the subject of remark;'

showing that ruler and minister, high and low, father and son, elder and younger brother, at home and abroad, in great things and small, all have a dignified manner [which is proper to them]. An ode of Chow (She, III. ii. ode III. 4) says,

'Your friends assisting at the service  
Have done so in a dignified manner,'

showing that it is the rule for friends, in their instruction of one another, to exhibit a dignified manner. One of the books of Chow says, 'The great States feared his strength, and the small States cherished his virtue,' showing the union of awe and love. An ode (She, III. i. ode VII. 7) says,

'Unconscious of effort,  
He accorded with the example of God;'

showing the union of imitation and resemblance.

'Chow imprisoned king Wan for 7 years, and then all the princes of the kingdom repaired to the place of his imprisonment, and on this Chow became afraid, and restored him [to his State]. This may be called an instance of how [king Wan] was loved. When he invaded Ts'ung, on his second expedition, [the lord of that State] surrendered and acknowledged his duty as a subject. All the wild tribes [also] led on one another to submit to him. These may be pronounced instances of the awe which he inspired. All under heaven praised his meritorious services with songs and dances, which may be pronounced an instance of their taking him as a pattern. To the present day, the actions of king Wan are acknowledged as laws, which may

be pronounced an instance of his power to make men resemble himself. The secret was his dignified manner. Therefore when the superior man, occupying a high position, inspires awe; and by his beneficence produces love; and his advancing and retiring are according to rule; and all his intercourse with others affords a pattern; and his countenance and steps excite the gaze [of admiration]; and the affairs he conducts serve as laws; and his virtuous actions lead to imitation; and his voice and air diffuse joy; and his movements and doings are elegant; and his words have distinctness and brilliance:—when thus he brings himself near to those below him, he is said to have a dignified manner."']

BOOK X. DUKE CH'AO.

First year.

昭公

元年春王正月公即位。二章 叔孫豹會晉趙武。  
楚公子圍齊國弱宋向戌衛齊惡陳公子招。  
蔡公孫歸生鄭罕虎許人曹人于鍬。三章  
三月取鄆。四章 夏秦伯之弟鍼出奔晉。五章  
六月丁巳邾子華卒。六章 晉荀吳帥師敗狄于大鹵。  
秋莒去疾自齊入於莒。七章 莒展輿出奔吳。  
叔弓帥師疆鄆田。八章 葬邾悼公。九章 冬十有一  
月己酉楚子麇卒。十章 楚公子比出奔晉。十一章

左傳曰元年春楚公子圍聘於鄭且娶於公孫段氏伍舉爲介將入館鄭人惡之使行人子羽與之言乃館於外既聘將以衆逆子產患之使子羽辭曰以敝邑褊小不足以容從者請瑱聽命令尹命犬宰伯州犂對曰君辱貺寡大夫圍

謂圍將使豐氏撫有而室圍布几筵告於莊共之廟而來若野賜之是委君貶於草莽也是寡大夫不得列於諸卿也不寧唯是又使圍蒙其先君將不得爲寡君老其蔑以復矣唯大夫圖之子羽曰小國無罪恃實其罪將恃大國之安靖已而無乃包藏禍心以圖之小國失恃而懲諸侯使莫不憾者距違君命而有所壅塞不行是懼不然敝邑館人之屬也其敢愛豐氏之祧伍舉知其有備也請垂囊而入許之正月乙未入逆而出遂會于鍬尋宋之盟也祁午謂趙文子曰宋之盟楚人得志於晉今令尹之不信諸侯之所聞也子弗戒懼又如宋子木之信稱於諸侯猶詐晉而駕焉況不信之尤者乎楚重得志於晉晉之恥也子相晉國以爲盟主於今七年矣再合諸侯三合大夫服齊狄寧東夏平秦亂城淳于師徒不頓國家不罷民無謗譏諸侯無怨天無大災子之力也有令名矣而終之以恥午也是懼吾子其不可以不戒文子曰武受賜矣然宋之盟子木有禍人之心武有仁人之心是楚所以駕於晉也今武猶是心也楚又行僭非所害也武將信以爲本循而行之譬如農夫是穰是穰雖有饑饉必有豐年且吾聞之能信不爲人下吾未能也詩曰不僭不賊鮮不爲則信也能爲人則者不爲人下矣吾不能是難楚不爲患楚令尹圍請用牲讀舊書加於牲上而已晉人許之三月甲辰盟楚公子圍設服離衛叔孫穆子曰楚公子美矣君哉鄭子皮曰二執戈者前矣蔡子家曰蒲宮有前不亦可乎楚伯州犂曰此行也辭而假之寡君鄭行人揮曰假不反矣伯州犂曰子姑憂子皙之欲背誕也子羽曰當璧猶在假而不反子其無憂乎齊國子曰吾代二子愍矣陳公子招曰不憂何成二子樂矣衛齊子曰苟或知之雖憂何害宋合左師曰大國令小國共吾知共而已晉樂王鮒曰小旻之卒章善矣吾從之退會子羽謂子皮曰叔孫絞而婉宋左師簡而禮樂王鮒字而敬子與子家持之皆保世之主也齊衛陳大夫其不免乎國子代人憂子招樂憂齊子雖憂弗害夫弗及而憂與可憂而樂與憂而弗害皆取憂之道也憂必及之犬誓曰民之所欲天必從之三大夫兆憂憂能無至乎言以知物其是之謂矣

辭。私於子產曰：武請於冢宰矣。乃用一獻。趙孟爲客。禮終乃宴。穆叔賦鵲巢。趙孟曰：武不堪也。又賦采芣。曰：小國爲繫。大國省穡而用之。其何實非命。子皮賦野有死麕之卒章。趙孟賦常棣。且曰：吾兄弟比以安。虢也可使無吠。穆叔子皮及曹大夫與。拜。舉兕爵曰：小國賴子。知免於戾矣。飲酒樂。趙孟出曰：吾不復此矣。

⑤天王使劉定公勞趙孟於穎。館於雒汭。劉子曰：美哉禹功。明德遠矣。微禹。吾其魚乎。吾與子弁冕端委。以治民臨諸侯。禹之力也。子盍亦遠績禹功。而大庇民乎。對曰：老夫罪戾是懼。焉能恤遠。吾儕偷食。朝不謀夕。何其長也。劉子歸。以語王曰：諺所謂老將知而耄及之者。其趙孟之謂乎。爲晉正卿。以主諸侯。而儕於隸人。朝不謀夕。棄神人矣。神怒民叛。何以能久。趙孟不復年矣。神怒不歆其祀。民叛不卽其事。祀事不從。又何以年。

⑥叔孫歸。曾天御季孫以勞之。旦及日中。不出。曾天謂曾阜曰：旦及日中。吾知罪矣。魯以相忍爲國也。忍其外。不忍其內。焉用之。阜曰：數月於外。一旦於是。庸何傷。賈而欲贏。而惡踰乎。阜謂叔孫曰：可以出矣。叔孫指楹曰：雖惡。是其可去乎。乃出見之。

⑦鄭徐吾犯之妹美。公孫楚聘之矣。公孫黑又使強委禽焉。犯懼。告子產。子產曰：是國無政。非子之患也。唯所欲與。犯請於二子。請使女擇焉。皆許之。子皙盛飾入。布幣而出。子南戎服入。左右射。超乘而出。女自房觀之。曰：子皙信美矣。抑子南夫也。夫夫婦婦。所謂順也。適子南氏。子皙怒。旣而囊甲以見子南。欲殺之。而取其妻。子南知之。執戈逐之。及衝擊之。以戈。子皙傷而歸。告大夫曰：我好見之。不知其有異志也。故傷。大夫皆謀之。子產曰：直鈞。幼賤有罪。罪在楚也。乃執子南而數之曰：國之大節有五。女皆奸之。畏君之威。聽其政。尊其貴。事其長。養其親。五者所以爲國也。今君在國。改用兵焉。不畏威也。奸國之紀。不聞政也。子皙上大夫。女嬖大夫。而弗下之。不尊貴也。幼而不忌。不事長也。兵其從兄。不養親也。君曰：余不汝忍殺。有女以遠。勉速行乎。無重而罪。五月庚辰。鄭放游楚於吳。將行。子南子產咨於大叔。大叔曰：吉。不能亢身。焉能亢宗。彼國政也。非私難也。子圖鄭國利。

季武子伐莒。取鄆。莒人告於會。楚告於晉曰：尋盟未退。而魯伐莒。潰齊盟。請戮其使。樂桓子相趙文子。欲求貨於叔孫。而爲之請。使請帶焉。弗與。梁其蹕曰：貨以藩身。子何愛焉。叔孫曰：諸侯之會。衛社稷也。我以貨免。魯必受師。是禍之也。何衛之爲。人之有牆。以蔽惡也。牆之隙壞。誰之咎也。衛而惡之。吾又甚焉。雖怨季孫。魯國何罪。叔出季處。有自來矣。吾又誰怨。然鮒也。賄弗與不已。召使者。裂裳帛而與之。曰：帶其褊矣。趙孟聞之曰：臨患不忘國。忠也。思難不越官。信也。圖國忘死。貞也。謀主三者。義也。有是四者。又可戮乎。乃請諸楚曰：魯雖有罪。其執事不辟難。畏威而敬命矣。子若免之。以勸左右。可也。若子之羣吏。處不辟汚。出不逃難。其何患之有。患之所生。汚而不治。難而不守。所由來也。能是二者。又何患焉。不靖其能。其誰從之。魯叔孫豹可謂能矣。請免之。以靖能者。子會而赦有罪。又賞其賢。諸侯其誰不欣焉。望楚而歸之。視遠如邇。疆場之邑。一彼一此。何常之有。王伯之令也。引其封疆。而樹之官。舉之表旗。而著之制令。過則有刑。猶不可壹。於是乎虞有三苗。夏有觀扈。商有桀。周有徐奄。自無令王。諸侯逐進。狎主齊盟。其又可壹乎。恤大舍小。足以爲盟主。又焉用之。封疆之削。何國蔑有。主齊盟者。誰能辯焉。吳濮有釁。楚之執事。豈其顧盟。莒之疆事。楚勿與知。諸侯無煩。不亦可乎。莒魯爭鄆。爲日久矣。苟無大害於其社稷。可無亢也。去煩宥善。莫不競勸。子其圖之。固請諸楚。楚人許之。乃免叔孫令尹享趙孟。賦大明之首章。趙孟賦小宛之二章。事畢。趙孟謂叔向曰：令尹自以爲王矣。何如。對曰：王弱。令尹彊。其可哉。雖可不終。趙孟曰：何故。對曰：彊以克弱。而安之。彊不義也。不義而彊。其斃必速。詩曰：赫赫宗周。褒姒滅之。彊不義也。令尹爲王。必求諸侯。晉少懦矣。諸侯將往。若獲諸侯。其虐滋甚。民弗堪也。將何以終。夫以彊取。不義而克。必以爲道。道以淫虐。弗可久已矣。

⑧夏四月。趙孟叔孫豹曹大夫入於鄭。鄭伯兼享之。子皮戒趙孟。禮終。趙孟賦瓠葉。子皮遂戒穆叔。且告之。穆叔曰：趙孟欲一獻。子其從之。子皮曰：敢乎。穆叔曰：夫人之所欲也。又何不敢。及享。具五獻之籩豆於幕下。趙孟



此何神也。子產曰：昔高辛氏有二子，伯曰閼伯，季曰實沈，居於曠林，不相能也，日尋干戈，以相征討。后帝不臧，遷閼伯於商丘，主辰，商人是因，故辰爲商星。遷實沈於大夏，主參，唐人是因，以服事夏商。其季世曰唐叔虞，當武王邑姜方震大叔，夢帝謂己，余命而子曰虞，將與之唐，屬諸參而蕃育其子孫。及生，有文在其手曰虞，遂以命之。及成，王滅唐，而封大叔焉，故參爲晉星。由是觀之，則實沈、參神也。昔金天氏有裔子曰昧，爲玄冥師，生允格、臺、顓，臺能業其官，宣汾洙，障大澤，以處大原，帝用嘉之，封諸汾川，沈、姒、蓀、黃，實守其祀，今晉主汾而滅之矣。由是觀之，則臺、顓、汾神也。抑此二者，不及君身，山川之神，則水旱癘疫之災，於是乎禱之；日月星辰之神，則雪霜風雨之不時，於是乎禱之。若君身，則亦出入飲食哀樂之事也。山川星辰之神，又何爲焉？僑聞之，君子有四時，朝以聽政，晝以訪問，夕以脩令，夜以安身，於是乎節宣其氣，勿使有所壅閉湫底，以露其體，故心不爽，而昏亂百度。今無乃壹之，則生疾矣。僑又聞之，內官不及同姓，其生不殖，美先盡矣，則相生疾。君子是以惡之，故志曰：買妾不知其姓，則卜之，違此二者，古之所慎也。男女辨姓，禮之大司也。今君內實有四姬焉，其無乃是也乎？若由是二者，弗可爲也已。四姬有省，猶可，無則必生疾矣。叔向曰：善哉！辟未之聞也。此皆然矣。叔向出，行人揮送之，叔向問鄭故焉，且問子皙對曰：其與幾何？無禮而好陵人，怙富而卑其上，弗能久矣。晉侯聞子產之言，曰：博物君子也，重賄之。

晉侯求醫於秦，秦伯使醫和視之，曰：疾不可爲也，是謂近女室，疾如蠱，非鬼非食，惑以喪志，良臣將死，天命不祐。公曰：女不可近乎？對曰：節之，先王之樂，所以節百事也，故有五節，遲速本末以相及，中聲以降，五降之後，不容彈矣。於是有煩手淫聲，愴心耳，乃忘平和，君子弗聽也。物亦如之，至於煩，舍乃也已，無以生疾。君子之近琴瑟，以儀節也，非以愔心也。天有六氣，降生五味，發爲五色，徵爲五聲，淫生六疾。六氣曰陰、陽、風、雨、晦、明也，分爲四時，序爲五節，過則爲菑，陰淫寒疾，陽淫熱疾，風淫末疾，雨淫腹疾，晦淫惑疾，明淫心疾，女陽物而晦時，則行之，又何疑焉？周公殺管叔而蔡蔡叔，夫豈不愛王室故也？吉若獲戾，子將行之，何有於諸游？

秦后子有寵於桓，如二君於景，其母曰弗去，懼選癸卯，鍼適晉，其車千乘。書曰：秦伯之弟鍼出奔晉，罪秦伯也。后子享晉侯，造舟於河，十里舍車，自雍及絳，歸取酬幣，終事八反。司馬侯問焉，曰：子之車盡於此而已乎？對曰：此之謂多矣，若能少此，吾何以得見？汝叔齊以告公，且曰：秦公子必歸，臣聞君子能知其過，必有令圖，令圖天所贊也。后子見趙孟，趙孟曰：吾子其曷歸？對曰：鍼懼選於寡君，是以在此，將待嗣君。趙孟曰：秦君何如？對曰：無道。趙孟曰：亡乎？對曰：何爲？一世無道，國未艾也。國於天地，有與立焉，不數世淫，弗能斃也。趙孟曰：天乎？對曰：有焉。趙孟曰：其幾何？對曰：鍼聞之，國無道，而年穀和熟，天贊之也，鮮不五稔。趙孟視蔭，曰：朝夕不相及，誰能待五？后子出而告人曰：趙孟將死矣，主民翫歲而惕日，其與幾何？

鄭爲游楚亂故，六月丁巳，鄭伯及其大夫盟於公孫段氏。罕虎、公孫僑、公孫段、印段、游吉、驪帶，私盟於閭門之外，實薰隧。公孫黑強與於盟，使史書其名，且曰：七子子產弗討。

晉中行穆子敗無終及羣狄于大原，崇卒也。將戰，魏舒曰：彼徒我車，所遇又阨，以什共車，必克。困諸師，又克，請皆卒，自我始，乃毀車以爲行。五乘爲三伍，荀吳之嬖人，不肯卽卒，斬以徇，爲五陳以相離，兩於前，伍於後，專爲右角，參爲左角，偏爲前拒，以誘之。翟人笑之，未陳而薄之，大敗之。

莒展與立，而奪羣公子秩，召去疾於齊。秋，齊公子鉏納去疾，展與奔吳。

叔弓帥師疆郕田，因莒亂也。於是莒務婁、晉胡及公子滅明，以大厯與常儀靡奔齊。君子曰：莒展之不立，棄人也。夫人可棄乎？詩曰：無競維人，善矣。

晉侯有疾，鄭伯使公孫僑如晉聘，且問疾。叔向問焉，曰：寡君之疾病，卜人曰：實沈、臺顓爲祟，史莫之知，敢問

I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.  
2 Shuh-sun P'aou had a meeting with Chaou Woo of Tsin, the Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo, Kwoh Joh of Ts'e, Hëang Seuh of Sung, Ts'e Goh of Wei, the Kung-tsze Shaou of Ch'in, the Kung-sun Kwei-săng of Ts'ae, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, a minister of Heu, and a minister of Ts'aou, in Kwoh.  
3 In the third month, we took Yun.  
4 In summer, K'ëen, younger brother of the earl of Ts'in, fled from that State to Tsin.  
5 In the sixth month, on Ting-sze, Hwa, viscount of Choo, died.

- The Chuen says:—"In spring, the Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo went on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, and at the same time to marry a daughter of Kung-sun Twan; Woo Keu being the assistant commissioner. They proposed lodging inside the capital, but the people of Ch'ing were

'He then went on to meet [the representatives of the States] in Kwoh, the object being to renew the covenant of Sung. K'e Woo said to Chaou Wan-tsze, "At the covenant of Sung, the men of Ts'oo got their will, as against Tsin. The want of faith of the present chief-minister [of Ts'oo] is what all the States have heard of.

If you do not take precautions, things will turn out as in Sung. The good faith of Tsze-muh was celebrated among the States, and still he deceived Tsin, and got the advantage over it; how much more may we expect deceit from one notorious for his want of faith! If Ts'oo a second time get its will as against Tsin, it will be a disgrace to Tsin. You have guided the government of Tsin, maintaining it as lord of covenants now for 7 years. Twice have you assembled the princes of the States, and three times their great officers. You brought to submission Ts'e and the Teih; you tranquillized the States of the east; you pacified the confusion of Ts'in; you walled Shun-yu (The capital of Ke); yet our troops have not been exhausted; the State has not been wearied; the people have uttered no slanders nor revilings; the other States have felt no resentment; Heaven has inflicted no great calamities:—all this has been due to you. You have got a good name, and what I am afraid of is, lest you should bring shame on it in the end. Sir, you must not neglect to take precautions." Wän-tsze said, "Thank you for the lesson you have given me. But at the covenant of Sung, the heart of Tsze-muh was set on injuring others, while my heart was set on the well-being of others; and it was thereby that Ts'oo got the advantage of Tsin. And now I still cherish the same heart, and Ts'oo is still assuming and arrogating. No harm will result from it. Good faith shall be held by me as a fundamental thing, and I will act in accordance with it. The case will be like that of the husbandman who clears away the weeds and digs up the earth about his plants; although there may be seasons of famine or scarcity, he will, as a rule, have abundant harvests. Moreover, I have heard that he who can maintain his good faith is sure not to be below others:—I cannot fully attain to this. The ode (She, III. iii. ode II. 8) says,

'Not going beyond the right, inflicting no injury.  
Seldom is it that such an one does not become a pattern to others;'

showing the power of good faith. He who can be a pattern to others, is not beneath them. My inability to attain this is my difficulty; I am not troubled about Ts'oo."

'Wei, the chief minister of Ts'oo begged that they might simply use a victim, and, having read the words of the former covenant, place the writing over its [blood]. This was agreed to on the part of Tsin; and on the 3d month, on K'eh-shin, they covenanted. Wei was in [ruler's] robes, with guards displayed [before him]. Shuh-sun Muh-tsze said, "The Kung-tsze of Ts'oo is beautiful, how ruler-like!"

Tsze-p'e of Ch'ing said, "Yes, with those two spearmen before him!"

'Tsze-k'ea of Ts'ae said, "They are before the P'oo palace; may he not have them [here] also?"

'Pih Chow-le of Ts'oo said, "In taking leave for this journey, he borrowed them from our ruler."

'Hwuy, the internuncius of Ch'ing, said "He borrowed them, but will not return them!"

'Pih Chow-le replied, "You may find a subject for your sorrow in the rebellious, incoherent ambition of Tsze-seih." Tsze-yu rejoined, "While the designate of the *peih* (See the Chuen on XIII.

8) remains, do you find no subject for sorrow in the borrowing these things, and not returning them?"

'Kwoh-tsze of Ts'e said, "I commiserate the two of you."

The Kung-tsze Shaou of Ch'in said, "But for their anxious sorrow, what would they accomplish? They will have occasion for joy."

'Ts'e-tsze of Wei said, "If they know it [before-hand], although they may be sorrowful, what harm will there be?"

'The master of the Left of Sung—he of Hoh—said, "A great State commands, and a small State obeys. I know nothing but to obey."

'Yoh Wang-foo of Tsin said, "[The sentiment of] the last stanza of the S'ao min (She, I. v. ode I.) is good; I will follow it."

'When they retired from the meeting, Tsze-yu said to Tsze-p'e, "Shuh-sun was sharp, and yet mild. The master of the Left of Sung was sententious, and agreeable to propriety. Yoh Wang-foo was loving and reverent. You and Tsze-k'ea held [the Mean]. You are all men who will preserve your families for generations. But the great officers of Ts'e, Wei, and Ch'in, will not escape [an evil death]. Kwoh-tsze was sorry for them; Tsze-shaou found in sorrow ground for joy; and Ts'e-tsze said that though they were sorrowful, there would be no harm. Now to be sorry before the thing happens, to find joy in what is occasion for sorrow, and to see no harm in being sorry;—all this is the way to bring sorrow. Sorrow will come to them. The Great Declaration says, 'What the people desire, Heaven is sure to grant.' Those three officers prognosticated sorrow;—is it possible but that sorrow should come to them? This is an illustration of the saying, 'From words you know things.'"

Par. 3. Yun,—see on IX. xii. 1, 2. The Chuen says:—'Ke Woo-tsze invaded Keu and took Yun. The people of Keu sent word [of the outrage] to the meeting, and Ts'oo represented to Tsin, "Before we have retired from this renewal of the covenant, Loo has invaded Keu, thus treating contumeliously our common stipulations. Allow us to execute its envoy." Yoh Hwan-tsze (Wang-foo) was in attendance on Chaou Wän-tsze; and wishing to ask a bribe from Shuh-sun, he interceded for him, and sent a messenger to ask from him a sash. Shuh-sun refused it, on which L'ang K'e-hing said, "Why should you grudge giving your property to protect yourself?" Shuh-sun replied, "The meeting of the States is for the defence of our altars. If I by such a method secure my own escape, yet Loo will be attacked. I shall have brought calamity on it, instead of being a defence to it. Men build walls to prevent the approach of evil. When there are cracks in a wall, or it falls to ruin, on whom will the blame be laid? If I, set for the defence [of Loo], should yet do it evil, I should be more to blame [than the wall]. Though I can resent the conduct of Ke-sun [in this matter], what offence has Loo committed? That the Shuh should go abroad [on missions], and the Ke remain at home, is an established custom [of our State]:—with whom should I feel dissatisfied? But as to a gift to Wang-foo, if I do not give him something, he will not cease [importuning me]." With this he called the messenger, tore up a piece of silk for a lower garment, and gave it to him, saying, "The sash-silk is all done."

'When Chaou-m'ang heard of all this, he said, "In misfortune, not forgetting his State, he is loyal; in prospect of difficulties, not [wishing] to overstep his office, he is faithful. Forgetting the risk of death in his interest for the State, he is incorrupt. Holding to these three things in his counsels, he is righteous. Ought a man with these four qualities to be executed?" He therefore made a request to [the minister of] Ts'oo, saying, "Although Loo be chargeable with an offence, its minister here has not [sought to] avoid difficult services, and [now] in awe of your majesty he [is prepared] to submit reverently to your orders. It will be well for you to spare him as an encouragement to all about you. If your officers, in the State, do not seek to avoid laborious services, and when they go abroad, do not try to evade difficulties [that they may meet with], to what calamities will you in that case be exposed? What calamities arise from is officers' not performing laborious services, and not maintaining their characters on occasions of difficulty. If they are able for these two things, there will be no calamities. If you do not quiet [the apprehensions of] those who are able, who will follow you? Shuh-sun P'ao may be pronounced such an able man, and I beg you to spare him, in order to quiet the minds of others who are so [also]. If you, having assembled [the ministers of] the States, will pardon the guilty [Loo], and reward its worthy officer, which of the States will not rejoice? They will look to Ts'oo, and turn to it, and see it, though far off, as if it were near. The States that lie on their borders [between Tsin and Ts'oo] follow now the one and now the other, without any regularity. The good kings and presiding princes drew out for them their boundaries, set up for them their officers, raised in them their flags of distinction, and issued among them enactments and ordinances. Transgressors among them they punished, and yet they could not secure a oneness [of obedience]. Thus it was that Yu had its San-m'eaou; H'ea its Kwan and Hoo; Shang its S'een and P'ei; and Chow its Seu and Yen. After there ceased to be good kings, the States struggled for the precedence, and one and another have presided in turns over the general covenants. Under such a condition can absolute oneness be looked for? The State which can sympathize with others in great [calamities], and overlook small matters, is fit to be lord of covenants; why should it occupy itself [with the small matters]? What State has not questions about encroachments on its borders? What presiding State could attend to them all? If Woo or Puh were to commit a trespass, would the ministers of Ts'oo pay any regard to our covenants? There is no reason why Ts'oo should not decline to take notice of this matter about the borders of Keu, and why the States should be troubled about it. Keu and Loo have quarrelled about Yun for long. If there be no great harm done to the altars [of Keu], you need not resist [the present aggression]. Do you remove this occasion of trouble, and deal kindly with this good man, and all will be strong to encourage [one another, in the appreciation of Ts'oo]. Do you consider the matter." He [thus] earnestly urged his request, and the minister of Ts'oo granted it, so that Shuh-sun was spared.

'The chief minister feasted Chaou-m'ang, and sang the first stanza of the Ta ming (She, III. i. ode II.). Chaou-m'ang sang the second stanza of the S'ao yuen (She, II. v. ode II.). When the feast was over, Chaou-m'ang said to Shuh-h'ang, "The chief minister looks upon himself as king. How will it be?" Shuh-h'ang replied, "The king is weak, and the minister is strong. His ambition will be gratified, but notwithstanding he will not die a natural death." "Why so?" "When strength overcomes weakness, and is satisfied in doing so, the strength is not righteous. Of strength which is unrighteous the doom will come quick. The ode (She, II. iv. ode VIII. 8) says,

'The majestic honoured capital of Chow  
Is extinguished by Paou Sze:—'

that was a case of strength which was not righteous. When the chief minister becomes king, he will be sure to ask [from Tsin] the presidency of the States; and Tsin is somewhat weakened. The States will go [to Ts'oo]; and when he has got them, his oppressiveness will be greatly increased. The people will not be able to bear it, and how shall he obtain a natural death? Taking [his position] by strength, overcoming by unrighteousness, he must look on these things as the proper course. Pursuing that course in dissoluteness and oppression, he cannot continue long."

[We have four narratives appended here:—1st. "In summer, in the 4th month, Chaou-m'ang, Shuh-sun P'ao, and the great officer of Ts'ao, entered the capital of Ch'ing, where the earl gave them all an entertainment. Tsze-p'e conveyed to Chaou-m'ang the notice of the time; and when the ceremony [of doing so] was over, Chaou-m'ang sang the Hoo yen (She, II. viii. ode VII.). Tsze-p'e went on to give the notice to Muh-shuh, and told this to him, when Muh-shuh said, "Chaou-m'ang wishes that there should only be one cup and the response to it. You should order it so." "How dare I?" said Tsze-p'e. "When it is what a man wishes, why should you not dare to do a thing?" was the reply. When the time came, the vessels for the ceremony of five cups were all provided under a tent. Chaou-m'ang declined [such a celebration], and told Tsze-ch'an apart how he had begged of the chief minister [that it might be otherwise]. On this only one cup was presented, Chaou-m'ang being the [principal] guest; and when that ceremony was over, they proceeded to the feast. Muh-shuh sang the Ts'eh-ch'ao (She, I. ii. ode I.). when Chaou-m'ang said, "I am not worthy of that." The other then sang the Ts'ae fan. (I. ii. ode II.), and added, "Our small States are like that southern-wood. If your great State will gather it sparingly and use it, we will in everything obey your commands." Tsze-p'e sang the last stanza of the Yay y'w s'ze keun (I. ii. ode XII.). Chaou-m'ang sang the Chang-te (II. i. ode IV.), and said, "Let us who are brothers seek to rest in harmony, and that dog may be kept from barking at us." Muh-shuh, Tsze-p'e, and the great officer of Ts'ao, rose up at this, and bowed their acknowledgments. Each of them raised a cup made of a rhinoceros' horn, and said, "We small States depend on you, and know that we shall escape punishment." They then drank and were joyous. When Chaou-



māng went out, he said, "I shall not have a repetition of this [enjoyment]."

2d. 'The king by Heaven's grace sent duke Ting of Lōw to the Ying to compliment Chaou-māng on the accomplishment of the toils of his journey; and [he accompanied him] to his lodging-house near a bend of the Loh. "How admirable," said the viscount of Lōw, "was the merit of Yu! His intelligent virtue reached far. But for Yu, we should have been fishes. That you and I manage the business of the princes in our caps and robes is all owing to Yu. Why should you not display a merit as far-reaching as that of Yu, and extend a great protection to the people?" Chaou-māng replied, "I am old, and constantly afraid of incurring guilt; how should I be able to send my regards far into the future? We can but think about our food, in the morning laying no plans for the evening, and are incapable of any long forethought." When the viscount returned [to the court], he told the king of this conversation, saying, "The common saying, 'An old man is just becoming wise, when senility comes upon him,' might be spoken of Chaou-māng. He is the chief minister of Ts'in, and presides over the States, and yet he likens himself to a common servant, who in the morning has no plans for the evening, casting from him [the care of] both Spirits and men. The Spirits must be angry with him, and the people revolt from him:—how can he continue long? Chaou-māng will not see another year. The Spirits, angry with him, will not accept his sacrifices; the people, revolting from him, will not repair to execute his affairs. His sacrifices and affairs both unattended to, what should he do with more years?"

3d. 'When Shuh-sun returned [to Loo], Tsang Yaou drove Ke-sun to congratulate him on the accomplishment of his journey. The morning passed and mid-day came, without his coming forth. Tsang Yaou said to Tsang Fow, "[Kept here] from morning to mid-day, we know our offence. But the government of Loo goes on through the mutual forbearance [of the ministers]. Abroad he could bear [with our master], and [now] in the State he does not do so;—what is the meaning of this?" Fow (Shuh-sun's steward) said, "He has been several months abroad;—what does it harm you to be here one morning? Does the trader who desires his profit dislike the clamour [of the market-place]?" Fow then said to his master that he might come forth, and Shuh-sun pointing to one of the pillars [of his house], said, "Though I should dislike this, could it be removed?" With this he went out and saw Ke-sun.'

4th. 'Seu-woo Fan of Ch'ing had a beautiful sister, who was betrothed to Kung-sun Ts'oo (Designated Tsze-nan). Kung-sun Hih (Tsze-seih), however, also sent a messenger who violently insisted on leaving a goose at the house (A ceremony of espousal). Fan was afraid, and reported the matter to Tsze-ch'an, who said, "This is not your sorrow [only]; it shows the want of government in the State. Give her to which of them you please." Fan then begged of the two gentlemen that they would allow him to leave the choice between them to the lady; and they agreed to it.

'Tsze-seih then, splendidly arrayed, entered the house, set forth his offerings, and went out.

Tsze-nan entered in his military dress, shot an arrow to the left and another to the right, sprang into his chariot, and went out. The lady saw them from a chamber, and said, "Tsze-seih is indeed handsome, but Tsze-nan is my husband. For the husband to be the husband, and the wife to be the wife, is what is called the natural course." So she went to Tsze-nan's. Tsze-seih was enraged, and by-and-by went with his bow-case and in his buff-coat to see Tsze-nan, intending to kill him and take away his wife. Tsze-nan knew his purpose, seized a spear, and pursued him. Coming up to him at a cross road, he struck him with the weapon. Tsze-seih went home wounded, and informed the great officers, saying, "I went in friendship to see him, not knowing that he had any hostile purpose; and so I received the wound."

'The great officers all consulted about the case. Tsze-ch'an said, "There is a measure of right on both sides; but as the younger, and lower in rank, and chargeable with an offence, we must hold Ts'oo to be the criminal." Accordingly he [caused] Tsze-nan to be seized, and enumerated his offences, saying, "There are the five great rules of the State, all of which you have violated:—awe of the ruler's majesty; obedience to the rules of the government; honour to the nobler in rank; the service of elders; and the kindly cherishing of relatives. These five things are necessary to the maintenance of the State. Now you, while the ruler was in the city, presumed to use your weapon;—you had no awe of his majesty. You violated the laws of the State;—not obedient to the rules of government. Tsze-seih is a great officer of the 1st degree, and you would not acknowledge your inferiority;—you have not honoured the nobler in rank. Younger than he, you showed no awe of him;—not serving your elder. You lifted your weapon against your cousin;—not kindly cherishing your relative. The ruler says that he cannot bear to put you to death, and will deal gently with you in sending you to a distance. Make an effort and take your departure quickly, so as not to incur a second offence."

'In the 5th month, on K'ang-shin, Ch'ing banished Yēw (Tsze-nan's clan-name) Ts'oo, to Woo. When he was about to send him away, Tsze-ch'an consulted with T'ae-shuh (Yēw Keih) on the subject. T'ae-shuh said, "I cannot protect myself; how should I be able to protect the members of my clan? The affair belongs to the government of the State, and is not any private hardship. If you have planned for the benefit of the State, carry out your decision. Why should you have any hesitancy? The duke of Chow put to death Kwan-shuh, and banished Ts'ae-shuh, not because he did not love them, but because it was necessary for the royal House. If I were to be found in any crime, you would send me away; what difficulty need you have in the case of any other Yēw?"

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'How-tsze of Ts'in had been a favourite with [his father, duke] Hwan, and was like another ruler by the side of [his brother, duke] King. Their mother said to him, "If you do not go away, I am afraid you will be found fault with." On Kwei-maou, therefore, K'ēn went to Ts'in, with his chariots amounting to a thousand. The words of the text, "K'ēn, younger brother of the earl

of Ts'in fled from that State to Ts'in," are condemnatory of the earl.

'How-tsze gave an entertainment to the marquis of Ts'in, when he made a bridge of boats over the Ho. His chariots were placed at stages, 10 *le* distant from one another, [all the way] from Yung to K'ang, returning [to Ts'in] to fetch the offerings for the different pledgings [at the entertainment], thereby completing the business in eight journeys back to it.

'The marshal How asked him whether those were all his chariots, and if he had no more, to which he replied, "These may be pronounced many; if they had been fewer, how should I have got to see you?" Joo Shuh-ts'e (The marshal) told this to the marquis, and added, "The prince of Ts'in is sure to return to that State. I have heard that when a superior man is able to know his errors, he is sure to take good measures in regard to them; and good measures receive the assistance of Heaven."

'How-tsze visited Chaou-māng, who asked him when he would return [to Ts'in], and he replied, "I was afraid of being found fault with by my ruler, and therefore I am here. I will wait for the accession of his successor." The other then asked him about the character of the ruler of Ts'in, and he replied that he was without principle. "So that [the State] will perish?" asked Chaou-māng. "How should that be?" replied he. "For one rule without principle a State will not come to an end. The State stands related to Heaven and Earth;—they stand together. Unless licentiousness has prevailed for several incumbencies, it will not come to ruin." Chaou-māng said, "Does Heaven [act in the matter]?" "Yes." "And for how long?" "I have heard," was the reply, "that when [a ruler] is without principle, and yet the yearly harvest is good, Heaven is assisting him; it is seldom it does not do so for 5 years." Chaou-māng, observing the shadows, said, "The morning may not extend to the evening, nor the evening to the morning. Who can wait for five years?" When How-tsze went out [from the interview], he said to his friends, "Chaou-māng will [soon] die. When the president of the people trifles about years, and desires [length of] days, he cannot endure long."

The Kang-he editors say that the three Chuen agree in regarding the words of the text as condemnatory of the earl of Ts'in, because he had not done his duty in the training of his younger brother; but they also quote the criticism of K'ea Heuen-ung (家鉉翁; end of Sung dyn.), who finds a condemnation of K'ēn in it as well;—and of this view they approve. But both the views are imported into the text, we may believe. Certainly the latter is. A more serious difficulty presents itself to my mind in connexion with the text. Admitting the narrative in the Chuen, though parts in it are not easy to believe or understand, the going of K'ēn to Ts'in was of a very different character from all the departures from one State and flights to another which we have yet met with. A faithful and accurate chronicler would have varied his language to mark that difference.

[We have appended here:—'Because of the troubles connected with the affair of Yēw Ts'oo in Ch'ing, in the 6th month, the earl and his great officers made a covenant in the house of

Kung-sun Twan. Han Woo, Kung-sun K'ēn, Kung-sun Twan, Yin Twan, Yēw Keih, and Sze Tae, privately covenanted together outside the Kwei gate, which was in fact [the covenant of] Heun-suy. Kung-sun Hih violently insisted on taking part in the covenant, and made the grand historiographer write his name, and enter the phrase—"the seven officers." Tsze-ch'an did not attempt to punish him.]

Par. 6. For 大南 Kung and Kuh have

大原; and Kuh observes that the place or tract was called by the former name among the Teih, and by the latter among the States of the kingdom. The name of T'ae-yuen remains in the dis. and dep. so called, in Shan-se.

The Chuen says:—'Chung-hang Muh-tsze defeated the Woo-chung and other tribes of the Teih in T'ae-yuen, through collecting the men attached to the chariots and making them foot-soldiers. When they were about to fight, Wei Shoo said, "They are all foot-men, while our force consists of chariots. We must meet them, moreover, in a narrow pass. Let us substitute ten men for each chariot, and we shall overcome them. Even though straitened in the pass, we shall do so. Let us all turn ourselves into foot-men. I will begin." Accordingly, he put aside his chariots, and formed the men into ranks, five chariots furnishing three ranks of five men each. A favourite officer of Seun Woo (The Chung-hang Muh-tsze) was not willing to take his place among the soldiers, and Shoo beheaded him, and made the execution known through the army. Five dispositions were then made at a distance from one another:—*liang*, in front; *woo*, behind; *chuen*, on the right horn; *ts'an*, on the left; and *p'in*, in the van. This was done to deceive the Teih, who laughed at the arrangement. [The troops of Ts'in] then fell on the enemy before they could form in order, and inflicted on them a great defeat.'

Par. 7, 8. See on IX. xxxi. 7. The Chuen here says:—'When Chen-yu succeeded to the rule of Keu, he deprived all the sons of previous rulers of their offices. In consequence of this, they called K'eu-tsih from Ts'e; and in autumn, the Kung-tsze Ts'oo of Ts'e instated him in Keu, while Chen-yu fled to Woo.' Kung and Kuh leave out the 輿 after 展.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—'Shuh Kung led a force, and laid out the boundaries of the lands of Yün;—taking advantage of the disorder in Keu. At this time, Woo Low, Mow Hoo, and the Kung-tsze Mēeh-ming, fled to Ts'e, offering to that State the cities of Ta-mang and Chang-e-mei. The superior man will say that Chen's not maintaining himself in Keu was owing to his throwing men from him. Can men be thrown away? The ode (She, IV. i. [i.] ode IV.) says,

"Nothing gives strength more than [the use of right] men."

The sentiment is good.'

Par. 10. This is the first time that we meet, in the Ch'ün T's'ew, with the burial of a prince of Choo; and the same thing is recorded also, for the 1st time under duke Ch'au, in reference to rulers of T'ang, S'eh, and Ts'in. The entries mark the decay of Loo, now seeking by such an attention to ingratiate itself with small States



like Choo, T'ang, and S'eh, and with a distant State like T'sin.

[We have here the two following narratives:—

1st. 'The marquis of Tsin being ill, the earl of Ch'ing sent Kung-sun K'ëaou to Tsin on a complimentary visit, and to inquire about the marquis's illness. Shuh-h'ang then asked K'ëaou, saying, "The diviners say that our ruler's illness is inflicted on him by [the Spirits] Shih-ch'in and T'ae-t'ae, but the historiographers do not know who these are. I venture to ask you." T'ze-ch'an said, "Anciently, [the emperor Kaou-sin had two sons, of whom the elder was called Oh-pih, and the younger Shih-ch'in. They dwelt in K'wang-lin, but could not agree, and daily carried their shields and spears against each other. The sovereign emperor (Yaou) did not approve of this, and removed Oh-pih to Shang-k'ew, to preside over the star *Ta-ho* (See the Chuen on IX. ix. 1). The ancestors of Shang followed him [in Shang-k'ew], and hence *Ta-ho* is the star of Shang. [Yaou also] removed Shih-ch'in to T'ae-h'ea, to preside over the star *Sin* (? in Orion). The descendants of T'ang (Yaou) followed him, and in T'ae-h'ea served the dynasties of Hea and Shang. The prince at the end of their line was T'ang Shuh-yu. When Yih K'ang, the wife of king Woo, was pregnant with T'ae-shuh, she dreamt that God said to her, "I have named your son Yu, and will give T'ang to him,—T'ang which belongs to the star *Sin*, where I will multiply his descendants." When the child was born, there appeared on his hand the character Yu [by which he was named accordingly]. And when king Ch'ing extinguished [the old House of] T'ang, he invested T'ae-shuh with the principality; and hence *Sin* is the star of Tsin. From this we may perceive that Shih-ch'in is the Spirit of *Sin*.

"[Again], anciently, among the descendants of the emperor Kin-t'een was Mei, chief of the officers of the waters, who had two sons, Yun-kih and T'ae-t'ae. T'ae-t'ae inherited his father's office, cleared the channels of the Fun and T'au, and embanked the great marsh, so as to make the great plain habitable. The emperor (Chuen-heuh) commended his labours, and invested him with the principality of Fun-ch'uen. [The States of] Ch'in, Sze, Juh, and Hwang maintained sacrifices to him. But now Tsin, when it took on itself the sacrifices to the Fun, extinguished them. From this we may perceive that T'ae-t'ae is the Spirit of the Fun.

"But these two Spirits cannot affect your ruler's person. The Spirits of the hills and streams are sacrificed to in times of flood, drought, and pestilence. The Spirits of the sun, moon, and stars are sacrificed to on the unseasonable occurrence of snow, hoarfrost, wind, or rain. Your ruler's person must be suffering from something connected with his movements out of the palace and in it, his meat and drink, his griefs and pleasures; what can these Spirits of the mountains and stars have to do with it?

"I have heard that the superior man [divides the day] into 4 periods:—the morning, to hear the affairs of the government; noon, to make full inquiries about them; the evening, to consider well and complete the orders [he has resolved to issue]; and the night, for rest. By this arrangement [of his time], he attempers and dis-

sipates the humours [of the body], so that they are not allowed to get shut up, stopped, and congested, so as to injure and reduce it. Should that take place, his mind loses its intelligence, and all his measures are pursued in a dark and confused way. But has not [your ruler] been making these four different periods of his time into one? This may have produced the illness.

"I have heard again that the ladies of the harem should not be of the same surname as the master of it. If they be, their offspring will not thrive. When their first admiration for each other [as relatives] is exhausted, they occasion one another disease. On this account the superior man hates such unions, and one of our Books says, 'In buying a concubine, if you do not know her surname, consult the tortoise-shell for it.' The ancients gave careful attention to the two points which I have mentioned. That husband and wife should be of different surnames is one of the greatest points of propriety; but now your ruler has in his harem four Kes:—may it not be from this [that his illness has arisen]? If it have come from the two things [I have mentioned], nothing can be done for it. If he had seldom to do with the four Kes, he might get along; if that be not the case, disease was the necessary result."

Shuh-h'ang said, "Good. I had not heard of this. But both the things are so." When he went out, the internuncius Hwuy escorted him, and Shuh-h'ang asked him about the affairs of Ch'ing, and especially about T'ze-seih. "He will not remain long," was the reply. "Unobservant of propriety, and fond of insulting others; trusting in his riches and despising his superiors,—he cannot continue long."

"When the marquis heard of what T'ze-ch'an had said, he remarked that he was a superior man of vast information, and gave him large gifts."

2d. 'The marquis of Tsin asked the help of a physician from T'sin, and the earl sent one Ho to see him, who said, "The disease cannot be cured,—according to the saying that when women are approached, the chamber disease becomes like insanity. It is not caused by Spirits nor by food; it is that delusion which has destroyed the mind. Your good minister will [also] die; it is not the will of Heaven to preserve him." The marquis said, "May women [then] not be approached?" The physician replied, "Inter-course with them must be regulated. The ancient kings indicated by their music how all other things should be regulated. Hence there are the five regular intervals. Or slow or quick, from beginning to end, they blend in one another. Each note rests in the exact intermediate place; and when the five are thus determined, no further exercise on the instruments is permitted. Thus the superior man does not listen to music where the hands work on with licentious notes, pleasing the ears but injurious to the mind, where the rules of equable harmony are forgotten. So it is with all things. When they come to this, they should stop; if they do not do so, it produces disease. The superior man repairs to his lutes, to illustrate his observance of rules, and not to delight his mind [merely].

"[In the same way] there are six heavenly influences, which descend and produce the five tastes, go forth in the five colours, and are verified in the five notes; but when they are in

excess, they produce the six diseases. Those 6 influences are denominated the *yin*, the *yang*, wind, rain, obscurity, and brightness. In their separation, they form the four seasons; in their order, they form the five [elementary] terms. When any of them is in excess, there ensues calamity. An excess of the *yin* leads to diseases of cold; of the *yang*, to diseases of heat; of wind, to diseases of the extremities; of rain, to diseases of the belly; of obscurity, to diseases of delusion; of brightness, to diseases of the mind. [The desire of] woman is to the *yang*, and [she is used in the] season of obscurity. If this be done to excess, disease is produced of internal heat and utter delusion. Was it possible for your lordship, paying no regard to moderation or to time, not to come to this?"

"When [the physician] went out, he told what he had said to Chaou-m'ang, who asked who was intended by "the good minister." "You," was the reply. "You have been chief minister of Tsin now for 8 years. There has been no disorder in the State itself, and the other States have not failed [in their duty to it]; that epithet of 'good' may be applied to you. But I have heard that when the great minister of a State enjoys the glory of his dignity and emoluments, and sustains the burden of his great employments, if calamity and evil arise, and he do not alter his ways [to meet them], then he must receive the blame and the consequences. Here is your ruler, who has brought disease on himself by his excesses, so that he will [soon] be unable to consult at all for [the good of] the altars. What calamity could be greater? And yet you were unable to ward it off. It was on this account that I said what I did."

"Chaou-m'ang [further] asked what he meant by "insanity;" and [the physician] replied, "I mean that which is produced by the delusion and disorder of excessive sensual indulgence. Look at the character;—it is formed by the characters for a vessel and for insects (蟲 = 皿 and 蟲). It is used also of grain which [moulders and] flies away. In the Chow Yih, [the symbols of] a woman deluding a young man, [of] wind throwing down [the trees of] a mountain, go by the same name (風 = 二 under 二):—all these point to the same significance."

Chaou-m'ang pronounced him a good physician, gave him large gifts, and sent him back [to T'sin].

Par. 11. For 麋 Kung and Kuh have 卷. See the account of Keun's accession in the Chuen after IX. xxix. 2.

The Chuen says:—"The Kung-tsze Wei of T'soo sent the Kung-tsze Hih-k'wang and Pih Chow-le to wall Ch'au, Leih, and K'eah; which frightened the people of Ch'ing, but T'ze-ch'an said, "It will not harm [us]. The chief minister is about to make the grand *coup*, and will first take off those two. The evil will not reach Ch'ing; there is no occasion for our being troubled." In winter, Wei was proceeding on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, with Woo Keu as his subordinate in the mission, when he heard, before they had crossed the borders [of the State], that the king was ill. On this he

returned [to the capital], leaving Woo Keu to proceed to Ch'ing. On the 11th month, on Ke-y'ew, he entered [as if] to inquire about the king's illness, and strangled him. He then proceeded to put to death the king's two sons, Moh and P'ing-h'ea. T'ze-kan, director of the Right, fled to Tsin; and T'ze-seih, director of the royal stables, fled to Ch'ing. [Wei] put to death the grand-administrator, Pih Chow-le, in K'eah; and there he buried the king, whom he called in consequence K'eah-gaou. He sent an announcement [of the king's death] to Ch'ing, and Woo Keu asked what was said about who ought to be the successor. "Our great officer, Wei," was the reply, which Woo Keu changed into "King Kung's Wei is the first [in the line]."

"When T'ze-kan fled to Tsin, he had 5 chariots with him. Shuh-h'ang caused him to receive the same allowance as the prince of T'sin,—enough to each to support 100 men, on which Chaou Wan-tsze observed that the prince of Tsin was rich. Shuh-h'ang replied, "Allowances are made according to the virtue [of the parties]; where their virtue is equal, according to their years; where their years are equal, according to their rank; to the sons of rulers of States, according to the State. I have not heard that they are to be regulated by a consideration of their wealth. Moreover, that [the prince of T'sin] left his State with 1000 chariots shows how strong and powerful he was. And the ode (She, III. iii. ode VI. 5) says,

'He does not insult the wifeless or the widow'  
He does not fear the strong or the powerful,

T'sin and T'soo are peers." In accordance with this, How-tze and T'ze-kan were made to take place according to their years. The former declined, saying, "I was afraid of being found fault with, and the prince of T'soo could find no safety [in his State]. We are therefore both here, and it is for you to assign us our places according to your pleasure. And does it not seem improper that I should be made equal to him who is a stranger? The historiographer Yih said, "To whom will you show respect if not to a stranger?"

"When king Ling of T'soo came to the rule of that State, Wei P'e was made chief minister, and Wei K'ë-k'ang grand-administrator. Y'ew Keih of Ch'ing went to T'soo to the funeral of K'eah-gaou, and on a complimentary visit to the new ruler. On his return, he said to T'ze-ch'an, "Make all your preparations for travelling. The extravagance of the king of T'soo is excessive, and he is delighted with his position. He is sure to call the States together. We shall be going there in no time." T'ze-ch'an replied, "He cannot do that till some years have elapsed."

Par. 12. The Kung-tsze P'e here is the T'ze-kan mentioned in the Chuen on the prec. par. Chan Joh-shwuy (湛若水; Ming dyn.) says that this entry makes it clear that the death of the king of T'soo was a deed of atrocious wickedness. But the criticism is a very lame attempt to excuse the silence of the classic in reference to the true nature of that event.

[There is appended here:—"In the 12th month, when [the marquis of] Tsin had offered the winter sacrifice, Chaou-m'ang went to Nan-yang, to be present [at the sacrifice to] M'ang T'ze-yu

(probably Chaou Tsau). On K'eah-shin, the 1st day of the moon, he offered the winter sacrifice in W'au; and on Kang-seuh he died.

The earl of Ch'ing was going to Tsin to offer his condolences [on this event]; but when he had got to Yung, he returned.]

Second year.

二年春晉侯使韓起來聘。夏叔弓如晉。秋鄭殺其大夫公孫黑。冬公如晉至河乃復季孫宿如晉。

左傳曰：二年春，晉侯使韓宣子來聘，且告為政而來見禮也。觀書於大史氏，見易象與魯春秋，曰：周禮盡在魯矣。吾乃今知周公之德，與周之所以王也。公享之。季武子賦：綿之卒章。韓宣子賦：節之卒章。既享，宴於季氏。有嘉樹焉，宣子譽之。武子曰：宿敢不封殖此樹，以無忘角弓。遂賦甘棠。宣子曰：起不堪也，無以及召公。宣子遂如齊，納幣，見子雅。子雅召子旗，使見宣子。宣子曰：非保家之主也，不臣。見子尾。子尾見彊，宣子謂之：如子旗大。夫多笑之。唯晏子信之。曰：夫子，君子也。君子有信，其有以知之矣。自齊聘於衛，衛侯享之。北宮文子賦：淇澳。宣子賦：木瓜。

○夏四月，韓須如齊逆女。齊陳無宇送女，致少姜。少姜有寵於晉侯。晉侯謂之：少齊。謂陳無宇：非卿，執諸中都。少姜為之請曰：送從逆班，畏大國也。猶有所易，是以亂作。

叔弓聘於晉，報宣子也。晉侯使郊勞，辭曰：寡君使弓來繼舊好，固曰：女無敢為賓，徹命於執事。敝邑弘矣，敢辱郊使，請辭。致館，辭曰：寡君命下臣來繼舊好，好合使成，臣之祿也。敢辱大館，叔向曰：子叔子知禮哉。吾聞之曰：忠信，禮之器也。卑讓，禮之宗也。辭不忘國，忠信也。先國後己，卑讓也。詩曰：敬慎威儀，以近有德。夫子近德矣。

秋，鄭公孫黑將作亂，欲去游氏而代其位。傷疾作而不果，驪氏與諸大

夫欲殺之。子產在郢，聞之，懼弗及，乘遽而至。使吏數之曰：伯有之亂，以大國之事，而未爾討也。爾有亂心，無厭國，不女堪，專伐伯有，而罪一也。昆弟爭室，而罪二也。薰隧之盟，女矯君位，而罪三也。有死罪三，何以堪之？不速死，大刑將至。再拜稽首，辭曰：死在朝夕，無助天為虐。子產曰：人誰不死？凶人不終命也，作凶事，為凶人，不助天，其助凶人乎？請以印為楮師。子產曰：印也。若才，君將任之，不才，將朝夕從汝。汝罪之不恤，而又何請焉？不速死，司寇將至。七月壬寅，縊尸諸周氏之衢，加木焉。晉少姜卒。公如晉，及河，晉侯使士文伯來辭。曰：非伉儷也，請君無辱。公還，季孫宿遂致服焉。叔向言陳無宇於晉侯曰：彼何罪？君使公族逆之，齊使上大夫送之，猶曰不共，君求以貪國，則不共，而執其使，君刑已頗，何以為盟？主且少姜有辭。冬十月，陳無宇歸。十一月，鄭印毘如晉弔。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Tsin sent Han K'e to Loo on a complimentary visit.  
2 In summer, Shuh Kung went to Tsin.  
3 In autumn, Ch'ing put to death its great officer, the Kung-sun Hih.  
4 In winter, the duke was going to Tsin, but when he got to the Ho, he returned; and K'e-sun Suh went to Tsin.

Par. 1. Han K'e was a son of Han Keueh or Han H'een-tze (韓厥, 韓獻子), who retired from public life in the 7th year of duke S'ang, and a younger brother of Han Woo-ke (韓無忌), known as Kung-tsu Muh-tze (公族穆子). He is frequently mentioned as Han Seuen-tze (韓宣子), and, on the death of Chaou Woo in the end of last year, had succeeded to him as the principal minister of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—The marquis of Tsin sent Han Seuen-tze on this complimentary visit (With reference to duke Chaou's accession), and he came also to inform Loo that the administration of Tsin was now in his hands;—which was acc. to rule. When he looked at the [various] documents in the charge of the grand historiographer, and the Ch'un T's'ew of Loo, he said, "The institutes of Chow are all in Loo. Now, indeed, I know the virtue of the duke of Chow, and how it was that [the House of] Chow attained to the royal dignity." The duke gave him an entertainment, at which Ke Woo-tsze sang the last stanza of the M'een (She, III. i. ode III.), and Han-tze sang the K'eh kung (She, II. vii. ode IX.). [When Han-tze had done], Ke Woo-tsze bowed to him saying, "I venture to make my acknowledgments for the kind feeling you express to our poor State.

Our ruler may [now] have hope," and he went on to sing the last stanza of the T's'eh (She, II. iv. ode VII.).

"When the entertainment was over, [Han-tze] went to a feast at Ke's, and praised a beautiful tree [in the garden]. Woo-tsze said, "Shall I not encourage the growth of this tree, so as not to forget the K'eh kung?" And he sang the Kan-t'ang (She, I. ii. ode V.), on which the other said, "I am not worthy of this. It is impossible for me to attain to be like the duke of Shao."

"[From Loo] S'eu-tze went on to Ts'e, and presented the marriage-offerings [of the marquis]. Visiting there Tsze-ya (the Kung-sun T's'au), [that prince] called [his son] Tsze-k'e and introduced him, when Seuen-tze said, "He is not one who will preserve his family. He has not the air of a subject." Visiting Tsze-we (the Kung-sun Ch'ae), [that prince] introduced [his son] K'ang to him, of whom he said, "He is like Tsze-k'e." Many of the great officers laughed at these remarks, but Gan-tze believed them, and said, "He is a superior man. A superior man is to be believed; he has means of knowing what he says."

"From Ts'e [S'eu-tze] went on a complimentary visit to Wei, the marquis of which gave him an entertainment. Pih-kung Kw'oh-tze sang the Ke yuh (She, I. v. ode L.), and Seuen-tze the Muh kwa (I. v. ode X.)."

Tso-she says above that this visit of Han K'e was 'according to rule.' But he is in error. There is no other instance in the classic of the chief minister of the leading State going on a complimentary mission. It was below his dignity to do so. Han K'e probably took the step, thinking thereby to gratify the States and confirm their attachment to the failing fortunes of Ts'in.

It is mentioned in the narrative that K'e presented the marriage offerings in Ts'e, the marquis of Ts'in, heedless of the warnings of Tsze-ch'an and the physician of Ts'in, having now arranged to give a new mistress to his harem in the person of a lady of Ts'e. The sequel is appended:—'In summer, in the 4th month, Han Seu (Son of K'e) went to Ts'e to meet the [marquis's] bride. Ch'in Woo-yu escorted her—the young K'ang—to Ts'in, and was to be there till the completion of the marriage. She obtained favour with the marquis, who called her the young Ts'e. Thinking, however, on the circumstance that Woo-yu was not of the rank of minister, he seized him in Chung-too, but the young K'ang pleaded for him saying, "The escort was chosen according to the rank of your officer who met me. [Ts'e] stood in awe of your great State, and thought that it also might make a change, and so the disorder arose."'

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'Shuh Kung [now] went to Ts'in, to return the visit of Senen-tse. The marquis sent to comfort and refresh him after the toils of his journey in the suburbs, but he declined the honour, saying, "When my ruler sent me to continue the old friendship [between our States], he gave me a strict charge that I should not presume to take the position of a guest. Let me communicate my message to your ministers, and the favour to our poor State will be great. I dare not trouble a messenger to come to the suburbs. Let me decline the honour." When a reception-house was assigned to him, he declined it, saying, "My ruler commissioned me to come here to continue the old friendship [between our States]. If I can but establish the friendly union, that is my reward. I dare not accept this great reception-house." Shuh-h'ang said, "Tsze-shuh-tse knows the rules of propriety. I have heard that loyalty and good faith are vessels containing the [principle of] propriety, and that humility and submission are essential things in it. In declining [the honours offered to him], he is not forgetful of his State;—thus showing his loyalty and good faith. His State is the first consideration with him, and himself the last;—thus showing his humility and self-abasement. The ode (She, III. ii. ode IX. 3) says,

'Be reverently careful of your demeanour,  
In order to approximate to the virtuous.'

He is one who approximates to virtue."

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, the Kung-sun Hih was about to raise an insurrection, desiring to remove the chief of the Y'ew clan, and to take his place [in the govt.]. His wound (See the 4th narrative after par. 3 of last year), however, broke out afresh, and he did not carry out his purpose. The Sze and the other great officers wished to put him to death; and when Tsze-ch'an, who was in the borders, heard of it, he was afraid he should be too late, and

hurried by rapid stages to the capital. [Arrived there], he sent an officer to enumerate in the following away his offences to Hih:—"At the time of the insurrection of Pih-y'ew (IX. xxx. 7), being occupied with the business of the great State, we did not punish you; but your insubordinate disposition is insatiable, and the State cannot endure you. Your taking it on yourself to attack Pih-y'ew was one offence; your contention with your cousin about his wife (See the 4th nar. after par. 3 of last year) was a second; your acting as if you had been the ruler at the covenant of Heun-suy (See the nar. after par. 4 of last year) was a third. With those three capital offences, how can the State endure you? If you do not quickly die [by your own hand], the great punishment will come upon you." Hih bowed twice with his head to the ground, and replied, "Death may occur any morning or evening; but do not you aid [the act of] Heaven by cruelty." Tsze-ch'an said, "Who of men is exempted from death? but that bad men should not die a natural death, is the appointment. He who does bad villainous things is a villain. If we do not aid Heaven, shall we aid him?" Hih then begged that [his son] Yin might be made superintendent of the market, and Tsze-ch'an replied, "If Yin have ability, the ruler will give him office; if he have not, he will [at any time] follow you, morning or evening. You have no consideration of your offences; how do you continue making such requests? If you do not quickly die, the minister of Crime will visit you."

'In the 7th month, on Jin-yin, Hih strangled himself, and his body was exposed in the street of Chow-she, with [an inscription on] a board by it.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'The young K'ang, [married to the marquis] of Ts'in, having died, the duke was proceeding to Ts'in; but when he had gone to the Ho, the marquis sent Sze Wan-pih to meet him, and decline his visit, saying, "She was not my equal wife. I beg you will not condescend to come further." On this the duke returned, and Ke-sun Suh proceeded to Ts'in to present the grave-clothes [for the deceased].

'Shuh-h'ang spoke to the marquis about Ch'in Woo-yu, saying, "Of what offence was he guilty? You sent [a great officer of] a ducal clan to meet your bride, and [Ts'e] sent a great officer of the highest rank to escort her; and if you still say that was not respectful, you desire what was excessive. It was our State which was not respectful, and in seizing the messenger [of Ts'e], you are punishing him unjustly:—how can you thus be the lord of covenants? The young K'ang moreover, explained and interceded for him." In winter, in the 10th month, Ch'in Woo-yu returned [to Ts'e]. In the 11th month, Yin Twan of Ch'ing went to Ts'in, to present the condolences of that State.

Evidently duke Ch'ao was going to Ts'in at this time, contrary to precedent and rule, demeaning himself to curry favour with the marquis; and he returned on receiving the rebuke. Kung-yang and the glossarist of K'uh-l'ang strangely imagine that he returned because he was afraid that Ts'in had an intention to seize him, and hold him a prisoner.

Third year.

三年春王正月，  
丁未，滕子原卒。  
夏，叔弓如滕。  
五月，葬滕成公。  
秋，小邾子來朝。  
八月，大雩。  
冬，大雨雹。  
齊，北燕伯欵出奔。

左傳曰：三年春，王正月，鄭游吉如晉，送少姜之葬。梁丙與張趯見之，梁丙曰：甚矣哉！子之爲此來也。子大叔曰：將得已乎？昔文襄之霸也，其務不煩諸侯，令諸侯三歲而聘，五歲而朝，有事而會，不協而盟。君薨，大夫弔，卿共葬事，夫人士弔，大夫送葬，足以昭禮。命事謀闕而已，無加命矣。今嬖寵之喪，不敢擇位，而數於守適，唯懼獲戾，豈敢憚煩？少姜有寵而死，齊必繼室，今茲吾又將來賀，不唯此行也。張趯曰：善哉！吾得聞此數也。然自今，子其無事矣。譬如火焉，火中，寒暑乃退，此其極也。能無退乎？晉將失諸侯，諸侯求煩，不獲，二大夫退，子大叔告人曰：張趯有知，其猶在君子之後乎。

丁未，滕子原卒，同盟，故書名。

齊侯使晏嬰請繼室於晉，曰：寡君使嬰曰：寡人願事君，朝夕不倦，將奉質幣以無失時，則國家多難，是以不獲，不腆先君之適，以備內官，焜耀寡人之望，則又無祿。早世隕命，寡人失望，君若不忘先君之好，惠顧齊國，辱收寡人，微福於大公，丁公，照臨敝邑，鎮撫其社稷，則猶有先君之適，及遺姑姊妹若而人，君若不棄敝邑，而辱使董振擇之，以備嬪嬙，寡人之望也。韓宣子使叔向對曰：寡君之願也。寡君不能獨任其社稷之事，未有伉儷，在綏經之中，是以未敢請。君有辱命，惠莫大焉。若惠顧敝邑，撫有晉國，賜之內主，豈唯寡君舉羣臣實受其貺，其自唐叔以下，實寵嘉之。既成昏，晏子受禮，叔向從之，宴相與語，叔向曰：齊其何如？晏子曰：此季世也，吾弗知。齊其爲陳氏矣，公棄其

曰吾不可以正議而自與也。皆舍之。及文子爲政，趙獲曰：「可以取州矣。」文子曰：「退，二子之言義也，違義禍也。余不能治余縣，又焉用州？其以微禍也。」君子曰：「弗知實難，知而弗從，禍莫大焉。」有言州必死，豐氏故主韓氏，伯石之獲州也，韓宣子爲之請之，爲其復取之之故。

五月，叔弓如滕，葬滕成公子服椒爲介，及郊，遇懿伯之忌，敬子不入。惠伯曰：「公事有公利，無私忌，椒請先入，乃先受館，敬子從之。」

晉韓起如齊，逆女，公孫薑爲少姜之有寵也，以其子更公女而嫁公子。人謂宣子：「子尾欺晉，晉胡受之？」宣子曰：「我欲得齊，而遠其寵，寵將來乎？」

秋七月，鄭罕虎如晉，賀夫人，且告曰：「楚人日徵敝邑，以不朝立王之故，敝邑之往，則畏執事，其謂寡君而固有外心，其不往，則宋之盟云，進退罪也。寡君使虎布之，宣子使叔向對曰：『君若辱有寡君，在楚何害？修宋盟也。』君苟思盟，寡君乃知免於戾矣。君若不有寡君，雖朝夕辱於敝邑，寡君猜焉。君實有心，何辱命焉？君其往也。苟有寡君，在楚猶在晉也。張趯使謂叔向曰：『自子之歸也，小人冀除先人之敝廬，曰：『子其將來，今子皮實來，小人失望。』叔向曰：『吉賤不獲來，畏大國尊夫人也。』且孟曰：『而將無事，吉庶幾焉。』小邾穆公來朝，季武子欲卑之，穆叔曰：『不可。曹、滕、二邾實不忘我好，敬以逆之，猶懼其貳，又卑一睦焉，逆羣好也。其如舊而加敬焉。』志曰：『能敬無災。』又曰：『敬逆來者，天所福也。』季孫從之。」

八月，大雩，旱也。

齊侯田於菖，盧蒲癸見，泣且請曰：「余髮如此種種，余奚能爲？」公曰：「諾。」吾告二子，歸而告之。子尾欲復之，子雅不可，曰：「彼其髮短而心甚長，其或寢處我矣。」九月，子雅放盧蒲癸於北燕。

燕簡公多嬖寵，欲去諸大夫而立其寵人。冬，燕大夫比，以殺公之外嬖公懼，奔齊。書曰：「北燕伯欵出奔齊。」罪之。

民而歸於陳氏，齊舊四量，豆、區、釜、鍾，四升爲豆，各自其四，以登於釜，釜十則鍾。陳氏三量，皆登一焉，鍾乃大矣。以家量貸，而以公量收之，山木如市，弗加於山，魚鹽蜃蛤，弗加於海，民參其力，二入於公，而衣食其一。公聚朽蠹，而三老凍餒，國之諸市，屢賤踊貴，民人痛疾，而或煥伏之，其愛之如父母，而歸之如流水，欲無獲民，將焉辟之？箕伯、直柄、虞遂、伯戲，其相胡公大姬，已在齊矣。叔向曰：「然，雖吾公室，今亦季世也。戎馬不駕，卿無軍行，公乘無人，卒列無長，庶民罷敝，而宮室滋侈，道殣相望，而女富溢尤，民聞公命，如逃寇讐，樂卻胥、原、狐、續、慶、伯，降在阜隸，政在家門，民無所依，君日不悛，以樂怙憂，公室之卑，其何日之有？讒鼎之銘曰：『昧旦丕顯，後世猶怠。』況日不悛，其能久乎？」晏子曰：「子將若何？」叔向曰：「晉之公族盡矣，辟聞之，公室將卑，其宗族枝葉先落，則公從之，辟之宗十一族，唯羊舌氏在而已，辟又無子，公室無度，幸而得死，豈其獲祀？初，景公欲更晏子之宅，曰：『子之宅近市，湫隘囂塵，不可以居，請更諸爽塏者。』辭曰：『君之先臣容焉，臣不足以嗣之，於臣侈矣。』且小人近市，朝夕得所求，小人之利也，敢煩里旅。」公笑曰：「子近市，識貴賤乎？」對曰：「既利之，敢不識乎？」公曰：「何貴何賤？」於是景公繁於刑，有鬻踊者，故對曰：「踊貴履賤。」既已告於君，故與叔向語，而稱之。景公爲是省於刑，君子曰：「仁人之言，其利博哉。」晏子一言而齊侯省刑，詩曰：「君子如祉，亂庶遄已，其是之謂乎。」及晏子如晉，公更其宅，反則成矣。既拜，乃毀之，而爲里室，皆如其舊，則使宅人反之，且諺曰：「非宅是卜，唯鄰是卜，二三子先卜鄰矣。」違卜不祥，君子不犯非禮，小人不犯不祥，古之制也，吾敢違諸乎？卒復其舊宅，公弗許，因陳桓子以請，乃許之。

夏四月，鄭伯如晉，公孫段相甚敬而卑，禮無違者。晉侯嘉焉，授之以策，曰：「子豐有勞於晉國，余聞而弗忘，賜汝州田，以胙乃舊勳。」伯石再拜稽首受策以出。君子曰：「禮，其人之急也乎？」伯石之汰也，一爲禮於晉，猶荷其祿，況以禮終始乎？詩曰：「人而無禮，胡不遄死，其是之謂乎？」初，州縣，欒豹之邑也，及欒氏亡，范宣子趙文子、韓宣子皆欲之。文子曰：「溫，吾縣也。」二宣子曰：「自郤稱以別，三傳矣。」晉之別縣不唯州，誰獲治之？文子病之，乃舍之。二子



其弱競將族不曰子晏卒之王產吉楚如也。  
 危一爽始弱免惜雅子司齊夢以乃日子楚十  
 哉个猶昌矣殆也矣曰馬公田具既享子月  
 焉可二而哉子晏又竈孫江田享之產鄭  
 姜又惠嬌姜旗子喪見竈南備子賦相伯

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ting-we, Yuen, viscount of T'äng, died.  
 2 In summer, Shuh Kung went to T'äng.  
 3 In the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'ing of T'äng.  
 4 In autumn, the viscount of Little Choo came to the court [of Loo].  
 5 In the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
 6 In winter there was a great fall of hail.  
 7 K'wan, earl of North Yen, fled from his State to Ts'e.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative, which comes in before the death of the viscount of T'äng:—In the 1st month of this year, Y'ew Keih of Ch'ing went to Ts'in, to attend the funeral of the young K'ang, and was visited by L'ang Ping and Chang Teih. The former said to him, "It is [too much] that you should have come here on this account." Tsze-t'ae-shuh (Y'ew Keih) replied, "Could I have stopped away? Formerly, under the presidency of W'an and S'ang, they made it their object not to trouble the States [too much], ordering the princes once in three years to send a complimentary visit, once in five years to appear in person at their court, to meet when there was business [to be done], and to covenant when there were cases of discordant [States to be dealt with]. When a ruler died, a great officer [was sent] to present condolences, and a minister to assist at the burial. When a ruler's wife died, a [simple] officer presented condolences, and a great officer attended the funeral. These rules were sufficient to illustrate the ceremonial observances, for orders as to what business was to be done, and to take measures in reference to the shortcomings [of States]. Nothing more was required; no extraordinary commands were given. But now, on the death of [this] favourite lady, we must not presume to regulate our services by her rank, but they must be the same as are due to a wife, the keeper [of the harem]. We are only afraid of being found offenders, and dare not shrink from any trouble. But as this young K'ang found favour, and has died [thus soon], Ts'e is sure to propose a successor to her; and then on that occasion I shall come again to offer our congratulations, and shall not have had this journey only." Chang Teih said, "Good! I have heard your statement; but after this you will have nothing to do. This case may be illustrated by [the star] *ho*, according to the culmination of which the cold or the heat retires. Now the case has come to an extreme;—must there not be a recession? Ts'in will lose the States. Though it seek to trouble them, it will not be able to do so." On this the two great officers withdrew; and Tsze t'ae-shuh

said to his people, "Chang Teih is wise, but his place is notwithstanding, I apprehend, in the rear of superior men."]

Tso-she says, "The viscount of T'äng had been associated in covenants (with the duke [S'ang] of Loo), and therefore the text gives his name."

[Tso-she introduces here the following long narrative:—1st. 'The marquis of Ts'e sent Gan Ying to Ts'in with the following speech, begging to be allowed to supply a successor in the harem [to the young K'ang]:—"My ruler has sent me to say, 'I wish to serve your lordship, morning and evening without tiring, and would bring my presents and offerings so as never to lose a season; but there have been many difficulties in my State, so that I have not been able [to come myself]. The poor daughter of my father [was sent] to complete the offices in your harem, and shed a blaze [of glory] upon my hopes; but she was unfortunate and died an early death, to the disappointment of my hope. If your lordship, not forgetful of the friendship between our former rulers, will kindly regard the State of Ts'e, and condescend to accept me so that I may seek the blessing of the Great duke and duke Ting, sending brightness down upon my State, protecting and comforting its altars, then there are still so many of the daughters of my father by his proper wife, and of his sisters who remain. If your lordship, not casting off my poor State, will send some one to judge and select among them those who may complete the ladies of your bed-chamber, this will satisfy my hope.'"

'Han S'uen-tsze made Shuh-h'ang return a reply, saying, "It is the desire of our ruler. He is not able to discharge alone the duties to his altars; but being now in mourning, he has not ventured to prefer a request [for a successor to the young K'ang]. No kindness could be greater than the message which your lordship has condescended to send. If you will kindly regard our poor State, and comfort Ts'in by giving a mistress to its harem, not our ruler only, but all his ministers as well, will receive the benefit of your gift. Yea, from T'ang-shuh downwards, [our former rulers] will feel the favour and admire it."

'When the marriage was settled, Gan-tsze received the courtesy [of an entertainment], from which Shuh-h'ang followed him to the feast. When they conversed together, Shuh-h'ang asked about the state of affairs in Ts'e, and Gan-tsze replied, "This is its last age. I know nothing but this,—that Ts'e will become the possession of the Ch'in family. The duke is throwing away his people, and they are turning to the Ch'in. Ts'e from of old has had four measures, the *tow*, the *gow*, the *foo*, and the *chung*. Four *shing* make a *tow*, and up to the *foo*, each measure is four times the preceding; and then ten *foo* make a *chung*. The Ch'in family makes each of the [first] three measures once again greater, so that the *chung* is [very] large, lending according to their own measure, and receiving back again according to the public measure. The wood on their hills and that in the markets is charged the same price, so that it costs no more in the market than on the hill. Their fish, salt, and frogs cost the same [in the market as at the water]. The produce of the people's strength is divided into three parts, two of which are paid to the State, while only one is [left to them] for food and clothes. The [grain in the] ducal stores rots and is eaten by insects, while the three [classes of the] old are cold and starving. In all the markets of the State, [ordinary] shoes are cheap, while those for criminals whose toes have been cut off are dear. The common people and others groan bitterly [for all this], and there is one who shows an ardent sympathy for them. He loves them as a parent, and they go to him as a flowing stream. Though he wished not to win them to himself, how shall he escape doing so? There were Ke-pih, Chih-ping, Yu-suy, and Pih-he, whose help was given to duke Hoo and T'ae-ke, and [now, in their spiritual influence,] they are [all] in Ts'e."

'Shuh-h'ang said, "Yes; and even with our ducal House, this also is the last age. The war-horses are not yoked; the ministers never take the field. There are no men over the duke's chariots, no [proper] officers over the soldiers. The multitudes of the people are weary and worn, while the duke's mansions are multiplied and most costly. The people [feel], when they hear the duke's commands, as if they must escape from robbers and enemies. The Lwan, the K'eh, the Seu, the Yuen, the Hoo, the Suh, the K'ing, and the Pih, are reduced to the position of menials. The government is ordered by the Heads of the clans. The people have none on whom to rely. The ruler goes on from day to day without stop, burying all sorrow in pleasure. No future day need be waited for the humiliation of the ducal House. The inscription on the tripod of Ch'an says, 'You may get up early in the morning and become greatly distinguished, but in future generations [your descendants] will still become idle.' Much more may we say that he who holds on [an evil course] from day to day without stopping cannot continue long." Gan-tsze then asked him what would become of himself, and Shuh-h'ang replied, "The ducal clans of Ts'in are at an end. I have heard that when the ducal House is about to be brought low, its clan-branches first fall to the ground, and that then the duke follows them. Of the same ducal ancestry with me were eleven clans, and only the Yang-sheh remains. I moreover have no

son. In the lawless course of the ducal House, I shall be fortunate if I die a natural death, for I shall have none to sacrifice to me."

'Before this, duke King had wished to change the residence of Gan-tsze, saying, "Your house is near the market, low, small, noisy, and dusty. You should not live in it. Let me change it for you for one bright and lofty." The officer, however, declined the offer, saying, "Your lordship's former minister, [my father], could bear it. I am not fit to be his successor; [the change which you propose] would be extravagance in me. And besides, a small man like me, living near the market, can get what I desire morning and evening, which is a benefit." I dare not trouble the people of the neighbourhood. The duke laughed and asked him whether, through his nearness to the market, he knew what things were cheap and what dear. "Since it is to my advantage to do so," was the reply, "should I dare not to know that?" "What things then are cheap, and what dear?" pursued the marquis. Now duke King punished so many that there were people who sold shoes for those whose toes had been cut off. Gan-tsze therefore answered, "Shoes for people whose toes have been cut off are dear, and [other] shoes are cheap." As he had told this to his ruler, he mentioned it in his conversation with Shuh-h'ang.

'In consequence of this remark, duke King more rarely inflicted punishments. The superior man may say, "How widely extends the benefit of a benevolent man's words! By one word of Gan-tsze the marquis of Ts'e was led to reduce the number of his punishments;—an illustration of the words of the ode (She, II. v. ode IV. 2),

'If he were to rejoice [in the words of the wise],

The disorder perhaps would disappear."

'When Gan-tsze [on this occasion] went to Ts'in, the duke changed his house into a new one, so that it was completed on his return. After he had made his acknowledgments, however, [for the kindness], he pulled the house down, rebuilt the dwellings in the neighbourhood as they had been before, and sent to the old residents to return to them. [When they declined to do so], he said, "There is the common saying, 'It is not about the house that the tortoise-shell is consulted, but about the neighbours.' My friends, the tortoise-shell was formerly consulted about this neighbourhood. To go against the divination is inauspicious; and that the superior man do not violate the rules of propriety, while smaller men do not incur the risk of what is inauspicious, is an old regulation;—shall I dare to disobey it?" In the end, he brought them back to their old houses. The duke refused his sanction, but he granted it, when Gan-tsze got Ch'in Hwan-tsze to intercede with him.'

2d. 'In summer, in the 4th month, the earl of Ch'ing went to Ts'in, when Kung-sun T'wan was in attendance on him, and behaved so very respectfully and humbly, violating in nothing the proper rules, that the marquis commended him, and gave him a tablet [of investiture], saying, "Tsze-fung (T'wan's father) did hard service for the State of Ts'in. I have heard of it, and do not forget it, and [now] bestow on

you the lands of Chow, as a recompense for the old services of your [father]." Pih-shih bowed twice, with his head to the ground, received the tablet, and went out. The superior man will say on this, "How important to a man are the rules of propriety! Here was an extravagant man like Pih-shih, and to his once observing those rules in Ts'in he was indebted for dignity and wealth in that State. Here surely was an illustration of what the ode (She, I. iv. Ode VIII. 3), says,

'If a man be not observant of propriety, Why does he not quickly die?'

'Before this the district of Chow had belonged to Lwan P'ao; and on the ruin of the Lwan family, Fan Seuen-tsze, Chaou Wan-tsze, and Han Seuen-tsze, all wished to have it. Wan-tsze said, "All Wan (Chow had once been part of it) belongs to me." The two Seuen-tsze said, "Since the time of K'eh Ch'ing, [Chow] has been handed down, separate [from Wan], in three families. There are other districts in Ts'in, separated [in this way], and not Chow only;—who can get the right to take the rule of them?" Wan-tsze was vexed by this, but gave Chow up. The other two ministers said, "We ought not, having given a correct decision [in reference to his claim] to take it to ourselves," and so they all gave it up. When the administration [of Ts'in] came into the hands of Wan-tsze, Chaou Hwuh advised him to take Chow, but he said to him, "Begone! The words of those two were righteous, and to oppose righteousness is the way to misery. I cannot rule properly my own district; of what use would Chow be to me? I should only thereby occasion misery to myself."

'The superior man may say on this, "His case is hard who does not know [whence misery will arise]. When one knows this and does not act accordingly, nothing can exceed the misery. There was a saying that [the possessor of] Chow was sure to die."

'Fung-she (Kung-sun T'wan), according to his wont, was a guest with Han-she. His getting Chow was upon the request of Han Seuen-tsze in his behalf, to be the ground of his taking it [himself] again.'

Par. 2. The viscount of T'ang had come to Loo to the funeral of duke S'ang, and Loo now returns the compliment by sending a minister to attend his funeral. The one proceeding and the other were contrary to rule and precedent. The Chuen says:—"In the 5th month, Shuh Kung went to T'ang, to the burial of duke Ch'ing, Tsze-fuh T'seou being the assistant commissioner. When they got to the suburbs, it happened to be the anniversary of the death of E-pih (T'seou's uncle), and King-tze (Shuh Kung) proposed not to enter the city. Hwuh-pih (T'seou), however, said, "We are on public business. Where there is a public benefit, there should be no recognition of one's private death-days." With this he preceded the other, and received the reception-house [assigned to them], King-tze coming after him." See a somewhat different account of this matter in the Le Ke, II. ii. Bk. II. 26.

[We have two narratives appended here:— 1st. 'Han K'e of Ts'in went to Ts'e, to meet the [marquis's] bride, when Kung-sun Ch'ae, because of the favour which the young K'ang had found, substituted a daughter of his own for

the duke's, whom he gave in marriage [to another husband]. Some people told Han K'e of the deceit put upon Ts'in by Taze-wei, and said that he should not accept the lady; but that minister replied, "I want to get [the adherence of] Ts'e; and if I keep the favourite [minister] away from us [in that way], will the favourite come to us?"

2d. 'In autumn, in the 7th month, Han Hoo of Ch'ing went to Ts'in, to offer congratulations on the marquis's marriage. At the same time he made the following announcement;—"The people of Ts'oo are daily summoning our State, because we have not been to the court of their new king. If we go to Ts'oo, we are afraid of your ministers, lest they say that our ruler has done so because his heart is indeed set on that other alliance; while, if we do not go, there is the covenant of Sung. Whether we advance or retreat, we may be held offenders; and my ruler has instructed me to lay the case before you." Seuen-tsze made Shuh-h'ang reply, "If your ruler condescends to be true to ours, his being in Ts'oo will do no harm;—it will be but observing the covenant of Sung. If he thinks of that covenant, our ruler knows that he will escape any charge of doing wrong [in regard to it]. If your ruler is not true [in heart] to ours, although he were to condescend morning and evening to come to our poor State, our ruler would be suspicious of him. If he be indeed true in heart, there was no necessity for the trouble of this message. Let your ruler go to Ts'oo. If he be true to ours, his being in Ts'oo is the same as if he were in Ts'in."

'[At this time], Chang Teih sent a messenger [to Ch'ing], to say to T'ae-shuh, "After you went back [to Ch'ing], I removed the dirt from the poor cottage of my father, saying to myself that you would be coming [again]; now it is Tsze-p'e who has come, and I am disappointed." T'ae-shuh replied, "My rank was too mean to get to come [on this occasion]. We were in awe of your great State, and [wanted] to honour the [new] wife; and moreover you said that I should have nothing [more] to do. It has nearly proved so with me."

Par. 4. This was duke Muh (穆公) of Little Choo, who appeared now at the court of Loo, to congratulate duke Ch'ao on his accession. The Chuen says:—"Ke Woo-tze proposed to give the viscount a very slender reception; but Muh-shuh said, "No. Since Ts'ao, T'ang, and the two Choo, do not forget their old friendship with us, we should meet them with respect, and even more, fearful of their being alienated from us. And moreover, if we receive in a humbling way one of those friendly States, we shall provoke the others, our friends, [to fall away]. We should show greater respect than in any former time. It is said in a Book, "No calamities befall the respectful;" and also, "They who meet the comers respectfully receive blessing from Heaven." Ke-sun followed this advice.'

Par. 5. T'ao-she says that there was now 'a drought.' Of the 21 instances of this sacrifice for rain, which are mentioned in the classic, 7 occur during the time of duke Ch'ao, and T'ao leaves only the one in the 8th year unnoted as a time of 'drought.'

[We have a narrative appended with reference to the fortunes of Loo-p'oo P'eh whose banish-

ment to the northern borders of Ts'e is mentioned in the 2d narrative appended to the Chuen on IX. xxviii. 6:—"The marquis of Ts'e was hunting in K'ea, when Loo-p'oo P'eh sought an introduction to him, and begged with tears [that he might be permitted to return], saying, "With my hair so short and thin, what can I [now] do?" The marquis replied, as if assenting, that he would inform the two ministers of it. He did tell them accordingly on his return, and Taze-wei was willing that P'eh should be allowed to come back, but Taze-ya objected, saying, "His hair may be short, but his heart is very long. Perhaps he will [still] make our [skins] his beds (See the Chuen on IX. xxviii. 6)." In the 9th month, Taze-ya drove Loo-p'oo P'eh to North Yen.'

Par. 6. Here and in par. 1. of next year, the 雨 is the verb. The hail, we must understand, was very large; and we must also remember that though it was now the winter of Chow, that embraced two months of autumn.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Duke K'een of Yen had many favourites, and wanted to make away with all the great officers, and appoint his favourites in their room. The great officers united [in consequence], and killed those favourites who were of other surnames than their own. The duke was frightened, and fled to Ts'e. The

style of the text, that "The earl of Yen, K'wan, fled to Ts'e, is condemnatory of him." The K'ang-he editors object to this judgment of T'ao-she on the words of the text, and expunge it from their edition of the Ch'ün T's'ew. They will not have it supposed that the sage could, on any grounds, sanction a proceeding of rebellious opposition to a ruler.

[There are here two narratives:— 1st. 'In the tenth month the earl of Ch'ing went to Ts'oo, with Taze-ch'an in attendance on him. The viscount entertained him, and sang the Keih jih (She, II. iii. ode VI.) When the entertainment was over, Tsze-ch'an proceeded to make the preparations for a hunt. The king then hunted along [the marsh of] Mung (See on the Shoo, III. i. Pt. i. 50), on the south of the K'ang, [having the earl] with him.'

2d. 'Kung-sun T'ao of Ts'e having died, T'ao, minister of War, visited Gan-tze, and said, "We have further lost Tsze-ya." Gan-tze replied, "Alas! [his son] Tsze-k'e will not escape [an evil end]. It is a perilous time! The House of K'ang is weak, and that of Kwei will begin to flourish. While the two [grandsons of duke Hwuy were strong and vigorous, they might make head, and now there is the weakness induced by the loss of this one. The [House of] K'ang is tottering to its fall!'

Fourth year.

四年<sup>二</sup>春, 王正月, 大雨雹。  
夏<sup>三</sup>楚子, 蔡侯, 陳侯, 鄭伯, 許男, 徐子, 滕子, 頓子, 胡子, 沈子, 小邾子, 宋世子佐, 淮夷會于申。  
秋<sup>四</sup>七月, 楚子, 蔡侯, 陳侯, 許男, 頓子, 胡子, 沈子, 淮夷伐吳。  
執齊慶封, 殺之, 遂滅賴。  
九月, 取鄆。  
冬<sup>八</sup>十有二月, 乙卯, 叔孫豹卒。

昏，晉侯許之。楚子問於子產曰：「晉其許我諸侯乎？」對曰：「許君，晉君少安，不在諸侯，其大夫多求，莫匡其君，在宋之盟，又曰如一，若不許君，將焉用之？」王曰：「諸侯其來乎？」對曰：「必來，從宋之盟，承君之歡，不畏大國，何故不來？不來者，其魯、衛、曹、邾乎？曹畏宋，邾畏魯，魯衛偏於齊，而親於晉，唯是不來，其餘君之所及也，誰敢不至？」王曰：「然則吾所求者，無不可乎？」對曰：「求逞於人，不可，與人同欲，盡濟。」

夏，諸侯如楚，魯、衛、曹、邾，不會，曹、邾辭以難，公辭以時祭，衛侯辭以疾，鄭伯先待於申。六月，丙午，楚子合諸侯於申，椒舉言於楚子曰：「臣聞諸侯無歸，禮以為歸，今君始得諸侯，其慎禮矣，霸之濟否，在此會也。」夏，啟有鈞臺之享，商湯有景毫之命，周武有孟津之誓，成有岐陽之蒐，康有酆宮之朝，穆有塗山之會，齊桓有召陵之師，晉文有踐土之盟，君其何用？宋向戌、鄭公孫僑在，諸侯之良也，君其選焉。」王曰：「吾用齊桓。」王使問禮於左師，與子產、左師曰：「小國習之，大國用之，敢不薦聞。」獻公合諸侯之禮，六子產曰：「小國共職，敢不薦守。」獻伯子男會公之禮，六君子謂合左師善守先代，子產善相小國。王使椒舉待於後，以規過，卒事不規，王問其故，對曰：「禮，吾未見者，有六焉。」又何以規？宋犬子佐後至，王田於武城，久而弗見，椒舉請辭焉，王使往，曰：「屬有宗祧之事於武城，寡君將墮幣焉，敢謝後見。」徐子吳出也，以為貳焉，故執諸申。楚子示諸侯侈，椒舉曰：「夫六王二公之事，皆所以示諸侯禮也，諸侯所由用命也。」夏，築爲仍之會，有緡叛之，商紂爲黎之蒐，東夷叛之，周幽爲犬室之盟，戎狄叛之，皆所以示諸侯汰也，諸侯所由棄命也。今君以汰，無乃不濟乎？王弗聽。子產見左師曰：「吾不患楚矣，汰而愎諫，不過十年。」左師曰：「然不十年侈，其惡不遠，遠惡而後棄，善亦如之，德遠而後興。」

秋，七月，楚子以諸侯伐吳，宋太子鄭伯先歸，宋華費遂、鄭大夫從。

使屈申圍朱方，八月，甲申，克之，執齊慶封，而盡滅其族，將戮慶封，椒舉曰：「臣聞無瑕者可以戮人，慶封惟逆命，是以在此，其肯從於戮乎？播於諸侯，焉用之？」王弗聽，負之斧鉞，以徇於諸侯，使言曰：「無或如齊慶封，弑其君，弱

左傳曰：大雨雹，季武子問於申豐曰：「雹可禦乎？」對曰：「聖人在上無雹，雖有，不爲災，古者曰：在北陸而藏冰，西陸朝覲而出之，其藏冰也，深山窮谷，固陰沍寒，於是乎取之，其出之也，朝之祿位，賓食喪祭，於是乎用之，其藏之也，黑牡秬黍，以享司寒，其出之也，桃弧棘矢，以除其災，其出入也，時食肉之祿，冰皆與焉。」大夫命婦喪浴用冰，祭寒而藏之，獻羔而啟之，公始用之，火出而畢賦，自命夫命婦，至於老疾，無不受冰，山人取之，縣人傳之，輿人納之，隸人藏之，夫冰以風壯，而以風出，其藏之也，周其用之也，徧則冬無愆陽，夏無伏陰，春無淒風，秋無苦雨，雷出不震，無霜霜雹，癘疾不降，民不夭札，今藏川池之冰，棄而不用，風不越而殺，雷不發而震，雹之爲菑，誰能禦之？七月之卒章，藏冰之道也。」

四年春，王正月，許男如楚，楚子止之，遂止鄭伯，復田江南，許男與焉，使椒舉如晉求諸侯，二君待之，椒舉致命曰：「寡君使舉曰：日君有惠，賜盟於宋，曰：晉楚之從，交相見也，以歲之不易，寡人願結驪於二三君，使舉請問，君若苟無四方之虞，則願假寵以請於諸侯，晉侯欲勿許，司馬侯曰：不可，楚王方侈，天或者欲逞其心，以厚其毒，而降之罰，未可知也，其使能終，亦未可知也，晉楚唯天所相，不可與爭，君其許之，而修德以待其歸，若歸於德，而猶將事之，況諸侯乎？若適淫虐，楚將棄之，吾又誰與爭？」公曰：「晉有三不殆，其何敵之有？國險而多馬，齊楚多難，有是三者，何鄉而不濟？」對曰：「恃險與馬，而虞鄰國之難，是三殆也，四嶽三塗，陽城、大室、荆山、中、南、九州之險也，是不一姓，冀之北土，馬之所生，無與國焉，恃險與馬，不可以爲固也，從古以然，是以先王務修德音，以享神人，不聞其務險與馬也，鄰國之難，不可虞也，或多難，以固其國，啟其疆土，或無難，以喪其國，失其守宇，若何虞？難，齊有仲孫之難，而獲桓公，至今賴之，晉有里平之難，而獲文公，是以爲盟主，衛、邢無難，敵亦喪之，故人之難，不可虞也，恃此三者，而不修政德，亡於不暇，又何能濟？君其許之，紂作淫虐，文王惠和，殷是以隕，周是以興，夫豈爭諸侯？乃許楚使，使叔向對曰：寡君有社稷之事，是以不獲春秋時見，諸侯君實有之，何辱命焉？椒舉遂請。」

其孤以盟其大夫，慶封曰：「無或如楚共王之庶子圍，弑其君兄之子麇，而代之以盟諸侯。」王使速殺之。遂以諸侯滅賴，賴子面縛衡璧，士袒輿櫬從之，造於中軍。王問諸椒舉，對曰：「成王克許，許僖公如是，王親釋其縛，受其璧，焚其櫬，王從之。」遷賴於鄢。楚子欲遷許於賴，使鬬章龜與公子棄疾城之而還。申無宇曰：「楚禍之首將在此矣。」召諸侯而來，伐國而克，城竟莫校。王心不違，民其居乎？民之不處，其誰堪之？不堪，王命乃禍亂也。九月，取鄢，言易也。昔亂，著丘公立而不撫，鄢，鄢叛而來，故曰取。凡克邑，不用師，徒曰取。

⑤鄭子產作丘賦，國人謗之曰：「其父死於路，己爲蠶尾，以令於國，國將若之何？」子寬以告，子產曰：「何害？苟利社稷，死生以之。且吾聞爲善者不改其度，故能有濟也。民不可逞，度不可改。」詩曰：「禮義不愆，何恤於人？」言吾不遷矣。渾罕曰：「國氏其先亡乎？」君子作法於涼，其敝猶貪，作法於貪，敝將若之何？姬在列者，蔡及曹滕，其先亡乎？偪而無禮，鄭先衛亡，偪而無法，政不率法，而制於心，民各有心，何上之有？

⑥冬，吳伐楚，入棘、檟、麻，以報朱方之役。楚沈尹射奔命於夏汭，箴尹宜咎城鍾離，遂啟疆城巢，然丹城州來，東國水，不可以城，彭生罷賴之師。

初，穆子去叔孫氏及庚宗，遇婦人，使私爲食而宿焉，問其行，告之故，哭而送之。適齊，娶於國氏，生孟丙、仲壬。夢天壓己，弗勝，顧而見人，黑而上僂，深目而顴，喙號之曰：「牛，助余，乃勝之。」旦而皆召其徒，無之，且曰：「志之。」及宣伯奔齊，饋之，宣伯曰：「魯以先子之故，將存吾宗，必召汝，召汝何如？」對曰：「願之久矣。」魯人召之，不告而歸。既立，所宿庚宗之婦人獻以雉，問其姓，對曰：「余子長矣，能奉雉而從我矣。」召而見之，則所夢也。未問其名，號之曰：「牛。」曰：「唯。」皆召其徒，使視之，遂使爲豎，有寵，長使爲政。公孫明知叔孫於齊，歸，未逆國姜，子明取之，故怒其子，長而後使逆之。田於丘，遂遇疾焉。豎牛欲亂其室而有之，強與孟盟，不可。叔孫爲孟鐘曰：「爾未際，饗大夫以落之。」既具，使豎牛請日，入弗調，出命之日，及賓至，聞鐘聲，牛曰：「孟有北婦人之客，怒將往。」牛止之，賓出，使拘而殺諸外。牛

又強與仲盟，不可。仲與公御萊書，觀於公，公與之環，使牛入示之，入不示，出命佩之，牛謂叔孫見仲而何。叔孫曰：「何爲？」曰：「不見，既自見矣。」公與之環而佩之矣。遂逐之，奔齊，疾急，命召仲，牛許而不召。杜洩見，告之飢渴，授之戈，對曰：「求之而至，又何去焉？」豎牛曰：「夫子疾病，不欲見人，使寘饋於个而退。」牛弗進，則置虛命。徹十二月癸丑，叔孫不食，乙卯卒。牛立昭子而相之，公使杜洩葬叔孫，豎牛賂叔仲昭子與南遺，使惡杜洩於季孫而去之。杜洩將以路葬，且盡卿禮。南遺謂季孫曰：「叔孫未乘路，葬焉用之？且豕卿無路，介卿以葬，不亦左乎？」季孫曰：「然，使杜洩舍路，不可。」曰：「夫子受命於朝，而聘於王，王思舊勳，而賜之路，復命而致之君，君不敢逆王命，而復賜之，使三官書之，吾子爲司徒，實書名，夫子爲司馬，與工正書服，孟孫爲司空，以書勳，今死而弗以，是棄君命也。」書在公府，而弗以，是廢三官也。若命服，生弗敢服，死又不以將焉用之？乃使以葬。季孫謀去中軍，豎牛曰：「夫子固欲去之。」

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was a great fall of hail.
- 2 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the viscounts of Seu, T'ang, Tun, Hoo, Shin, and Little Choo, Tso, heir-son of Sung, and [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Hwae, had a meeting in Shin.
- 3 The people seized and held the viscount of Seu.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the baron of Heu, the viscounts of Tun, Hoo, and Shin, and [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Hwae, invaded Woo.
- 5 They seized K'ing Fung of Ts'e, and put him to death.
- 6 They then went on to extinguish Lae.
- 7 In the ninth month, we took Tsang.
- 8 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih-maou, Shuh-sun P'ao died.

Par. 1. Too says that there ought now to have fallen snow and not hail, and the fall of the hail is recorded as a calamity. Kaou K'ang connects the par. with the 6th of last year, and supposes that the hail had continued to fall all the winter. This would account reasonably for the notice of the phenomenon.

The Chuen says:—Ke Woo-tsze asked Shin Fung whether the hail could be stopped, and was answered, "When a sage is in the highest place, there is no hail; or if some should happen to fall, it does not amount to a calamity. Anciently,

they stored up the ice, when the sun was in his northern path; and they brought it out when he was in his western, and [the Kwei (奎) constellation] was seen [in the east] in the morning. At the storing of the ice, they took it from the low valleys of the deep hills, where the cold was most intense and as it were shut in; and when it was brought out, the dignitaries and place-men of the court, in their entertainment of guests, for their food, on occasions of death and of sacrifice, shared in the use of it. At the



storing of it, a black bull and black millet were presented to the Ruler of cold; and when it was brought out, a bow of peach wood and arrows of thorn were employed to put away calamitous influences. For the delivery and the storing of it there were their seasons; and it was given to all who were entitled by their station to eat flesh. Great officers and their declared wives used it in their washings on occasions of death. It was deposited with a sacrifice to the [Ruler of] cold; the depositories were opened with the offering of a lamb. The duke first used it, and when the [star] *Ho* made its appearance, it was distributed. From the commissioned [great] officers and their wives, down to officers retired from age or illness, all received the ice. The commissioners of hills took it; the officers of districts sent it on; the cart-men received it; and the inferior servants stored it. Now it is the [cold] wind which makes the ice strong; and it was when the [warm] winds [prevailed], that it was brought forth. The depositories were made close; the use of it was very extensive. In consequence there was no heat out of course in the winter; no lurking cold in the summer; no biting winds in the spring; and no pitiless rains in the autumn. When thunder came, it was not with a shaking crash. There were no calamitous hoarfrosts and hail. Pestilences did not descend [on the land]. The people died no premature deaths.

'But now the ice of the streams and pools is what is stored up; [much also] is cast away and not used. The winds go abroad as they ought not to do and carry death with them; so does the thunder come with shaking crash. Who can put a stop to this plague of hail? The last stanza of the *Ts'ih yueh* (She, I. xv. ode I.) shows the method of storing ice.'

[We have here a long narrative about a further step on the part of Ts'oo towards wresting the presidency of the States from Ts'in:—'In the 1st month, the baron of Heu went to Ts'oo, where the viscount detained him, going on also to detain the earl of Ch'ing, with whom he again hunted on the south of the K'ang, having the baron of Heu with them. [At the same time] he sent Ts'eaou Keu to Ts'in, to ask from that Power the attendance of the States, the above two princes waiting in Ts'oo for the answer. Ts'eaou Keu delivered his message in the following terms:—"My ruler has sent me to say in his own words, 'Formerly your lordship's kindness granted the covenant of Sung, by which it was agreed that the States which adhered to Ts'in and Ts'oo respectively should appear at the courts of both. Because of the troubles occurring from year to year, I wish to knit more closely a good understanding with the princes, and have sent Keu to ask from you an opportunity to do so. If your lordship have no anxiety in regard to the States around you, I wish to borrow your favour to make a request of the various princes.'" The marquis of Ts'in wanted to give a refusal to this application, but the marshal How said to him, "Do not do so. The [course of the] king of Ts'oo is extravagant. Heaven perhaps wishes, by gratifying his ambition, to increase the poison of his [mood], and send down punishment on him. That we cannot know, nor can we know whether it means to grant him a [peaceful] end. But Ts'in and Ts'oo depend on the aid of Heaven for the

superiority of the one over the other. Let us not quarrel with it, but let your lordship grant the [king's] request, and cultivate your virtue, while we wait and see to what he will turn. If he turn to virtue, even we will serve him, and how much more will the States do so! If he go on to licentiousness and oppression, Ts'oo itself will abandon him, and we shall have no one to contend with."

'The marquis said, "Ts'in has three securities against peril, and needs not to fear an enemy. There are the mountainous passes of the State; its many horses; and the many troubles of Ts'e and Ts'oo. With these three securities, we must be successful in every direction." The marshal replied, "Trust in mountains and in horses, and to calculate on the difficulties of neighbouring States, are three sources of peril. The four Yoh, San-t'oo, Yang-shing, T'ae-shih, mount King, and Chung-nan, are the most difficult mountains of the 9 provinces, and they do not all belong to one surname. The northern region of K'e is most noted for its production of horses, but no [distinguished] State has there arisen. A trust in mountains and horses cannot be considered a sure one. So it has been from of old, and therefore the ancient kings made the cultivation of virtue their object, in order to affect both Spirits and men. I have not heard that they made it their object to have difficult mountains and horses. And [the result of] the difficulties of neighbouring States cannot be calculated on. They may have many difficulties, which will issue [only] in strengthening them and the enlargement of their boundaries; or they may have no difficulties, and the result will be their ruin, and their losing the boundaries of which they were in charge. How is it possible to foresee the [issue of such] difficulties? Ts'e had the troubles with Chung-sun (The Kung-sun Woo-che, who was marquis of Ts'e for a month; see the 9th year of duke Chwang), and the result was that it got duke Hwan, whose influence on it extends till now. Ts'in had the troubles of Le and P'ei (Le K'ih and P'ei Ch'ing; see the 9th and other years of duke He), and the result was that it got duke Wan, through whom it became lord of covenants. Wei and Hing had no troubles [of the same kind], and yet their enemies brought them to ruin. The difficulties of others therefore cannot be calculated on. If you trust in the three things you have mentioned, and do not diligently attend to the duties of government and to virtue, we shall find that the danger of ruin leaves us no leisure for anything but to escape from it:—how can you speak of our being sure of success? Let your lordship grant the request [of Ts'oo]. Chow acted licentiously and oppressively, while king Wan behaved kindly and harmoniously, and the result was the fall of Yin and the rise of Chow. How then should you quarrel about the States?"

'Accordingly, [it was resolved to] grant the request of Ts'oo, and Shuh-h'ang was appointed to give the following reply, "Our ruler, being occupied with the business of his altars, has not been able always to visit [your court] in spring and autumn. Your ruler in fact has the States; there was no necessity to take the trouble of your message." Ts'eaou Keu then proceeded to beg a marriage with a daughter of Ts'in [on the part of his king], to which the marquis agreed.

'The viscount of Ts'oo asked Tsze-ch'an whether Ts'in would grant him the States. "It will," said that minister. "The ruler occupies himself only with small matters, and does not think about the States. His great officers have many desires of their own, and not one seeks to correct his ruler's [errors]. At the covenant of Sung it said also that [Ts'in and Ts'oo] were as one. If it do not grant your request, of what use will that [covenant] have been?" The king further asked whether the States would come [at his call]. "They are sure to come," replied Tsze-ch'an. "In obedience to the covenant of Sung; to gratify your lordship; not standing in fear of the great State:—why should they not come? Perhaps Loo, Wei, Ts'au, and Choo may not come. Ts'au stands in fear of Sung; Choo stands in fear of Loo; Loo and Wei are pressed on by Ts'e, and the best-affected to Ts'in. Only these will not come. The others are under your influence;—what one of them will not come?" The king said, "Then, may I succeed in all that I seek for?" "Not," was the reply, "if you seek from others for your own gratification; but if you seek what they and you wish and can share together, you will be entirely successful."

Par. 2. We have here the result of Ts'oo's application to Ts'in for the presidency of the States. Of the northern States, however, only Ts'ae, Ch'in, Ch'ing, and Heu responded to its call, for Little Choo is hardly to be taken account of, and the princes of Ch'ing and Heu were in a manner detained and obliged to be present at the meeting.

At the commencement of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, Shin was a marquise, held by K'angs, having for its capital S'ay (謝), 20 *le* to the north of the dep. city of Nan-yang, Ho-nan. In the Chuen at the end of III. vi. we find it invaded by the then king of Ts'oo, who seems to have extinguished it, and incorporated it with his own State.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, the [other] princes of the States went to Ts'oo, but those of Loo, Wei, Ts'au, and Choo did not attend the meeting, Ts'au and Choo declining on account of troubles, the duke on the ground of the seasonal sacrifice, and the marquis of Wei on the ground that he was ill. The earl of Ch'ing preceded the others, and was waiting at Shin, where in the sixth month, on Ping-woo, the viscount of Ts'oo assembled the States.

'Ts'eaou Keu said to him "I have heard that with the States the thing which regulates their preference and adhesion is the ceremonies which are observed to them. Your lordship has now got them for the first time, and must be careful of your ceremonies. Whether you will secure the presidency of the States or not depends on this meeting. K'e of the H'ea dynasty gave the entertainment of Keun-t'ae; T'ang of the Shang dynasty gave his commands at King-poh; Woo of Chow issued his declaration at Mang-tsin; [king] Ch'ing had the review at K'e-yang; [king] K'ang held his audience in the palace of Fung; [king] Muh had the meeting at mount T'oo; Hwan of Ts'e had the campaign of Shao-ling; and Wan of Ts'in had the covenant of Ts'een-t'oo:—the ceremonies of which of those occasions will your lordship use? H'ang Seuh of Sung and Kung-sun K'eaou of Ch'ing are

both here, the best men of all the States. Let your lordship make a choice." The king said, "I will use those employed by Hwan of Ts'e."

'The king sent to ask the master of the Left and Tsze-ch'an about the ceremonies. The master of the Left said, "They are what a small State practises, what a large State employs. I will describe them according to my knowledge." He then exhibited six ceremonies for a duke assembling the States. Tsze-ch'an said, "A small State [like ours] discharges its duties. I will describe what we have observed." He then exhibited six ceremonies to be observed by earls, viscounts, and barons, at meetings with a duke. A superior man will say that the master of the Left—he of Hoh—knew well how to guard [the rules of] former dynasties, and that Tsze-ch'an knew well how to aid and direct a small State. The king caused Ts'eaou Keu to stand behind him, to regulate any errors [which they might make]; but the whole thing was concluded without any correction. The king asked him the reason, and he replied, "Those six ceremonies I had never seen; how could I make any correction?"

'The eldest son of [the duke of] Sung was late in arriving, and the king was then hunting in Woo-shing, so that he was long in giving him an interview. Ts'eaou Keu begged that he would send an explanation [of the delay], on which the king sent him to say, "It happens that we are engaged in the business of the ancestral temple at Woo-shing. My ruler must bury the offerings set forth [in the temple]:—I venture to apologize for the delay in seeing you." The viscount of Seu was the son of a daughter of Woo; and [the viscount of Ts'oo], thinking that he was disaffected, caused him to be seized in Shin. He also displayed his extravagance to all the princes. Ts'eaou Keu said to him, "The instances of the six kings and two dukes, [which I adduced], all illustrated the courtesy which they showed to the States, and were the reason of the States' accepting their commands. K'eh of the H'ea dynasty held the meeting of Jing, and, the prince of Min revolted from him. Chow of the Shang dynasty held the review of Le, and the E of the east revolted from him. Y'ew of Chow made the covenant of T'ae-shih, and the Jung and the Teih revolted from him. In all these cases, [those kings] showed to the States the extravagance [of their aims], and so it was that the States cast their commands away from them. Since your majesty is now showing your extravagance, will it not interfere with your success?"

'The king would not listen to him; and Tsze-ch'an, seeing the master of the Left, said to him, "I am not troubled about Ts'oo. So extravagant, and deaf to remonstrance, [the king] will not endure more than ten years. The master of the Left replied, "Yes, but without ten years' extravagance his wickedness will not have reached far. When that has reached far, he will be cast off. So it is with goodness. When goodness has reached far, there ensue advancement and prosperity."

It deserves to be mentioned further that at this first meeting of the States called by Ts'oo we find that the wild tribes of the east were represented. We met before with an instance of the Teih being present at one of the meetings called by Ts'in; but our knowledge of the fact

was derived from the Chuen. No notice of it was taken in the text of the classic.

Parr. 4, 6. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo, taking the princes [who had been present at Shin] with him, invaded Woo. The prince of Sung, however, and the earl of Ch'ing returned to their States, before [the expedition set out]; but Hwa Fei-suy of Sung and a great officer of Ch'ing accompanied it.

"[The viscount] made K'eh Shin lay siege to Choo-fang, which was reduced in the 8th month on K'eah-shin. King Fung was then seized (See the Chuen on IX. xxviii. 6), and the members of his clan exterminated. When [the viscount] was about to execute King Fung, Ts'aoou Keu said to him, "I have heard that [only] he who is without flaw may [safely] execute another [publicly]. King Fung is here because of his opposition to [his ruler's] orders:—will he be willing to submit [quietly] to be executed? Of what use is it to publish his case before the States?" The king would not listen to this counsel, but made Fung go round [the encampment of] the various States, with an axe upon his shoulder, and ordered him to say, "Let no one follow the example of King Fung of Ts'e, who murdered his ruler, despised the weakness of his young successor, and imposed a covenant on the great officers." King Fung, however, said, "Let no one follow the example of Wei, son by a concubine to king Kung of Ts'oo, who murdered Keun, his ruler and the son of his elder brother, and went on to impose a covenant upon the States." The king caused him to be quickly put to death; and then he proceeded with [the forces] of the States to extinguish Lae. The viscount of that State repaired to the army of the centre, with his hands bound behind him, and a *peih* in his mouth, followed by officers with the upper part of their bodies half-bared, and by a carriage with a coffin in it. The king asked Ts'aoou Keu [what this meant], and was answered, "When king Ch'ing reduced Heu (See the Chuen at the end of V. vi.), duke He of Heu appeared before him in this manner. The king loosed his bonds, received his *peih*, and burned his coffin." The king followed this example, and removed [the prince and people of] Lae to Yen. As he wished to remove Heu to Lae, he made Tow Wei-wei and the Kung-tsze K'e-taih wall the city [for Heu], and returned [to Ts'oo].

"Shin Woo-yu said, "The beginning of Ts'oo's calamity will be here. [The king] called the princes, and came with them here, invading States and vanquishing them, and walling cities on the borders, while no one offered any opposition. The king will allow no resistance to his will; but will the people dwell [here quietly]? When the people refuse to dwell [quietly], who will be able to endure him? From that inability to endure the king's commands, calamity and disorder will ensue."

For 賴 Kung and Kuh have 鴈. It was a small State, whose principal city was in the pres. dis. of Shang-shing (商城), in Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan.

Par. 7. Ts'ang;—see on IX. vi. 5, where it is said that Keu extinguished the State of Ts'ang. What Loo now took, therefore, was the city of

Ts'ang from Keu. The Chuen says:—"The words] that "in the 9th month we took Ts'ang," indicate the ease [with which the thing was done]. Keu had been in confusion, and when duke Choo-k'ew obtained the rule of it, he showed no kindly treatment to Ts'ang. In consequence of this, [the commandant of] Ts'ang revolted, and came with it to Loo. Hence it is said, "We took it." Any reduction of a city where soldiers were not employed is expressed by this phrase."

"[The Chuen takes us here to Ch'ing and Tsze-ch'an, and to Woo:—"Tsze-ch'an of Ch'ing made [new and harder regulations for the] contributions from the *k'ew* (See on VIII. i. 4), on which the people of the State reviled him, saying, "His father died on the road, and he himself is a scorpion's tail. Issuing such orders for the State, what will the State do under them?" Tsze-k'wan reported these remarks to Tsze-ch'an, who said, "There is no harm in it. If it only benefit the altars, I will either live or die. Moreover, I have heard that when the good-doer does not change his measures, he can calculate on success. The people are not to be gratified in this; the measure must not be altered. The ode (A lost ode) says,

'If one's rules and righteousness be not in error,  
Why regard the words of people.'

I will not change it."

Hwān Han (Tsze-k'wan) said, "The Kwoh, I apprehend, will be the first [of the families of Ch'ing] to perish. The superior man makes laws with slight requirements. The danger is of his still desiring more. If he makes his laws at first under the influence of that desire, what will the danger not be? Of the Ke among the various States, Ts'ae, with Ts'aoou and Ts'ang, are likely to perish first. They are near [to great States], and observe no rules of propriety. Ch'ing will perish before Wei, for it is near [to the great States], and has no [good] laws. If the government do not follow the [established] laws, but one may make new ones according to his own mind, every one of the people has a mind of his own;—what place will be left for the ruler?"

"In winter, Woo invaded Ts'oo, and entered [the cities of] Keih, Leih, and Ma:—in return for the campaign of Choo-fang. Shay, director of Shin, hurried away with orders [from the King] to H'ea-juy. E-k'ew, director of Remonstrances, fortified Chung-le. Wei K'e-k'ang fortified Ch'aoou. Jen Tan fortified Chow-lae. The places in the east of the State could not be fortified because of the water. P'ang-sang withdrew the troops from Lae."

Par. 8. Shuh-sun P'aoou had been actively engaged in the business of the State from the 2d year of duke S'ang. On the way in which he became Head of the Shuh-sun clan, see on VIII. xvi. 14. The Chuen here gives a strange narrative of his life:—"At an early period [of his life], Muh-tsze left [his brother], the Head of the Shuh-sun family, [and went to Ts'e]. When he had got to K'ang-tsung [on his way], he met a woman, whom he asked to prepare some food for him, and then passed the night with her. She asked him where he was going; and when he told her all about it, she wept and escorted him [part of the way]. He then went to Ts'e, and married there a lady of the Kwoh

family, by whom he had M'ang-ping and Chung-jin. [One night], he dreamt that the sky came down upon him, and [when he tried to hold it up], he was not able to do so. Looking round, he saw a man, black and hump-backed, with deep-set eyes, and a pig's mouth, to whom he called out, "N'ew, help me!" and on this he was able to hold the sky up. In the morning, he called all his followers, but there was no such man among them. He told them, however, to remember the circumstances, [which he had mentioned].

"When [his brother] Seuen-pih fled to Ts'e, he supplied him with food. Seuen-pih said to him, "Out of regard to [the services of] our father, Loo will preserve our ancestral temple, and is sure to call you back to it. If it call you, what will you do?" "It is what I have desired for long," was the reply. The people of Loo did call him, and he returned, without informing [his brother].

"When he had been appointed [a minister], the woman of K'ang-tsung, with whom he had spent the night, [came and] presented him with a pheasant; and when he asked her whether she had a son, she replied, "My son is a big boy; he was able to carry the pheasant and follow me." Muh-tsze called for him, and as soon as he saw him, lo! it was the person he had seen in his dream. Without asking him, he called out to him,—"N'ew!" and the boy answered, "Here I am!" He then called all his followers, and made them look at him, after which he made him his waiting boy. The lad became a favourite with him, and, when grown up, was entrusted with the management of his house.

"The Kung-sun Ming had known Shuh-sun in Ts'e, and when, after his return [to Loo], he did not send for [his wife] Kwoh K'ang, Tsze-nung took her to himself. This enraged Shuh-sun, and it was not till his sons [by her] were grown up, that he sent for them.

"Having hunted [on one occasion] in K'ew-y'ew, he became ill in consequence. The waiting-boy N'ew had wanted to create a confusion in the house and get possession of it, and tried to force M'ang to act with him, but he refused to do so. [Now], Shuh-sun made a bell for M'ang, [to celebrate the declaration of him as his successor], and said to him, "You have not yet had any intercourse with the great officers. Invite them to an entertainment at which you may consecrate it." When all was made ready for this, [M'ang-ping] sent N'ew to ask his father to fix a day for the entertainment. N'ew went in to the house, but did not see Shuh-sun, and then came out and appointed a day. When the guests arrived, [Shuh-sun] heard the sound of the bell, and N'ew said to him, "M'ang has got [the husband of] your northern wife as his guest." The father, in a rage, wanted to go [to M'ang's apartment], but N'ew prevented him. However, when the guests were gone, he caused him to be seized and put to death outside [the house].

"N'ew then tried likewise to force the second son to act with him, but he [also] refused. [Once], this Chung was looking about the duke's palace with the duke's charioteer, Lae-shoo, when the duke [saw him, and] gave him a ring. He sent N'ew with it to show it to his father, and N'ew went into the house, but did not show it; and when he came out, he

told Chung, [as from his father], to wear it at his girdle. N'ew then said to Shuh-sun, "Why did you introduce Chung [at the court]?" "What do you mean?" asked Shuh-sun. N'ew replied, "If you did not introduce him, he has introduced himself. The duke gave him a ring, and he wears it at his girdle." On this Shuh-sun drove out Chung-jin, who fled to Ts'e.

"When his illness became severe, he ordered [N'ew] to call Chung [from Ts'e]. N'ew promised, but did not do it. Too S'eh went to see Shuh-sun, who told him how he was suffering from hunger and thirst, and gave him a spear, [with which to kill N'ew]. But S'eh replied, "If you desire anything it will be brought you. Why must you seek to make away with him?"

"N'ew, giving out that the master was very ill and did not wish to see any one, made the attendants place the food in the two side-chambers, and retire; while he himself, instead of taking it in, emptied the dishes, replaced them, and ordered them to be removed. From Kwei-ch'ow of the 12th month to Yih-maou, when he died, Shuh-sun had nothing to eat, N'ew raised [his son by a concubine], Ch'aoou-tsze, to his place, and acted as manager and helper to him.

"The duke commissioned Too S'eh to bury Shuh-sun, but the waiting-boy N'ew bribed Shuh-chung Ch'aoou-tsze and Nan E, and got them to make S'eh odious to Ke-sun, and have him removed. S'eh was going to convey the coffin to the grave in the carriage [which the king had given to Muh-tsze], and to use all the ceremonies proper to a minister. Nan E, however, said to Ke-sun, "Shuh-sun never rode in this carriage; what is the use of employing it at his funeral? A carriage moreover, is not used at the funeral of our chief minister; is it not improper to use it at the funeral of an assistant-minister? Ke-sun said, "Yes," and ordered S'eh to leave the carriage out. But that officer would not do so. "The master," he said, "received his commission in the court, and went on a complimentary mission to the king. The king, thinking of the ancient services of his family, conferred this carriage upon him. When he returned with the report of his mission, he surrendered it to our ruler; but he did not dare to go against the king's order, and returned it, making the three [great] officers make a record of the matter. You were minister of Instruction, and wrote the name. My master was minister of War, and made the chief of his subordinate officers write the royal gifts. M'ang-sun was minister of Works, and [recorded] [my master's] service. If now that he is dead we do not use the carriage, we shall be casting away our ruler's orders. Since the record is in the public repository, if we do not use it, we shall be setting at naught the three [great] officers. When alive he did not presume to wear the robes given to him by the king, and if we do not put them on him, now that he is dead, of what use were they?" Accordingly, the carriage was used at the funeral.

"Ke-sun took counsel to do away with the army of the Centre; and N'ew said, "The master did certainly wish to do away with it."

之數十，故有十時，亦當十位，自王已下，其二爲公，其三爲卿，日土其中，食日爲二，旦日爲三，明夷之謙，明而未融，其當旦乎？故曰爲子祀，日之謙當鳥，故曰明夷于飛，明而未融，故曰垂其翼，象日之動，故曰君子于行，當三在旦，故曰三日不食，離火也，艮山也，離爲火，火焚山，山敗，於人爲言，敗言爲讒，故曰有攸往，主人有言，言必讒也，純離爲牛，世亂讒勝，勝將適離，故曰其名曰牛，謙不足，飛不翔，垂不峻，翼不廣，故曰其爲子後乎？吾子，亞卿也，抑少不終。

楚子以屈申爲貳於吳，乃殺之，以屈生爲莫敖，使與令尹子蕩如晉逆女，過鄭，鄭伯勞子蕩於汜，勞屈生於菟氏，晉侯送女於邢丘，子產相鄭伯，會晉侯於邢丘。

公如晉，自郊勞至于贈賄，無失禮，晉侯謂叔齊曰：魯侯不亦善於禮乎？對曰：魯侯焉知禮？公曰：何爲？自郊勞至于贈賄，禮無違者，何故不知？對曰：是儀也，不可謂禮，禮所以守其國，行其政令，無失其民者也，今政令在家，不能取也，有子家羈，弗能用也，奸大國之盟，陵虐小國，利人之難，不知其私，公室四分，民食於他，思莫在公，不圖其終，爲國君，雖將及身，不恤其所，禮之本末，將於此乎？在，而屑屑焉習儀以亟，言善於禮，不亦遠乎？君子謂叔侯於是乎知禮。

晉韓宣子如楚送女，叔向爲介，鄭子皮、子犬叔勞諸索氏，大叔謂叔向曰：楚王汰侈已甚，子其戒之。叔向曰：汰侈已甚，身之災也，焉能及人？若奉吾幣帛，慎吾威儀，守之以信，行之以禮，敬始而思終，終無不復，從而不失，儀敬而不失，威道之以訓辭，奉之以舊法，考之以先王，度之以二國，雖汰侈，若我何？及楚，楚子朝其大夫曰：晉吾仇敵也，苟得志焉，無恤其他，今其來者，上卿、上大夫也，若吾以韓起爲闢，以羊舌肸爲司宮，足以辱晉，吾亦得志矣，可乎？大夫莫對，遠啟彊曰：可，苟有其備，何故不可？恥匹夫不可以無備，況恥國乎？是以聖王務行禮，不求心人，朝聘有珪，享賴有璋，小有述職，大有巡功，設机而不倚，爵盈而不飲，宴有好貨，殯有陪鼎，入有郊勞，出

五年春，王正月，舍中軍。

楚殺其大夫屈申。

公如晉，夏，莒牟夷以

牟婁及防茲來奔。

秋七月，公至自晉。

戊辰，叔弓帥師，敗莒師

于蚡泉，秦伯卒。

冬，楚子蔡侯、陳侯、許男、

頓子、沈子、徐人、越人伐

吳。

左傳曰：五年春，王正月，舍中軍，卑公室也。毀中軍於施氏，成諸臧氏，初作三軍，三分公室，而各有其一。季氏盡征之，叔孫氏臣其子弟，孟氏取其半焉，及其舍之也。四分公室，季氏擇二，二子各一，皆盡征之，而貢於公，以書使杜洩告於殯曰：子固欲毀中軍，既毀之矣，故告杜洩曰：夫子唯不欲毀也，故盟諸僂閔，詛諸五父之衢，受其書而投之，帥士而哭之。叔仲子謂季孫曰：帶受命於子叔孫曰：葬鮮者自西門。季孫命杜洩，杜洩曰：卿喪自朝，魯禮也。吾子爲國政，未改禮而又遷之，羣臣懼死不敢自也。既葬而行，仲至自齊，季孫欲立之，南遺曰：叔孫氏厚則季氏薄，彼實家亂，子勿與知，不亦可乎？南遺使國人助豎牛，以攻諸大庫之庭，司宮射之，中目而死。豎牛取東鄙三十邑，以與南遺，昭子卽位，朝其家衆曰：豎牛禍叔孫氏，使亂大從，殺適立庶，又披其邑，將以蔽罪，罪莫大焉，必速殺之。豎牛懼，奔齊，孟仲之子殺諸塞關之外，投其首於寧風之棘上，仲尼曰：叔孫昭子之不勞，不可能也。周任有言曰：爲政者不賞私勞，不罰私怨。詩云：有覺德行，四國順之。初，穆子之生也，莊叔以周易筮之，遇明夷之謙，以示卜楚丘曰：是將行而歸爲子祀，以讒人入，其名曰牛，卒以餒死，明夷，日也，日

①鄭罕虎如齊，娶於子尾氏。晏子驟見之，陳桓子問其故，對曰：「能用善人，民之主也。」

莒人愬于晉。晉侯欲止公。范獻子曰：「不可。人朝而執之，誘也。討不以師，而誘以成之，惰也。爲盟主而犯此二者，無乃不可乎？」請歸之。閒而以師討焉。乃歸公。秋七月，公至自晉。

荅人來討，不設備。戊辰，叔弓敗諸蚡泉。莒未陳也。冬，十月，楚子以諸侯及東夷伐吳，以報棘、櫟、麻之役。薳射以繁揚之師會於夏洑。越大夫常壽過帥師會楚子於瑣，聞吳師出，薳啟疆帥師從之，遽，不設備。吳人敗諸鵲岸。楚子以駟至于羅洑，吳子使其弟蹇由犒師。楚人執之，將以覲鼓。王使問焉，曰：「安卜來吉乎？」對曰：「吉。」寡君聞君將治兵於敝邑，卜之以守龜，曰：「余亟使人犒師，請。」

行以觀王怒之疾徐而爲之備尙克知之龜兆告吉曰克可知也君若驩焉好逆使臣滋敝邑休怠而忘其死亡無日矣今君奮焉震電馮怒虐執使臣將以釁鼓則吳知所備矣敝邑雖羸若早修完其可以息師難易有備可謂吉矣且吳社稷是卜豈爲一人使臣獲釁軍鼓而敝邑知備以禦不虞其爲吉孰大焉國之守龜其何事不卜一臧一否其誰能常之城濮之兆其報在邛今此行也其庸有報志乃弗殺楚師濟於羅汭沈尹赤會楚子次於萊山蘧射帥繁揚之師先入南懷楚師從之及汝清吳不可入楚子遂觀兵於坻箕之山是行也吳早設備楚無功而還以蹶由歸楚子懼吳使沈尹射待命于巢蘧啟彊待命于雩婁禮也

⊙秦后子復歸於秦。景公卒故也。

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, we disbanded the army of the centre.  
2 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, K'eu-h Shin.  
3 The duke went to Tsin.  
4 In summer, Mow-e of Keu came a fugitive [to Loo], giving over to it [the cities of] Mow-low, Fang, and Tsze.  
5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
6 On Mow-shin, Shuh Kung led a force, and defeated an army of Keu at Fun-ts'eu-en.  
7 The earl of Ts'in died.  
8 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the viscounts of Tun and Shin, an officer of Seu, and an officer of Yueh, invaded Woo.

Par. 1. See the account of the formation of the 3d or army of the centre under IX. xi. 1. The Chuen here says:—"The disbanding of the army of the centre was to reduce [still] lower the ducal House. The disbanding was [proposed] at the house of the She family, and determined on at that of the Tsang.

‘Formerly, when the army of the centre was first constituted, the ducal House was [as it were] divided into three parts, each [of the three families] having one of them. The Ke family took to itself all the men and contributions of its part. The Shuh-sun made [only] the sons and younger brothers of its part to be its subjects. The Mäng took the one half. When they [now] disbanded that army, they divided [the prerogative of] the ducal House into four parts, of which the [head of the] Ke family took two, and each of the other ministers one; but they all took the entire control of the men and their contributions, paying [only] a tribute to the duke. They gave a notice to Too Seeh, and required him to announce it to [Muh-tse in his coffin, to this effect, “You did desire the

disbanding of the middle army. We have disbanded it, and therefore announce the thing to you." Too Szech said, "But my master did not wish the army to be disbanded, and therefore he insisted on the covenant at the gate of He's temple, and the imprecations in the street of Woo-foo (See on IX. xi. 1)." He then took the notice, and threw it on the ground, led [to the coffin] the officers [of Muh-tsze], and wept over it.

“Shuh-chung-tszé said to Ke-sun, “I received a charge from my father Shuh-sun, that, in burying [a minister] who had not died a natural death from age, the coffin should be taken from the western gate [of the court.]” Ke-sun gave orders accordingly to Too Sèeh; but that officer said, “The coffin of a minister, according to the rules of Loo, is taken from [the principal gate of] the court. The government of the State is in your hands, but you have not changed this rule. If we notwithstanding [now] depart from it, we are afraid of dying [for it], and dare not follow your order.” When the funeral was over, Sèeh went away.



‘[Soon after,] Chung [-jin, the second son of Muh-tze by his Ts’e wife], arrived from Ts’e (See the Chuen at the end of last year), and Ke-sun proposed to appoint him in his father’s place. Nan E, however, said to him, “The stronger the Shuh-sun, the weaker the Ke-sun. You had better simply take no knowledge of the disorder in that family.” At the same time Nan E made the people of the State assist Nēw in an attack in the open space before the grand arsenal on Chung, who received an arrow in one of his eyes from the superintendent of the palace, and died. Nēw then took 30 towns in the eastern borders, [belonging to the Shuh-sun], and gave them to Nan E.

‘Ch’ou-tsze [finally] succeeded to his father’s place, when he gave audience to all the members of his clan, and said. “The waiting boy Nēw has done evil to the House of Shuh-sun, and thrown into confusion the grand [principle of] natural order. Having put to death the children by the wife, and secured the succession to the son of a concubine, he has gone on to distribute its towns, that he might thereby get forgiveness for his offences. His crimes could not be more heinous, and we must quickly put him to death.” Nēw got frightened, and fled to Ts’e, where he was killed, outside the gate between the two States, by the sons of Māng and Chung, who threw his head into a thorn tree near Ning-fung. Chung-ne said, “The conduct of Shuh-sun Ch’ou-tsze in not being influenced by services done to himself is what [few] could attain to.” [The historiographer] Chow Jin has said, “The administrator of government does not reward services done to himself, nor does he punish his private wrongs.” As the ode (She, III. iii. ode II. 2) says,

“To an evident virtuous conduct  
All States render their homage!”

‘At an earlier period, on the birth of Muh-tze, [his father] Chwang-shuh, consulted the Chow Yih by the reeds about him, and got the diagram Ming-e (明夷; ䷣), which then became K’ēn (謙; ䷎). He showed this to the diviner Ts’oo K’ēw, who said, “This [son] will have to leave [the State], but he will return and offer the sacrifices to you. The entrance of a slanderer, of the name of Nēw, will be sufficient to make him die of starvation. [The diagram] Ming-e relates to the sun. The solar numbers are 10. Hence there are 10 periods in the day, which correspond also to the ten ranks. Reckoning from the king downwards, the rank of duke is the 2d, and that of minister is the 3d. The highest point of the day is when the sun is in the meridian. When it is meal time, that represents the 2d rank; and early dawn represents the third. Ming-e’s becoming K’ēn represents brightness, but that which is not yet fully developed,—corresponding, we may presume, to the early dawn. Therefore I say, [this child will be minister and] offer the sacrifices for you. [The diagram for] the sun’s becoming K’ēn has its correspondence in a bird. Hence we read (On the lowest line of the diagram Ming-e), ‘The brightness is injured in its flight.’ And as the brightness is not fully developed, we read, ‘It droops its wings.’ There is an emblem of the movement of the sun, and hence we read, ‘The superior man goes away.’ This

happens with the third rank, in the early dawn, and hence we read, “Three days he does not eat.”

“[Again] Le (☲, the lower half of Ming-e) represents fire, and Kin (☷, the lower half of K’ēn) represents a hill. Le is fire; fire burns the hill, and the hill is destroyed. But applied to men, [Kin] denotes speech, and destroying speech is slander. Hence we read, ‘He goes whither he would; and to him, the lord, there is speech.’ That speech must be slander. In [the diagram of] the double Le (☲☲) there is [mention made of] a cow. The age is in disorder and slander overcomes; the overcoming goes on to dismemberment; and therefore I say, “His name will be Nēw (牛=bull or cow).’ K’ēn denotes insufficiency. The flight is not high. Descending from on high, the wings do not reach far. Hence, while I say that this child will be your successor, yet you are the second minister, and he will fall somewhat short of your dignity.”

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—‘The viscount of Ts’oo, considering that K’ēuh Shin was disaffected and leant towards Woo, put him to death. He then made K’ēuh Sāng the Moh-gaon, and sent him, along with the chief minister, Tsze-tang, to Ts’in to meet his bride. As they passed by [the capital of] Ch’ing, the earl sent to pay the compliments of the journey to Tsze-tang at Fan, and to K’ēuh Sāng at T’oo-she. The marquis of Ts’in escorted his daughter to Hing-k’ēw, where the earl of Ch’ing had an interview with him, with the attendance and under the direction of Tsze-ch’an.’

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—‘The duke went to Ts’in; and from his reception in the suburbs to the gifts at his departure, he did not fail in any point of ceremony. The marquis of Ts’in said to Joo Shuh-ts’e, “Is not the marquis of Loo good at propriety?” “How does the marquis of Loo know propriety?” was the reply. “Wherefore [do you say so]?” asked the marquis. “Considering that, from his reception in the suburbs to the gifts at his departure, he did not err in a single point, why should you say that he does not know propriety?” “That was deportment” said Shuh-ts’e, “and should not be called propriety. Propriety is that by which [a ruler] maintains his State, carries out his governmental orders, and does not lose his people. Now the government [of Loo] is ordered by the [three great] clans, and he cannot take it [from them]. There is Tsze-kea Ke, (A descendant of duke Chwang, called elsewhere Tsze-kēa E-pih) and he is not able to employ him. He violates the covenants of our great State, and exercises oppression on the small State [of Keu]. He makes his gain of the distresses of others, and is ignorant of his own. The [patrimony] of his House is divided into four parts, and [like one of] the people he gets his food from others. No one thinks of him, or takes any consideration for his future. The ruler of a State, calamity will come upon him, and he has no regard to what is proper for him to do. The beginning and end of his propriety should be in these matters; and in small particulars he practises deportment, as if that were all-important:—is it not far from correct to say that he is well acquainted with propriety?”

‘The superior man will say that Shuh-how showed by these remarks that he knew propriety.’

[We have now a long narrative of a visit to Ts’oo by Han K’e and Shuh-hēang:—‘Han Seu-en-tsze of Ts’in went to Ts’oo as escort to [the king’s] bride, Shuh-hēang being the assistant commissioner. Tsze-p’e and Tsze-t’ae-shuh of Ch’ing visited them on their journey at Soh-she, and the latter said to Shuh-hēang, “The extravagance of the king of Ts’oo is excessive; you must be on your guard against it.” “His excessive extravagance,” replied Shuh-hēang, “will be calamitous to himself, but how can it affect others? If we present our offerings, and be careful of our deportment, maintaining our good faith, and observing the rules of propriety, reverently attentive to our first proceedings and thinking at the same time of our last, so that all might be done over again; if we comply [with his requirements] so as not to lose our decorum, and, while respectful, do not lose our dignity; if our communications be according to the lessons [of wisdom], our service be performed according to the laws of antiquity, and our duty be discharged according to [the rules of] the ancient kings, and regulated by a consideration of [what is due to] our two States, however extravagant he be, what can he do to us?”

‘When they arrived at [the capital of] Ts’oo, the viscount gave audience to his great officers, and said, “Ts’in is my enemy. If I can get my will, I have no regard to anything else. Those who are now come from it are its highest minister and a great officer of the highest rank. If I [cut off his feet, and] make Han K’e a janitor, and [castrate] Yang-sheh Heih and make him superintendent of my harem, that will be enough to disgrace Ts’in, and I shall get my will. May it be done?” None of the great officers gave any reply, till Wei K’e-k’ang said, “It may. If you are prepared for it, why may it not be done? But a common man may not be put to shame without preparations for it, and how much less a State! On this account the sage kings made it their object to observe the rules of propriety, and did not seek to put people to shame. For appearances at court and complimentary visits there were the jade tokens of rank; for entertainments and receptions there were the semi-tokens; the small (= all the princes) had to make a report of their duties; the great one (= the king) had to make tours to observe the merits [of the princes]; when the benches were spread [with the dishes], there was no leaning forward on them, and when the cup was filled, there was no drinking of it, [till the time came]; for feasts there was the provision of good gifts; for meals there were double the usual number of dishes; on the arrival of guests they were met in the suburbs and condoled with on the toils of their journey, and at their departure, there were gifts presented to them. These embrace the most important usages of ceremony. The ruin of States and families has been from the neglect of these, which has given occasion to miseries and disorders.

‘After the battle of Shing-puh, Ts’in made no preparations against Ts’oo, and was defeated at Peih. After the battle of Peih, Ts’oo made no preparations against Ts’in, and was defeated at Yen. Since Yen, Ts’in has not neglected its preparations, and has added to them the observance of propriety and a double measure of harmony

in itself, so that Ts’oo had not been able to retaliate [for that defeat at Yen], but has sought marriage with Ts’in. You have obtained that affinity of marriage, and you wish further to put Ts’in to shame, thereby calling forth its violent animosity:—what preparations have you made for such an issue? If you have the men [to meet it], well:—put Ts’in to shame. If you have them not, your lordship should consider well what you propose to do. In my opinion, the service which Ts’in has done to you may be pronounced sufficient. You sought the States from it, and they have all come to you; you sought marriage with it, and it has sent you its daughter. Its ruler himself escorted her. Its highest minister and a great officer of the highest rank have come to the completion of the union; and still you wish to put it to shame. You must surely be prepared for such a thing; if you are not, what will be the consequences?

‘Below Han K’e there are [in Ts’in] Chaou Ch’ing, Chung-hang Woo, Wei Shoo, Fan Yang, and Che Ying. Below Yang-sheh Heih there are K’e Woo, Chang Teih, Tseih T’an, Joo Ts’e, Léang Ping, Chang Koh, Foo Leih, and Meaou Fun-hwang;—all of them the choice of all the States. Han Sēang is great officer of a ducal clan; Han Seu receives his ruler’s orders, and goes forth with them to other States; Ke Sēang, Hing Tae, Shuh-k’in, Shuh-tseou, and Tsze-yu, all belong to great families. The Han draw their levies from seven cities, round each of which is a full district. The Yang-sheh embraces 4 clans,—all consisting of strong families. If the people of Ts’in lose Han K’e and Yang Heih, those 5 [other] ministers, and 8 [other] great officers, will give their aid to Han Seu and Yang-sheh. From their 10 families and 9 districts they can raise 900 chariots of war, while 4000 chariots will be left to guard the remaining 40 districts [of the State]. With their martial rage all in fury, they will come to be revenged for the great disgrace [put upon them]. With Pih-hwa to direct their plans, and with Chung-hang Pih and Wei Shoo to lead on their armies, they are sure to be successful. Your lordship intends to change the friendship of marriage for enmity, and violate all propriety to accelerate the approach of the enemy; and if you have not made preparations for such an issue, you will be sending all of us your servants, and leaving us to be captured, to gratify yourself. But what is there in this that may not be done?” The king said, “It was my error. Do not you, my great officers, trouble yourselves [any further].” He then treated Han-tsze with courtesy. He wished, however, to get a triumph over Shuh-hēang on matters he might not be acquainted with, but was not able to do so; and he also showed great courtesy to him.

‘When Han K’e was returning, the earl of Ch’ing came to Yu, to show him there the compliments of the journey; but Han declined to be introduced to him:—which was according to rule.’

‘There is another short narrative:—‘Han Hoo of Ch’ing went to Ts’e, to marry a daughter of Tsze-we. Gan-tsze paid him frequent visits, and when Ch’in Hwan-tsze asked the reason, he replied, “He is able to employ good men;—he is a fitting lord of the people.”’

Parr. 4, 5. Mow-low,—see on I, iv. 1. Fang was 60 *le* to the southwest of the pres. dis. city

of Gan-k'ew (安丘), dep. of Tsing-chow. Tszé was in the northwest of Choo-shing (諸城) dis., in the same dep. Tso-she says, 'Mow-e was not a minister, yet his name is given here, importance being attached to the territory [which he surrendered] (?). The people of Keu made a complaint on the subject to Tsin, and the marquis wished to detain the duke [as a prisoner]. Fan Hsien-tszé, however, said to him, "You should not do so. When a prince comes to your court, if you seize him there, you have enticed him. To punish him without using your troops, and entice him, thereby effecting your purpose, is the procedure of indolence. Would it not be improper for the lord of covenants to be guilty of these two things? I beg you to send him back. When we have leisure, we can go with troops and punish him." The duke accordingly was allowed to return, and in autumn, in the 7th month, he arrived from Tsin.'

Par. 6. For 蚡 Kung-yang has 濟, and Kuh-läng, 賁. Fun-ts'eu was in Loo, but its site is not determined more particularly. The Chuen says:—'A body of men from Keu came to make reprisals [for the reception of] Mow-e. They made no preparations [against surprise], and on Mow-shin, Shuh Kung defeated them at Fun-ts'eu, before they could form in order of battle.'

Par. 8. Here for the first time in the text of the classic there appears the great State of Yueh, which was held by viscounts, who had the surname of Sze (姒), and claimed to be descended from king Shao-u-k'ang of the Hsia dyn. Their capital was Hwuy-k'e (會稽), in the present dis. of Shan-yin (山陰), dep.

Shaou-hing (紹興), Cheh-k'ang. Yueh was helpful to Ts'oo, as a counterpoise to the power of Woo, and became subsequently a powerful antagonist of Ts'oo itself.

The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 10th month, the viscount of Ts'oo, along with several princes and [the chiefs of] the eastern E, invaded Woo, in retaliation for that State's taking Keih, Leih, and Ma (See the 2d narrative after par. 7 of last year). Wei Shay joined him with the army of Fan-yang at Hsü-juy. Chang Show-kwo, a great officer of Yueh, joined him with a force at So. Hearing that the army of Woo had come forth, Wei K'e-k'ang led a force and pursued; but in his hurry he did not make [sufficient] preparations, and the men of Woo defeated him at Ts'eh-gan. The viscount came by hasty stages to the bend of the Lo, and there the viscount of Woo sent his brother, Kwei-yew, with refreshments for the troops. The people of Ts'oo seized him, and were about to smear their drums with his blood, when the king caused him to be asked whether he had consulted the tortoise-shell if his coming would be fortunate. Kwei-yew replied, "[We were told it would be] fortunate. My ruler having heard

that your lordship was going to regulate your troops in our State, consulted our guardian shell in this way,—"I will at once send a messenger with refreshments to the army [of Ts'oo], and ask him to go and observe whether the king's anger be furious or slow, that we may make preparations accordingly. Shall we be able to ascertain this?" The reply given by the indications of the shell was, "That may be known." If your lordship had been gracious, and received me, the messenger, in a friendly way, that would have increased the feeling of ease and indifference in our State, and it would have forgotten that its ruin might soon happen. But now your lordship is furious, surcharged with rage as with thunder and lightning. You have oppressively seized me, and are going to smear your drums with my blood:—Woo will thus know what preparations to make. Feeble though our State is, with all its equipment put early in good order, it may secure rest for its army. To be prepared alike for a difficult or for an easy contest may be said to be fortunate.

"And moreover, the tortoise-shell was consulted with reference to the altars of Woo, and not for a single individual. If my blood be used to smear the drums of your army, and our State thereby knows to make preparations to meet all casualties, what could be more fortunate than this? The State has its carefully guarded shell, which in all things it consults. Who can calculate on the regularity of the good fortune or the evil? Shing-puh gave an omen, and the answer to it was at Peih. As to this present journey of mine, [Woo] will keep it in mind to make you a return for it." After this the envoy was not put to death.

'The army of Ts'oo crossed the river at the bend of the Lo, when Ch'ih, director of Shin, effected a junction with the viscount at mount Lae. Wei K'e-k'ang then led forward the army of Fan-yang, and entered Nan-hwae, while the [rest of] the army followed as far as Joo-ts'ing; but it was found that Woo could not be penetrated. The viscount therefore made [simply] a display of his troops at the hill of Ch'e-ke. In this campaign, Woo had made early preparations, so that Ts'oo was obliged to return without effecting anything, [only] taking Kwei-yew back with it. The viscount, being afraid of Woo, made Shay, the director of Shin, wait for orders from him at Ch'ao, and Wei K'e-k'ang do the same at Yu-low:—which was according to rule.'

[We have a short notice here about the prince of Ts'in, who fled to Tsin in the duke's 1st year:—'How-tszé of Ts'in returned again to his position in Ts'in;—in consequence of the death of duke King.']

Sixth year.

六年<sup>一</sup>春王正月杞伯益姑卒<sup>二</sup>葬秦景公<sup>三</sup>夏季孫宿如晉<sup>四</sup>葬杞文公<sup>五</sup>宋華合比出奔衛<sup>六</sup>秋九月大雩<sup>七</sup>楚薳罷帥師伐吳<sup>八</sup>冬叔弓如楚<sup>九</sup>齊侯伐北燕

左傳曰六年春王正月杞文公卒弔如同盟禮也大夫如秦葬景公禮也  
 三月鄭人鑄刑書叔向使詣子產書曰始吾有虞於子今則已矣昔先王議事以制不爲刑辟懼民之有爭心也猶不可禁禦是故閑之以義糾之以政行之以禮守之以信奉之以仁制爲祿位以勸其從嚴斷刑罰以威其淫懼其未也故誨之以忠聳之以仁教之以務使之以和臨之以敬泄之以彊斷之以剛猶求聖哲之上明察之官忠信之長慈惠之師民於是乎可任使也而不生禍亂民知有辟則不忌於上竝有爭心以徵於書而徵幸以成之弗可爲矣夏有亂政而作禹刑商有亂政而作湯刑周有亂政而作九刑三辟之典皆叔世也今吾子相鄭國作封洫立謗政制參辟鑄刑書將以靖民不亦難乎詩曰儀式刑文王之德日靖四方又曰儀刑文王萬邦作孚如是何辟之有民知爭端矣將棄禮而徵於書錐刀之末將盡爭之亂獄滋豐賄賂竝行終子之世鄭其敗乎辟聞之國將亡必多制其此之謂乎復書曰若吾子之言僑不才不能及子孫吾以救世也既不承命敢忘大惠士文伯曰火見鄭其火乎火未出而作火以鑄刑器藏爭辟焉火如象之不火何爲夏季孫宿如晉拜莒田也晉侯享之有加籩武子退使行人告曰小國之事大國也苟免於討不敢求貺得貺不過三獻今豆有加下臣弗堪

無乃戾也。韓宣子曰：寡君以為驩也。對曰：寡君猶未敢。況下臣君之隸也，敢聞加貶，固請徹加，而後卒事。晉人以爲知禮，重其好貨。

宋寺人柳有寵，太子佐惡之。華合比曰：我殺之。柳聞之，乃坎用牲埋書，而告公曰：合比將納亡人之族，既盟於北郭矣。公使視之，有焉。遂逐華合比。合比奔衛，於是華亥欲代右師，乃與寺人柳比，從爲之徵。曰：聞之久矣。公使代之，見於左師。左師曰：汝夫也，必亡。汝喪而宗室於人，何有人？人亦於汝何有？詩曰：宗子維城，毋俾城壞，毋獨斯畏。汝其畏哉。

○六月丙戌，鄭災。

○楚公子棄疾如晉，報韓子也。過鄭，鄭罕虎、公孫僑、游吉從鄭伯以勞諸相，辭不敢見。固請見之，見如見王，以其乘馬八匹私面。見子皮如上卿，以馬六匹。見子產以馬四匹。見子犬叔以馬二匹。禁芻牧，採樵不入田，不樵樹，不采蔬，不抽屋，不疆畝。誓曰：有犯命者，君子廢，小人降，舍不爲暴，主不恩賓。往來如是。鄭三卿皆知其將爲王也。韓宣子之適楚也，楚人弗逆。公子棄疾及晉，竟晉侯將亦弗逆。叔向曰：楚辟我衷，若何效辟？詩曰：爾之教矣，民胥效矣。從我而已。焉用效人之辟？書曰：聖作則，無寧以善人爲則，而則人之辟乎？匹夫爲善，民猶則之，況國君乎？晉侯說，乃逆之。

秋九月，大雩，旱也。

徐儀楚聘於楚，楚子執之。逃歸，懼其叛也，使濞洩伐徐。吳人救之。令尹子蕩帥師伐吳，師於豫章，而次於乾谿。吳人敗其師於房鍾，獲宮廐尹棄疾。子蕩歸，罪於濞洩而殺之。

冬，叔弓如楚，聘，且弔敗也。

十一月，齊侯如晉，請伐北燕也。士匄相士鞅逆諸河，禮也。晉侯許之。十二月，齊侯遂伐北燕，將納簡公。晏子曰：

不入，燕  
有君矣。  
民不貳，  
吾君賄，  
左右諂，  
諛作大  
事不以  
信未嘗  
可也。

- VI. 1 In the duke's sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Yih-koo, earl of K'e, died.  
2 There was the burial of duke King of Ts'in.  
3 In summer, Ke-sun Suh went to Ts'in.  
4 There was the burial of duke Wän of K'e.  
5 Hwa Hoh-pe of Sung fled from that State to Wei.  
6 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
7 Wei P'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo.  
8 In winter, Shuh Kung went to Ts'oo.  
9 The marquis of Ts'e invaded North Yen.

Par. 1. Yih-koo is the viscount of K'e, who came to the court of Loo in the 29th year of S'ang. Here he is mentioned with the rank of earl. The marquis of Ts'in, interested in K'e through his mother, had probably obtained the advancement of rank for the viscount.

Tso says, 'Duke Wän of K'e now died, and [the duke] sent his condolences to that State as the deceased ruler had covenanted with a marquis of Loo:—which was according to rule.'

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'A great officer went to Ts'in, to attend the funeral of duke King;—which was according to rule.' This is the first instance in the classic where the burial of an earl of Ts'in is mentioned. It shows how, with the progress of time, the intercourse between States at a considerable distance from one another was increasing.

[We have here the following narrative about a proceeding of Tsze-ch'ian in Ch'ing:—'In the 3d month, they cast [tripods] in Ch'ing, with descriptions [of crimes and their] punishments [upon them]. In consequence of this, Shuh-h'ang sent a letter to Tsze-ch'ian, saying, "At first I considered you [as my model], but now I have ceased to do so. The ancient kings deliberated on [all the circumstances], and determined [on the punishment of crimes]; they did not make [general] laws of punishment, fearing lest it should give rise to a contentious spirit among the people. But still, as crimes could not be prevented, they set up for them the barrier of righteousness, sought to bring them all to a conformity with their own rectitude, set before them the practice of propriety, and the maintenance of good faith, and cherished them with benevolence. They also instituted emoluments and places to encourage them to follow [their example], and laid down strictly punishments and penalties to awe them from excesses. Fearing lest these things should be insufficient, they therefore taught the people [the principles of] sincerity, urged them by [discriminations of] conduct, instructed them in what was most important, called for their services in a spirit of harmony, came before them in a spirit of reverence, met exigencies with vigour, and gave their decisions with firmness. And in addition to this, they sought to

have sage and wise persons in the highest positions, intelligent discriminating persons in all offices, that elders should be distinguished for true-heartedness and good faith, and teachers for their gentle kindness. In this way the people could be successfully dealt with, and miseries and disorder be prevented from arising.

"When the people know what the exact laws are, they do not stand in awe of their superiors. They also come to have a contentious spirit, and make their appeal to the express words, hoping peradventure to be successful in their argument. They can no longer be managed. When the government of H'ia had fallen into disorder, the penal code of Yu was made; under the same circumstances of Shang, the penal code of T'ang; and in Chow, the code of the nine punishments:—those three codes all originated in ages of decay. And now in your administration of Ch'ing, you have made [your new arrangements for] dykes and ditches (See the narrative at the end of IX. xxx.), you have established your [new system of] governmental [requisitions], which has been so much spoken against (See the 1st narr. after iv. 7), and you have framed [this imitation of] those 3 codes, casting your descriptions of [crimes and their] punishments:—will it not be difficult to keep the people quiet, as you wish to do? The ode (She, IV. i. [i.] ode VII.) says,

'I imitate, follow, and observe the virtue of king Wän,  
And daily there is tranquillity in all the regions;'

and again (III. i. ode I. 7),

'Take your pattern from king Wän,  
And the myriad States will repose confidence in you.'

In such a condition, what need is there for any code? When once the people know the grounds for contention, they will cast propriety away, and make their appeal to your descriptions. They will all be contending about a matter as small as the point of an awl or a knife. Disorderly litigations will multiply, and bribes will walk abroad. Ch'ing will go to ruin, it is to be feared, in the age succeeding

years. I have heard the saying that 'When a State is about to perish, there will be many new enactments in it.' Is your proceeding an illustration of it?"

"To this letter Tsze-ch'an returned the following reply, "As to what you say, I have not the talents nor the ability to act for posterity; my object is to save the present age. I cannot accept your instructions, but I dare not forget your great kindness."

"Sze Wän-pih said, "The Ho (Fire) star has made its appearance. Is there going to be fire in Ch'ing? Before the appearance of the Ho, it made use of fire to cast its punishment-tripods. If the Ho is an emblem of fire, must we not expect fire [in Ch'ing]?"

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin, to make our acknowledgments for the lands of K'e, [which Mow-e had given over to Loo]. The marquis gave him an entertainment at which there was more than the usual number of dishes. On seeing this, he retired, and sent an internuncius to say, "In its service of [your] great State, [our] small State, if it can [only] escape measures of punishment, does not seek for any gifts. I should get no more than three rounds of the cup. But now there are more dishes than are sufficient for that, and I dare not accept [such distinction]:—would it not be an offence if I did so?" Han Seuen-tsze said, "Our ruler intended to promote your joy;" but [Woo-tsze] replied, "It is what my ruler would not [accept]; how much less dare I, who am but as a menial servant of [your] ruler, listen to such an addition to his gift!" He then firmly requested that the additional dishes might be removed, and only when that was done did he return to the completion of the entertainment. The people of Tsin, out of respect to the knowledge of propriety [which he thus showed], made the [usual] offerings of friendship to him very large."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"Lëw, master of the eunuchs, of Sung was a favourite, but was hated by Tso, [the duke's] eldest son; and Hwa Hoh-pe undertook to kill him. Lëw heard of it, dug a hole, killed a victim and buried [its blood], with the tablets [of a covenant] over it." He then informed the duke, saying, "Hoh-pe is about to bring back the fugitive (Hwa Shin; see on IX. xvii. 6) and his family, and has made a covenant to that effect in the northern suburbs." The duke sent to see, and [the evidence] was found, on which he drove out Hwa Hoh-pe, who fled to Wei.

"On this, Hwa Hae (Younger brother of Hoh-pe) wished to get the office of master of the Right in the room [of Hoh-pe], and by agreement with the eunuch Lëw, came and gave confirmatory evidence, saying that he had heard of his brother's purpose for a long time; so the duke gave him the appointment. [Having received this], he went to see the master of the Left, who said to him, "A fellow like you is sure to come to ruin. You have ruined the members of your own House. What part have you in men, and what part have men in you? The ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 7) says,

'The circle of relatives is like a wall.  
Do not let your wall be destroyed;  
Do not, solitary, be consumed with terrors.'

You have reason to live in such terror!"  
[We have here two narratives.—

1st. 'In the 6th month, on Ping-seuh, a fire broke out in Ch'ing (See the conclusion of the narrative after par. 2).'

2d. 'The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih went to Tsin,—to return the visit of Han-tsze. As he was passing by [the capital of] Ch'ing, Han Hoo, Kung-sun K'iaou, and Yëw Keih followed the earl to pay him the compliments of the journey at Cha; but he declined and would not presume to see them. [The earl], however, earnestly begged that he would do so, [which he did], behaving [to the earl] as if he were having an interview with [his own king]. [Afterwards] he had a private audience of [the earl], with eight of his chariots [as his offering]; he saw Tsze-pe, as if he were seeing the highest minister [of Ts'oo], with an offering of 6 horses; Tsze-ch'an, with 4; and Tsze-t'ae-shuh with 2. He forbade his foragers, grooms, and fuel-collectors to go into the fields. No trees were to be cut down for fuel; no grain nor vegetables were to be gathered; no houses were to be unroofed; there was to be no violent begging. He made a declaration that whoever should violate his orders, if he were an officer, he should be dismissed, and if he were a smaller man, he should be reduced still lower. His men were to exercise no oppression where they lodged; hosts should not be troubled by their guests. In going and returning he observed these rules. The three ministers of Ch'ing all knew that he would [yet] be king [of Ts'oo].

"When Han Seuen-tsze went to Ts'oo, they did not meet him; and now when the Kung-tsze K'e-tsih was come to the borders of Tsin, the marquis intended in the same way not to meet him. Shuh-hëang, however, said, "Ts'oo is perverse, and we are correct:—why should we imitate its perversity? The ode (She, II. vii. ode IX. 2) says,

'What you teach  
The people all imitate.'

Let us follow our own way; should we imitate the perversity of others? The Shoo says, 'The sage forms a pattern.' Instead of taking good men for our pattern, shall we find it in men who are perverse? If an ordinary man do what is good, the people will take him for their pattern;—how much more will they do so in the case of the ruler of a State!"

"The marquis of Tsin was pleased, and sent to meet the envoy accordingly."

Par. 6. This sacrifice was offered because, as Tso says, there was now 'a drought.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"E-ts'oo, of Seu came on a complimentary visit to Ts'oo, where he was seized by the viscount; but he effected his escape and returned home. The viscount, fearing that Seu would revolt, sent Wei Sëeh to invade it, when a body of men from Woo went to its aid. On this, Tsze-tang, the chief minister, led a force and invaded Woo. He collected his troops at Yu-chang, and halted at Kan-k'e. The men of Woo defeated his army at Fang-chang, taking prisoner K'e-tsih, director of the palace stables. Tsze-tang laid the blame [of the defeat] on Wei Sëeh, and put him to death."

Par. 8. Tso says this was a complimentary visit, and to offer Loo's condolences on the defeat [sustained from Woo].

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"In the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'oo went to Tsin, to ask

leave to invade North Yen, when Sze Kae, in attendance on Sze Yang, met him at the Ho:—which was according to rule. The marquis having given his assent, in the 12th month the marquis of Ts'oo invaded North Yen, intending to re-instate duke Këen. Gan-tsze said,

'They will not enter [the capital of] Yen. Yen has a ruler, and the people are not disaffected to him. Our ruler [desires] bribes; those about him flatter him; and so he commences a great undertaking, but not in good faith. Such enterprises have never been successful.'

### Seventh year.

七年春王正月暨齊平。齊侯次於饒，燕人行成，曰：「敝邑知罪，敢不聽命。」先君之敝器，請以謝罪。公孫皙曰：「受服而退，侯爵而動，可也。」二月戊午，盟於繡上，燕人歸燕姬。賂以瑤鬻玉櫝，聾耳不克而還。

三月，公如楚。夏，叔孫舍如齊，涖盟。

四月甲辰朔，日有食之。

五月，秋八月，戊辰，衛侯惡卒。

六月，九月，公至自楚。

冬十有一月，癸未，季孫宿卒。

十有二月，癸亥，葬衛襄公。

左傳曰：七年春，王正月，暨齊平。齊求之也。癸巳，齊侯次於饒，燕人行成，曰：「敝邑知罪，敢不聽命。」先君之敝器，請以謝罪。公孫皙曰：「受服而退，侯爵而動，可也。」二月戊午，盟於繡上，燕人歸燕姬。賂以瑤鬻玉櫝，聾耳不克而還。

楚子之爲令尹也，爲王旌以田，芋尹無宇斷之曰：「一國兩君，其誰堪之？」及即位，爲章華之宮，納亡人以實之，無宇之闖入焉，無宇執之，有司弗與，曰：「執人於王宮，其罪大矣。」執而謁諸王。王將飲酒，無宇辭曰：「天子經畧，諸侯正封，古之制也。封畧之內，何非君土？食土之毛，誰非君臣？故詩曰：『普天之下，莫非王土；率土之濱，莫非王臣。』天有十日，人有十等，下所以事上，上所以共神也。故王臣公，公臣大夫，大夫臣士，士臣阜，阜臣輿，輿臣隸，隸臣僚，僚臣僕，僕臣臺，馬有圉，牛有牧，以待百事。今有司曰：『安胡執人於王宮？』將焉執之？周文王之法曰：『有亡荒閱，所以得天下也。』吾先君文王，作僕區之法，曰：『盜所隱器，與盜同罪。』



○楚子享公於新臺，使長鬣者相，好以大屈，既而悔之，遂啟疆聞之，見公，公語之，拜賀。公曰：「何賀？」對曰：「齊與晉越，欲此久矣，寡君無適與也，而傳諸君，君其備禦三鄰，慎守寶矣，敢不賀乎？」公懼，乃反之。

○鄭子產聘於晉，晉侯有疾，韓宣子逆客，私焉，曰：「寡君寢疾，於今三月矣，竝走羣望，有加而無瘳，今夢黃熊入於寢門，其何厲鬼也？」對曰：「以君之明，子爲大政，其何厲之有？昔堯殛鯀於羽山，其神化爲黃熊，以入於羽淵，實爲夏郊，三代祀之，晉爲盟主，其或者未之祀也乎？」韓子祀夏郊，晉侯有間，賜子產莒之二方鼎。子產爲豐施歸州田於韓，宣子曰：「日君以夫公孫段爲能任其事，而賜之州田，今無祿早世，不獲久享君德，其子弗敢有，不敢以聞於君，私致諸子。」宣子辭，子產曰：「古人有言曰：『其父析薪，其子弗克負荷。』施將懼不能任其先人之祿，其況能任大國之賜，縱吾子爲政，而可後之人若屬有疆場之言，敝邑獲戾，而豐氏受其大討，吾子取州，是免敝邑於戾，而建置豐氏也，敢以爲請。」宣子受之，以告晉侯。晉侯以與宣子，宣子爲初言，病有之，以易原縣於樂大心。

○鄭人相驚以伯有，曰：「伯有至矣。」則皆走，不知所往。鑄刑書之歲二月，或夢伯有介而行，曰：「壬子余將殺帶也。」明年壬寅，余又將殺段也。及壬子，駟帶卒，國人益懼。齊燕平之月，壬寅，公孫段卒，國人愈懼。其明月，子產立公孫洩，及良止，以撫之，乃止。子大叔問其故，子產曰：「鬼有所歸，乃不爲厲，吾爲之歸也。」大叔曰：「公孫洩何爲子產曰：『說也，爲身無義，而圖說從政，有所反之，以取媚也，不媚不信，不信民不從也。』及子產適晉，趙景子問焉，曰：『伯有猶能爲鬼乎？』子產曰：『能，人生始化曰魄，既生魄，陽曰魂，用物精多，則魂魄強，是以有精爽，至於神明，匹夫匹婦強死，其魂魄猶能憑依於人，以爲淫厲，況良霄我先君穆公之冑，子良之孫，子耳之子，敝邑之卿，從政三世矣，鄭雖無腆，抑諺曰：『蕞爾國而三世執其政柄，其用物也弘矣，其取精也多矣，其族又大，所憑厚矣，而強死，能爲鬼，不亦宜乎？』」

○子皮之族，飲酒無度，故馬師氏與子皮氏有惡，齊師還自燕之月，罕朔殺罕魋，罕朔奔晉。韓宣子問其位於

罪，所以封汝也。若從有司，是無所執，逃臣也，逃而舍之，是無陪臺也。王事無乃闕乎？昔武王數紂之罪，以告諸侯，曰：「紂爲天下逋逃主，萃淵藪，故夫致死焉。」君王始求諸侯，而則紂，無乃不可乎？若以二文之法取之，盜有所在矣。王曰：「取而臣以往，盜有寵，未可得也。」遂赦之。

楚子成章華之臺，願與諸侯落之。大宰薳啟疆曰：「臣能得魯侯。」遂啟疆來召公，辭曰：「昔先君成公，命我先大夫嬰齊曰：『吾不忍先君之好，將使衡父照臨楚國，鎮撫其社稷，以輯寧爾民。』嬰齊受命於蜀，奉承以來，弗敢失隕，而致諸宗祧，曰：『我先君共王，引領北望，日月以冀，傳序相授，於今四王矣。』嘉惠未至，唯襄公之辱臨我喪，孤與其二三臣，悼心失圖，社稷之不皇，況能懷思君德？今君若步玉趾，辱見寡君，寵靈楚國，以信蜀之役，致君之嘉惠，是寡君既受貺矣，何蜀之敢望？其先君鬼神實嘉賴之，豈唯寡君？君若不來，使臣請問行期，寡君將承寶幣，而見於蜀，以請先君之貺。」公將往，夢襄公祖，梓慎曰：「君不果行，襄公之適楚也，夢周公祖而行，今襄公實祖，君其不行。」子服惠伯曰：「行，先君未嘗適楚，故周公祖以道之，襄公適楚矣，而祖以道，君不行，何之？」三月，公如楚，鄭伯勞於師之梁，孟僖子爲介，不能相儀，及楚，不能答郊勞。

夏四月甲辰朔，日有食之。晉侯問於士文伯曰：「誰將當日食？」對曰：「魯衛惡之，衛大魯小。」公曰：「何故？」對曰：「去衛地如魯地，於是有災，魯實受之，其大咎，其衛君乎？」魯將上卿，公曰：「詩所謂彼日而食，于何不臧者，何也？」對曰：「不善政之謂也。國無政，不用善，則自取謫於日月之災，故政不可不慎也，務三而已：一曰擇人，二曰因民，三曰從時。」

○晉人來治杞田，季孫將以成與之，謝息爲孟孫守，不可，曰：「人有言曰：『雖有挈餅之知，守不假器，禮也。』夫子從君而守臣喪邑，雖吾子亦有猜焉。」季孫曰：「君之在楚，於晉罪也，又不聽晉，魯罪重矣，晉師必至，吾無以待之，不如與之。」閒晉而取諸杞，吾與子桃成反，誰敢有之，是得二成也。魯無憂而孟孫益邑，子何病焉？辭以無山，與之萊柞，乃遷於桃，晉人爲杞取成。

子產。子產曰：君之羈臣，苟得容以逃死，何位之敢擇？卿違從大夫之位，罪人以其罪降，古之制也。朔於敝邑，亞大夫也，其官馬師也，獲戾而逃，唯執政所寘之，得免其死，爲惠大矣。又敢求位，宣子爲子產之敏也，使從嬖大夫。八月，衛襄公卒。晉大夫言於范獻子曰：衛事晉爲睦，晉不禮焉，庇其賊人，而取其地，故諸侯貳。詩曰：鷕鷕在原，兄弟急難。又曰：死喪之威，兄弟孔懷。兄弟之不睦，於是乎不弔。況遠人，誰敢歸之？今又不禮於衛之嗣，衛必叛我，是絕諸侯也。獻子以告韓宣子，宣子說，使獻子如衛弔，且反戚田。衛齊惡告喪於周，且請命。王使成簡公如衛弔，且追命襄公曰：叔父陟恪，在我先王之左右，以佐事上帝，余敢忘高圍亞圍。九月，公至自楚。孟僖子病不能相禮，乃講學之，苟能禮者從之。及其將死也，召其大夫曰：禮，人之幹也，無禮，無以立。吾聞將有達者，曰：孔丘，聖人之後也，而滅於宋，其祖弗父何，以有宋而授厲公，及正考父佐戴，武宣三命，茲益其。故其鼎銘云：一命而僂，再命而偃，三命而俯，循牆而走，亦莫余敢侮。饗於是，鬯於是，以餉余口。其共也如是。臧孫紇有言曰：聖人有明德者，若不當世，其後必有達人。今其將在孔丘乎？我若獲沒，必屬說與何忌於夫子，使事之而學禮焉，以定其位。故孟懿子與南宮敬叔師事仲尼。仲尼曰：能補過者，君子也。詩曰：君子是則是效，孟僖子可則效已矣。

⑤單獻子棄親用羈。冬十月，辛酉，襄頃之族殺獻公而立成公。十一月，季武子卒。晉侯謂伯瑕曰：吾所問日食，從矣，可常乎？對曰：不可。六物不同，民心不壹，事序不類，官職不則，同始異終，胡可常也？詩曰：或燕燕居息，或憔悴事國，其異終也如是。公曰：何謂六物？對曰：歲時、日月、星辰、是謂也。公曰：多語寡人，辰而莫同，何謂辰？對曰：日月之會是謂辰，故以配日。衛襄公夫人姜氏無子，嬖人嬖始生孟縶，孔成子夢康叔謂己立元，余使羈之孫圉與史苟相之。史朝亦夢康

叔謂己，余將命而子苟與孔烝鉏之曾孫圉相元史朝見成子，告之夢，夢協晉韓宣子爲政，聘於諸侯之歲，嬖始生子，名之曰元。孟縶之足不良，弱行，孔成子以周易筮之，曰：元尚享衛國，主其社稷。遇屯，又曰：余尚立，嬖尚克嘉之。遇屯之。地以示史朝。史朝曰：元亨，又何疑焉。成子曰：非長之謂乎？對曰：康叔名之，可謂長矣。孟非人也，將不列於宗，不可謂長。且其繇曰：利建侯，嗣吉何建，建非嗣也。二卦皆云：子其建之。康叔命之，二卦告之，筮襲於夢，武王所用也，弗從何爲？弱足者居，侯主社稷，臨祭祀，奉民人，事鬼神，從會朝，又焉得居，各以所利，不亦可乎？故孔成子立靈公。十二月，癸亥，葬衛襄公。

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, [North Yen] made peace with Ts'e.  
2 In the third month, the duke went to Ts'oo.  
3 Shuh-sun Shay went to Ts'e to make a covenant.  
4 In summer, in the fourth month, on K'eah-shin, the sun was eclipsed.  
5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Mow-shin, Goh, marquis of Wei, died.  
6 In the ninth month, the duke arrived from Ts'oo.  
7 In winter in the eleventh month, on Kwei-we, Ke-sun Suh died.  
8 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wei.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—“This peace was what Ts'e sought for. On Kwei-we, the marquis was halting at Kwoh, and the people of Yen made proffers of accommodation, saying, ‘Our poor State knows its guilt, and dares not but listen to your orders. With some worthless articles of our former rulers, we beg to apologize for our offence.’ Kung-sun Seih said, ‘Having received its submission we can return; and when an occasion is presented we can make [another] movement.’ In the 2d month, on Mow-woo, a covenant was made at Seu-shang. The people of Yen sent to the marquis a daughter of their ruling House, and the bribes of a *yaou* vase, a casket of jade, and a white jade goblet with ears. He then returned [to Ts'e], without having succeeded in his [professed] object.”

According to this Chuen, the peace made in the text was between North Yen and Ts'e, and 北燕 must be supplied from the concluding par. of last year. Kung-yang and Kuh-l'ang, however, took a different view, and supposed that Loo and Ts'e were the parties in the pacification;—a view in which they have been followed by a host of critics. Certainly there are many paragraphs in the classic where ‘Loo’ or ‘we’ has to be supplied as the subject; and so far this would be in analogy with them.

Still there is no evidence of there being any strife between Loo and Ts'e at this time, which could furnish a reason for their making peace; and considering the allusions to a peace between Yen and Ts'e in subsequent narratives, the view of Tso-she is decidedly to be preferred. No stress is to be laid on the use of 暨, which simply = 及. The critics, who find mysteries in the terms of the classic, say that 及 is used from the standpoint of Loo, and 暨 from the standpoint of the other party with which Loo has covenanted; that when Loo has taken the initiative, 及 is used, and where it has followed suit, we find 暨.

[There is here appended the following narrative about the king of Ts'oo:—“When the viscount of Ts'oo was chief minister of the State, he had made for himself a royal flag which he used in hunting. The Woo-director, Woo-yu, broke [the staff of] it, saying, ‘Two rulers in one State!—this is what no one can endure.’ When the chief minister became king, he built the palace of Chang-hwa, and recalled [a number of] exiles to fill [the offices in] it, and among them was a

janitor of Woo-yu, whose master tried to seize him. The [king's] officers would not give the man up, saying, "It is a great offence to seize a man in the royal palace;" and with this they seized [Woo-yu, and carried him off], to lay the matter before the king. The king was about to fall to drinking, and Woo-yu defended himself, saying, "The dominion of the Son of Heaven extends everywhere; the princes of States have their own defined boundaries. This is the ancient rule;—within the State and the kingdom, what ground is there which is not the ruler's? What individual of all whom the ground supports is there that is not the ruler's subject? Hence the ode (She, II. vi. ode I. 2) says,

'Under the wide heavens  
All is the king's land.  
Along the coasts of the land  
All are the king's servants.'

The day has its ten divisions of time, and of men there are the ten classes; and so it is that inferiors serve their superiors, and that superiors perform their duties to the Spirits. Hence, the king makes the duke (=the prince of a State) his servant; the duke, the great officer; the great officer, the [simple] officer; the officer, the licitor; the licitor, the crowd of underlings; the underling, the menials: the menial, the labourer; the labourer, the servant; the servant, the helper. There are also grooms for the horses, and shepherds for the cattle;—and thus there is provision for all things.

"Your officers say, 'Why do you seize a man in the king's palace?' but where else should I seize him? A law of king Wān of Chow says, 'Make great inquisition for fugitives;' and it was thus he got the kingdom. Our former ruler king Wān made the law of Puh-gow, which says, 'He with whom the thief conceals his booty is as guilty as the thief;' and it was he who extended his boundary to the Joo. If we are to accept what your officers say, we shall have no means of apprehending runaway servants; if we are to let them go without trying to apprehend them, we shall have no servants at all. There is surely some misconduct of your majesty's affairs here.

"Formerly when king Woo was enumerating the crimes of Chow, for the information of the princes, he said, 'Chow is the host of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep (See the Shoo, V. iii. 6).' On this account every one was willing to go to the death [against Chow]. You, our ruler and king, have just begun to seek [the adherence of] the States;—does it not seem improper in you to be imitating Chow? If we are to apprehend them according to the laws of the two Wān, there is [another] thief here!" The king said, "Take your servant and begone. That [other] thief is a favourite, and cannot yet be got!" With this he pardoned [Woo-yu]."

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"When the viscount of Ts'oo had completed the tower of Chang-hwa, he wished to have the princes of the States present at the inauguration feast. The grand-administrator Wei K'e-k'ang, having said that he could secure the attendance of the marquis of Loo, came to Loo to call the duke, and made the following speech, "Your former ruler, duke Ch'ing, gave his commands to our former great officer Ying-ts'e, to the

effect that he would not forget the friendship between his predecessors and our rulers, and would send Hāng-foo on a brightening visit to Ts'oo, to support and comfort its altars, in order that the peace of its people might be secured. Ying-ts'e received his commands at Shuh (See on VIII. ii. 9), brought them along with him, careful that nothing should be lost, and made an announcement of them in our ancestral temple. From that time our ruler, king Kung, looked with outstretched neck to the north, from day to day and month to month hoping [that the ruler of Loo would come to his court]. In the order of succession four kings have since given our State one to the other, and the acceptable kindness [of Loo] has not come to us. Duke S'ang alone condescended to come to the funeral [of our last king], and then our ruler and his ministers, in the grief of their hearts, were not able to take proper measures. They had not leisure to attend to the business of the altars, and much less were they able to show how they cherished and thought of his kindness. If now your lordship will direct your gentlemanly steps, and condescend to visit our ruler, and extend your favouring influence to our State, so as to make good the agreement at Shuh, and reach to us with your acceptable kindness, our ruler will have received your favour, and not presume to look for anything like what was promised at Shuh. The Spirits of his predecessors will be pleased also, and feel their obligation;—not he only will be indebted to you. If your lordship will not come, let me ask the time when we must put ourselves in motion. Our ruler will bring his hostages and offerings, and see you in Shuh, to beg from you the gift promised by your predecessor."

"When the duke was about to go, he dreamt that duke S'ang was offering [for his safe journey] the sacrifice to the Spirits of the way. [On this], Tsze Shin said, "You must not carry out the purpose of going. When duke S'ang was going to Ts'oo, he dreamt that the duke of Chow offered this sacrifice for him, and went accordingly. And now he himself is offering it for you. Your lordship must not go." Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih, however, said, "You must go. Our former ruler had never gone to Ts'oo, and therefore the duke of Chow offered the sacrifice to lead him on. Duke S'ang went to Ts'oo; and now he offers the sacrifice to lead you on the way. If you do not go [to Ts'oo], where should you go to?"

"In the 3d month, the duke went to Ts'oo. The earl of Ch'ing paid him the compliments of the journey at Sze-che-l'ang. Māng He-tsze, who was with the duke as assistant, could not direct the observances to be employed; and when they arrived at Ts'oo, he could not respond properly at the complimentary meeting in the suburbs."

Par. 3. For 舍, here and afterwards, Tso-she and K'uh-l'ang have 姁. This was the son of Shuh-sun P'au or Muh-tsze, raised to succeed his father by the 'waiting-boy N'ew,' as related in the narrative at the end of the 5th year. He is called generally in the Chuen by his posthumous title of Ch'au-tsze (昭子).

淮,—see on V. iii. 6. Those who contend that the peace in the 1st par. was between Loo and Ts'e press this notice in support of their view, and understand that the covenant here was in confirmation of that peace. Tso-she says nothing on this par. 淮 is not decisive in the case. It is sometimes employed of the renewal or confirmation of a covenant (尋盟); but we find it employed also where there had been no previous agreement.

Par. 4. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of March 11th, B.C. 534.

The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Tsin asked Sze Wān-pih in whom [the omen of] the eclipse would be fulfilled, and was answered, "Loo and Wei will both feel its evil effects;—Wei to a greater extent, and Loo to a less." "Why so?" said the marquis. "It went," said Wān-pih, "from Wei on to Loo. There will be calamity in the former, and Loo will also feel it. The greater evil indicated is to light, perhaps, on the ruler of Wei, and [the less] on the highest minister of Loo." The marquis said, "What does the ode (She, II. iv. ode IX. 2) mean, when it says,

'When the sun is eclipsed,  
How bad it is!'

The officer replied, "It shows the effects of bad government. When there is not good govt. in a State, and good men are not employed, it brings reproof to itself from the calamity of the sun and moon. Government, therefore, must not in any wise be neglected. The three things to be specially attended to in it are—1st, the selection of good men [for office]; 2d, consideration of the people; and 3d, the right observance of the seasons."

[We have five narratives appended here:—

1st. "An officer came to Loo from Tsin to settle the question about the lands of K'e (See on IX. xxix. 7), and Ke-sun was about to give Ch'ing [up] to him. Seay Seih, who was holding that city for Māng-sun, objected, saying, "There is a saying that though a man have only knowledge enough to carry a pitcher, as he is in charge of it, he must not lend it to another; and it expresses what is proper. My master is in attendance on our ruler; and if I lose the city of which I am in charge, [during his absence], even you yourself will be suspicious of me." Ke-sun replied, "Our ruler's being in Ts'oo is held by Tsin to be an offence; and if [in this matter] we do not listen to Tsin, Loo's offence will be aggravated. The army of Tsin will be upon us, and I am not prepared for it. We had better give the city [up], and when Tsin affords an opportunity, we can take it [again] from K'e. I will give you T'au [instead];—when Ch'ing is got back, who will dare to hold it [but Māng-sun]? You will thus get two Ch'ing. Loo will not have to sorrow, and Māng-sun will have an additional city. Why should you be distressed [by what I propose]?" Seay Seih objected to T'au, because there was no hill near it, on which Ke-sun gave him the hills of Lae and Tsoh. He then removed to T'au, and the officer of Tsin took Ch'ing in behalf of K'e."

2d. "The viscount of Ts'oo entertained the duke in his new tower, having a man with a long beard to direct [the ceremonies]. His gift of friendship [to the duke] was the [bow called] Ta-k'eh. He repented afterwards that he had given it, and Wei Ke-k'ang, having heard that he did so, visited the duke, who told him about it, on which he bowed, and offered his congratulations. "What is there to congratulate me about?" said the duke. "Ts'e, Tsin, and Yueh," replied K'e-k'ang, "have wished to get this [bow] for a long time. Our ruler could not make up his mind to which to give it, and now he has given it to you. You must be prepared to withstand [the attempts of] those three neighbours [to take it from you], and carefully guard the precious treasure." The duke on this got frightened, and returned the article.

3d. "Tsze-ch'an having gone on a complimentary visit to Tsin, the marquis was then ill, and Han Seuen-tsze met the guest, and had a private conversation with him. "Our ruler," said he, "has been ill in bed, now for 3 months. We have been all running about and sacrificing to all the hills and streams in Tsin, but his illness has got worse instead of better. He has now dreamt that a yellow bear entered the door of his chamber;—what evil devil can that be?" "With a prince so intelligent as your ruler," replied Tsze-ch'an, "and with the government in your hands, what evil devil can there be? Anciently, when Yaou put K'wān to death on mount Yu, his spirit changed into a yellow bear, which entered into the abyss of Yu. He was under the Hsia dynasty the assessor at its sacrifice to Heaven, and in fact the three dynasties all sacrificed to him. Tsin, though lord of covenants, has perhaps not yet sacrificed to him." Han Seuen-tsze on this offered the Hsia sacrifice to Heaven, when the marquis became somewhat better, and gave to Tsze-ch'an the two square tripods of Keu.

"Tsze-ch'an, in behalf of Fung She, restored the lands of Chow (See the 2d narr. after iii. 2) to Han Seuen-tsze, saying "Formerly, your ruler, from regard to the ability with which Kung-sun T'wan discharged his duties, conferred on him the lands of Chow. Now he has, unfortunately, died an early death, and has not been able to enjoy long your ruler's kindness. His son does not presume to hold the lands. I do not presume to represent the matter to your ruler, and privately surrender them to you." Seuen-tsze declined the proffer, but Tsze-ch'an said to him, "People have the saying, 'The father split the firewood, and the son was not able to carry it.' She will be afraid lest he should not be able to sustain the weight of his father's office; how much less can he sustain the weight of that gift from your great State. Though it might be possible for him to do so, while the govt. is in your hands, yet with other men that will follow you, if there should come to be any words about border matters, our poor State will be held to be an offender, and the Fung family will experience the weight of [Tsin's] indignation. If you will take [back] Chow, you will save our poor State from any charge of offence, and you will make the Fung family stronger:—I venture to make it my request that you will do so." Seuen-tsze on this received Chow, and informed the marquis of it, who gave it to him. Because of what he had said before (See the narrative

already referred to), however, he was distressed by the idea of holding it, and exchanged it with Yeh Ta-sin for the district of Yuen.

4th. 'The people of Ch'ing frightened one another about Pih-yêw (See on IX. xxx. 7), saying, "Pih-yêw is here!" on which they would all run off, not knowing where they were going to. In the 2d month of the year when the descriptions of punishments were cast (*i.e.*, the last year), one man dreamt that Pih-yêw walked by him in armour, and said, "On Jin-tsze I will kill Tae, and next year, on Jin-yin. I will kill T'wan." When Sze Tae did die on Jin-tsze, the terror of the people increased. [This year], in the month that Ts'e and Yen made peace, on Jin-yin, Kung-sun T'wan died, and the people were still more frightened, till in the following month Tsze Ch'an appointed Kung-sun Sêh (Son of Tsze-k'ung, the Kung-tsze K'ea, put to death in the 19th year of duke Sêng), and Lêang Che (Son of Pih-yêw), [as successors to their fathers], in order to soothe the people, after which [their terrors] ceased. Tsze-t'ae-shuh asked his reason for making these arrangements, and Tsze-ch'an replied, "When a ghost has a place to go to, it does not become an evil spirit. I have made such a place for the ghost." "But why have you done so with Kung-sun Sêh?" pursued T'ae-shuh. "To afford a reason for my conduct," was the reply. "I contrived that there might be such a reason, because of the unrighteousness [of Pih-yêw]. The administrator of government has his proper course; and if he takes the contrary one, it is that he may give pleasure [to the people]. If they are not pleased with him, they will not put confidence in him; and if they do not put confidence in him, they will not obey him."

'When Tsze-ch'an went to Tsin, Chaou King-tze asked him whether it was possible for Pih-yêw to become a ghost. "Yes," replied Tsze-ch'an. "When a man is born, [we see] in his first movements what is called the animal soul. After this has been produced, it is developed into what is called the spirit. By the use of things the subtle elements are multiplied, and the soul and spirit become strong. They go on in this way, growing in etherealness and brightness, till they become [thoroughly] spiritual and intelligent. When an ordinary man or woman dies a violent death, the soul and spirit are still able to keep hanging about men in the shape of an evil apparition; how much more might this be expected in the case of Lêang S'caou, a descendant of our former ruler duke Muh, the grandson of Tsze-lêang, the son of Tsze-urh, all ministers of our State, engaged in its government for three generations! Although Ch'ing be not great, and in fact, as the saying is, an insignificant State, yet belonging to a family which had held for three generations the handle of government, his use of things had been extensive, the subtle essences which he had imbibed had been many. His clan also was a great one, and his connexions were distinguished. Is it not entirely reasonable that, having died a violent death, he should be a ghost?"

5th. 'Among the members of Tsze-p'ê's clan there were measureless drinkers, in consequence of which there arose enmity between Ma-sze and Tsze-p'ê. In the month when the army of Ts'e returned from Yen, Han Shoh (Ma-sze) killed

Han T'ny (a brother of Tsze-p'ê), and fled to Tsin. Han Seuen-tsze asked Tsze-ch'an what rank should be assigned to him, and was answered, "He is a refugee with your ruler. If he be received by you so that he shall escape death, what rank will he dare to seek? It is the ancient rule, that when a minister withdraws [from his State], his rank becomes that of a great officer, and that criminals descend according to their crimes. In our State Soh was a great officer of the second degree. His office was that of Master of the Horse (Ma-sze, 馬師). He fled after the commission of a crime. Assign to him whatever place you, as administrator of the govt. [of Tsin], please. If he escape death, your kindness will be great. How dare he beyond that ask for any rank?" Han Seuen-tsze, out of regard to the ability of Tsze-ch'an, made Soh be ranked among great officers of the lowest degree."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"In the 8th month, duke Sêng of Wei died. One of the great officers of Tsin spake to Fan Hên-tsze, saying, "Wei's service of Tsin has been most faithful, and Tsin has not treated it with courteous propriety. It has protected its rebel (Sun Lin-foo; see on IX. xxvi. 2, *et al.*), and accepted his territory, causing disaffection among the States. The ode (She, II. i. ode iv. 3 and 2) says,

'There is the wagtail on the plain;—  
A brother brings swift succour in  
difficulty;

and again,

'On the dreaded occasions of death and  
mourning,  
They are brothers who will greatly sym-  
pathize.'

If we do not cultivate harmony with [the States of] our brethren, and so do not condole with them [in their sorrows], how much more will we behave so to States that are not related to us! and who will seek our alliance? If now we go on to show discourtesy to the heir of Wei, that State is sure to revolt from us,—we shall be cutting ourselves off from the States." Hên-tsze reported these remarks to Han Seuen-tsze, who was pleased with them, and sent Hên-tsze to Wei to offer condolences, and also restored to it the lands of Ts'eh.

'Ts'e Goh of Wei went to announce the duke's death in Chow, and also begged an expression of [the king's] favour. The king sent duke Kên of Ch'ing to Wei to present his condolences, and gave the following expression of his favour to the deceased duke Sêng:—"My uncle has ascended in his reverence, and is at the right and left of the kings, my predecessors, to assist them in the service of God. I dare not forget [our ancestors] Kaou-yu and A-yu."

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, the duke arrived from Ts'oo. Măng He-tsze felt distressed that he had not been able to direct the ceremonial observances (See on par. 2), and set about learning them. If there were any one well skilled in them, he would repair to him. [Afterwards], when he was about to die, he called to him his great officers, and said to them, "[A knowledge of] propriety is the stem of a man. Without it, it is impossible for him to

stand firm. I have heard that there is arising a man of vast intelligence, called K'ung K'ew, a descendant of the sage [T'ang], but whose family was driven [to Loo] from Sung. His ancestor Fuh-foo Ho might have possessed Sung, but he resigned it to duke Le. After him there was Ch'ing K'au-foo who gave his aid to [the dukes] Tae, Woo, and Seuen. He rose to the third degree of office, and with every step his humility increased. Hence the inscription on the tripod [in his ancestral temple] said, "When he got the 1st appointment, he walked with his head bowed down. When he got the 2d, with his shoulders bent; when he got the 3d, with his whole body bent. In this way he hurried along the walls, [saying to himself], "Thus no one will presume to despise me. I will have congee in this [boiler]; I will have gruel in this [boiler].—to satisfy my hunger (See the prolegomena to vol. IV., par. 18)." Such was his humility. [Now], Tsang-sun Heih used to say, "If a sagely man of brilliant virtue do not get distinguished in his time, among his posterity there is sure to be some one of vast intelligence." This is now to be verified, probably, in K'ung K'ew. If I get to die a natural death, you must put Yueh and Ho-ke under his charge, making them serve him and learn ceremonial observances from him, in order that they may be established in their places."

'In this way Măng E-tsze (Ho-ke) and Nan-kung King-shuh (Yueh) became disciples of Chung-ne. Chung-ne said, "He who can mend his errors is a superior man. The ode (She, II. i. ode I. 2) says,

'The officers have in them a model for  
imitation.'

Măng He-tsze may serve for such a model."

[There is here a brief notice:—"Hên, viscount of Shen, threw on one side his relatives, and employed refugees. This winter, in the 10th month, on Sin-yêw, the clans descended from [the dukes] Sêng and K'ing, put duke Hên to death, and appointed [his younger brother], duke Ch'ing, in his room."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"In the 11th month, Ke Woo-tsze died. The marquis of Tsin said to Pih-hêa, "What you said, when I asked you about the eclipse of the sun, has been fulfilled. May such verification be constantly calculated on?" "No," was the reply. "The six things are not the same. People's minds are not one. The order of things is not similar. Offices and duties are not of the same pattern. The beginning may be the same, and the end different. How can the verification be constantly calculated on? The ode (She, II. vi. ode I. 4) says,

'Some enjoy their ease and rest;  
Some are all-worn in the service of the State.'

Such may be the difference of the end." "What do you mean by the six things?" said the marquis. Pih-hêa replied, "The year, the seasons, the days, the months, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces." The duke continued, "Tell me more. What do you mean by saying that the zodiacal spaces are not the same?" "The conjunctions of the sun and moon," was the answer, "form what are called the zodiacal spaces. Hence they serve to order the regulation of the days [of the months]."

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"The lady K'ang, wife of duke Sêng of Wei, had no son, but his favourite, Chow-goh, bore to him, first of all, Chih. K'ung Ch'ing-tsze dreamt that K'ang-shuh (The 1st marquis of Wei) told him that he must secure the succession to Yuen, adding, "I will make Ke's grandson Yu, and Sze Kow, his ministers." Sze Chaou also dreamt that K'ang-shuh said to him, "I will appoint your son Kow, and Yu, the great-grandson of K'ung Ching-ts'oo, to be ministers to Yuen." Chaou went to see Ch'ing-tsze, and told him this dream,—agreeing with that which he had had.

'In the year that Han Seuen-tsze became chief minister of Tsin, and went paying complimentary visits to the States, Chow-goh bore a [second] son, and gave him the name of Yuen. The feet of Măng-chia were not good, so that he was feeble in walking. K'ung Ch'ing-tsze consulted the Chow Yih by the reeds, propounding the inquiry whether Yuen would enjoy the State of Wei, and preside over its altars; and he got the diagram Chun (屯, ䷂). He also propounded the inquiry whether he should set up Chih, and if this appointment would be acceptable, in answer to which he got Chun and then P'ê (比, ䷇). He showed these results to Sze Chaou, who said, "Under Chun we have the words, 'Great and penetrating (元亨); as if 'Great' were the name Yuen);' after this, can you have any doubts?" "But is it not," said Ch'ing-tsze, "a description of the elder?" "K'ang-shuh," was the reply, "so named him, and we may therefore interpret it of the superior. Măng is not a [complete] man; he cannot have a place in the ancestral temple; he cannot be pronounced the superior. And moreover, under Chun it is said, 'A prince must be set up.' If the heir were lucky, no other would have to be set up. That term indicates another, and not the heir. The same words occur in both your divinations. You must set up Yuen. K'ang-shuh commanded it, and both your diagrams direct it. When the reeds accorded with his dream, king Woo followed them. If you do not do so, what will you do? He who is feeble in walking must remain at home. The prince has to preside at the altars, to be present at sacrifices, take the charge of the people and officers, serve the Spirits, attend at conferences and visit other courts; how is it possible that he should remain at home? Is it not right that each [of the brothers] should have what is most advantageous to him?" In consequence of this, K'ung Ch'ing-tsze appointed [Yuen or] duke Ling in his father's place; and in the 12th month, on Kwei-hae, duke Sêng was buried.'



## Eighth year.

八年春，陳侯之弟招殺陳世子偃師。<sup>一</sup>夏四月辛丑，陳侯溺卒。<sup>二</sup>叔弓如晉。<sup>三</sup>楚人執陳行人干徵師，殺之。<sup>四</sup>陳公子留，出奔鄭。<sup>五</sup>秋，蒐于紅。<sup>六</sup>陳人殺其大夫公子過。<sup>七</sup>大雩。<sup>八</sup>冬十月壬午，楚師滅陳，執陳公子招，放之于越，殺陳孔奐。<sup>九</sup>葬陳哀公。<sup>十</sup>

①左傳曰：八年春，石言於晉魏榆，晉侯問於師曠，曰：石何故言？對曰：石不能言，或馮焉？不然，民聽濫也。抑臣又聞之曰：作事不時，怨讎動於民，則有非言之物而言，今宮室崇侈，民力彫盡，怨讎並作，莫保其性，石言不亦宜乎？於是晉侯方築虎祁之宮，叔向曰：子野之言，君子哉，君之言信而有徵，故怨遠於其身，小人之言，僭而無徵，故怨咎及之。詩曰：哀哉不能言，匪舌是出，唯躬是瘁，哿矣能言，巧言如流，俾躬處休，其是之謂乎？是官也成，諸侯必叛，君必有咎，夫子知之矣。

陳哀公元妃鄭姬生悼犬子偃師，二妃生公子留，下妃生公子勝，二妃嬖，留有寵，屬諸司徒招與公子過，哀公有廢疾，三月甲申，公子招、公子過殺悼犬子偃師而立公子留。

夏四月辛亥，哀公薨。

叔弓如晉，賀虎祁也。游吉相鄭伯以如晉，亦賀虎祁也。史趙見子犬叔，曰：甚哉其相蒙也，可弔也，而又賀之。子犬叔曰：若何？甲也，其非唯我賀將天下實賀。

干徵師赴於楚，且告有立君，公子勝愬之於楚，楚人執而殺之，公子留奔鄭。書曰：陳侯之弟招殺陳世子偃師。

罪在招也。楚人執陳行人干徵師，殺之，罪不在行人也。秋，大蒐于紅，自根牟至於商衛，革車千乘。

②七月甲戌，齊子尾卒，子旗欲治其室，丁丑，殺梁嬰。八月庚戌，逐子成，子工，子車皆來奔，而立子良氏之宰。其臣曰：孺子長矣，而相吾室，欲兼我也。授甲將攻之。陳桓子善於子尾，亦授甲將助之，或告子旗，子旗不信，則數人告將往，又數人告於道，遂如陳氏。桓子將出矣，聞之而還，游服而逆之，請命。對曰：聞彊氏授甲將攻子，子聞諸，曰：弗聞。子盍亦授甲，無宇請從。子旗曰：子胡然？彼孺子也，吾誨之，猶懼其不濟，吾又寵秩之，其若先人何？子盍謂之周書曰：惠不惠，茂不茂，康叔所以服弘大也。桓子稽顙曰：頃靈福子，吾猶有望，遂和之如初。

陳公子招歸罪於公子過而殺之。

九月，楚公子棄疾帥師，奉孫吳圍陳，宋戴惡會之。冬十一月壬午，滅陳，與嬖袁克殺馬毀玉以葬。楚人將殺之，請寘之，既又請私，私於幄，加經於顙而逃，便穿封戌爲陳公，曰：城麇之役，不詔待飲酒於王，王曰：城麇之役，汝知寡人之及此，汝其辟寡人乎？對曰：若知君之及此，臣必致死，禮以息楚。晉侯問於史趙曰：陳其遂亡乎？對曰：未也。公曰：何故？對曰：陳顯頊之族也，歲在鶉火，是以卒滅，陳將如之，今在析木之津，猶將復由，且陳氏得政於齊，而後陳卒亡，自幕至于瞽瞍，無違命，舜重之以明德，寘德於遂，遂世守之，及胡公不淫，故周賜之姓，使祀虞帝，臣聞盛德必百世祀，虞之世數未也，繼守將在齊，其兆既存矣。

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, Shaou, younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, put to death Yen-se, heir-son of the State.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-ch'ow, Neih, marquis of Ch'in, died.
- 3 Shuh Kung went to Tsin.
- 4 The people of Ts'oo seized Kan Ching-se, the messenger of Ch'in, and put him to death.
- 5 The Kung-tsze Lëw of Ch'in fled from that State to Ch'ing.
- 6 In autumn, we held a review in Hung.
- 7 The people of Ch'in put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Kwo.

8 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, an army of Ts'oo extinguished Ch'in, seized the Kung-tsze Shaou and banished him to Yuch, and put to death K'ung Hwan.

10 There was the burial of duke Gae of Ch'in.

Parr. 1, 2, 4, 5. [The Chuen has a narrative of a stone talking, which has place here:—'This spring, a stone spoke in Wei-yu of Tsin. The marquis asked the music-master Kwang why it was that it did so, and was answered, "Stones cannot speak. Perhaps this was possessed [by a Spirit]. If not, then the people heard wrong. And yet I have heard, that when things are done out of season, and discontent and complaints are stirring among the people, then speechless things do speak. Now palaces are reared, lofty and extravagant, and the strength of the people is tasked to an exhausting degree. Discontent and complaints are everywhere rife, [people feeling that] their life is not worth preserving. Is it not right that in such circumstances stones should speak?" At this time the marquis was engaged in building the palace of Sze-k'e.

'Shuh-hëang said, "The words of Tsze-yay (The music-master) show him to be a superior man. The words of a superior man are true and supported by evidence, so that they keep enmity far from his own person; but the words of a small person are false and without evidence, so that enmity and blame come upon himself. Herein we have an illustration of what is said in the ode (She, II. iv. ode X. 5),

'Alas that right words cannot be spoken,  
Which come not from the tongue [only]!  
The speakers of them are sure to suffer.  
It is well for the words that can be spoken;  
The artful speech flows like a stream,  
And the speakers dwell thereby in prosperity.'

When this palace has been completed, the States are sure to revolt, and our ruler will bear the blame. This [the music-master] is aware of."

This brother of the marquis of Ch'in appears in i. 2, as the Kung-tsze Shaou. The Chuen says:—'The head wife of duke Gae of Ch'in, a Ke of Ch'ing, bore to him Yen-sze, [known as] Taou the eldest son. The second wife bore him the Kung-tsze Lëw, and the third bore him the Kung-tsze Shing. The second wife was the favourite, and Lëw in consequence had more regard shown to him [than his brothers had], and was entrusted to the care of Shaou, minister of Instruction, and the Kung-tsze Kwo. [At this time], duke Gae was suffering from an incurable disease, and in the 3d month, on Këah-shin, the Kung-tszes Shaou and Kwo killed Taou the eldest son, Yen-sze, and raised the Kung-tsze Lëw to his place.

'In summer, in the 4th month, on Sin-hae, duke Gae strangled himself.

'Kan Ching-sze went to Ts'oo to announce [the marquis's death], and the appointment of a [new ruler]. The Kung-tsze Shing [at the same time] accused him to Ts'oo, where they seized and put him to death, on which the Kung-tsze Lëw fled to Ch'ing.

'The words of the text, "Shaou, brother of the marquis of Ch'in, killed its heir-son Yen-

sze," show the guilt of Shaou, while the statement that "The viscount of Ts'oo seized Ch'in's messenger Kan Ching-sze, and put him to death," shows that the guilt did not rest on the messenger (?).

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Shuh Kung went to Tsin, to offer congratulations on [the completion of the palace of] Sze-k'e. Yëw Keih attended the earl of Ch'ing to Tsin, also to offer similar congratulations. The historiographer Chaou visited him, Tsze-t'ae-shuh, and said, "Most excessive is the delusion you practise on one another. The thing is matter for condolence, and yet you offer congratulations on it." The other replied, "How is it matter for condolence? It is not we only who offer congratulations on it. [All the States] under heaven are sure to do the same."

Par. 6. The Chuen says that at this review the leather or war-chariots, collected from Kin-mow (On the east of Loo) to the borders of Shang (I. e., Sung) and Wei, amounted to a thousand. Hung was in Loo, but where it was exactly remains a matter of doubt. 蒐 is the

name of the spring hunting, and many of the critics find matter for remark in the employment of the name for what was done in autumn, to the hunting in which the term 獮 is appropriate. But these terms are interchanged (Maou; 通稱) in the sense which 蒐 has here of a military review. Too explains it by 數軍

實, 簡車馬, 'A numbering of the equipments of the army, and an examination of the chariots and horses.' Similarly, Kung-yang;—簡車徒. Too thinks that the character 'grand' has been inadvertently omitted at the beginning of the par. Other critics call attention to the omission of 公, characteristic of this and other subsequent similar notices, accounting for it from the fact that the military power of Loo was now in the hands of the three families, and the ruler had nothing to do with it.

[We have a narrative here about affairs in Ts'e:—'In the 7th month, on Këah-seuh, Tsze-we of Ts'e died. Tsze-k'e, wishing to take the regulation of his House, on Ting-ch'ow put to death Lëang Ying (Tsze-we's steward). In the 8th month, on Këng-sënh, he drove out Tsze-ch'ing, Tsze-kung, and Tsze-keu, all of whom came fugitives to Loo; and he then appointed a [new] steward for Tsze-lëang (Tsze-we's son). [Tsze-lëang's] servants, however, said, "Our young master is grown up. His taking the direction of our House shows that he wishes to absorb it." They gave out the buff-coats, and were proceeding to attack Tsze-k'e.

'Ch'in Hwan-tsze had been on good terms with Tsze-we, and also gave out his buff-coats, intending to assist [the servants of Tsze-lëang]. One told Tsze-k'e [of all this], and he did not believe it; but when several men repeated the information, he was about to go [to Tsze-lëang's]. On the way several others brought him the same news, when he went to Ch'in's. Hwan-tsze was then about to go out; but when he heard [that Tsze-k'e was coming to him], he turned back, put on his garments of ease, and met him. [Tsze-k'e] begged him to tell him [where he was going]. "I had heard," replied he, "that K'ëang [Tsze-lëang] had given out his buff-coats, and was going to attack you, have you heard it?" Being answered, "No," [he continued], "Why should you not also give out your buff-coats, and allow me to follow you?" Tsze-k'e said, "Why should you do so? I have instructed that young gentleman, and, apprehensive lest that should not be enough, I have also shown him the favour of appointing [a steward] for him. How would [our quarrelling] appear to his father? Why should you not tell him this? One of the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix. 6) says, 'Be kind to the unkindly, and stimulate the sluggish';—it was thus that the doings of K'ang-shuh became so great." Hwan-tsze bowed with his forehead to the ground, saying, "[The dukes] K'ing and Ling will bless you. I also hope you will do thus." He then made peace between [the two families], as there had been before."

Parr. 7, 9. Kung-yung h. s. 援 for 兇. The Chuen says:—'The Kung-tsze Shaou of Ch'in laid the blame [of the murder of Yen-sze] on the Kung-tsze Kwo, and put him to death.

'In the 9th month, the Kung-tsze K'e-tsih of Ts'oo led a force, [as if] in support of [the Kung-] sun Woo (Yen-sze's son), and laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'in, where he was joined by Tae Goh of Sung. In winter in the 11th month, on Jin-woo, he extinguished Ch'in. Yuen K'ih a great officer of the lowest degree, master of [the duke's] chariots, [wanted to] kill horses and break articles of jade in pieces, to bury [with the duke]. The people of Ts'oo would have put him to death, when he asked leave to let the horses and jade alone. Afterwards, he also begged that he might privately [do his duty to his late ruler's corpse]; and having done so in a tent, he wrapt a mourning band about his head, and fled.

'[The king of Ts'oo then] appointed Ch'uen-fung Seuh duke of Ch'in, saying it was because

Seuh had not flattered him in the affair at Shing-keun (See after IX. xxvi. 4). When he was sitting near the king as they were drinking, the king said to him, "At the affair of Shing-keun, if you had known that I would reach my present position, would you then have given place to me?" Seuh replied, "If I had known that you would reach your present position, I would have done my duty to the death, to secure the peace of the State of Ts'oo.

'The marquis of Tsin asked the historiographer Chaou whether Ch'in was now indeed to perish, and was answered that its end was not yet. "Why [do you say so]?" asked the duke. The historiographer replied, "[The house of] Ch'in is a branch of the descendants of Chuen-heuh. When the year [i. e., star, Jupiter] was in Shun-ho, [the dynasty of Chuen-heuh] was thereby extinguished; and the extinction of Ch'in will happen similarly. Now it is in Seih-muh, at the ford of the Milky Way;—[Ch'in] will still again arise. Moreover, the branch of the House of Ch'in which is in Ts'e will get the government of that State, and not till after that will Ch'in perish. From Moh to Koo-sow there was not [a chief of the family] who acted contrary to the laws [of Heaven]. Shun then renewed the family by his brilliant virtue, which secured the establishment [of his descendants] in Su. From age to age they kept that State, till Chow conferred his surname on duke Hoo because of his freedom from all excess, and made him sacrifice to the emperor Yu (Shun). I have heard that sacrifices to [an ancestor of] complete virtue continue for a hundred generations. The number of the generations of Yu is not yet complete. The continuation of them will be in Ts'e;—there are sufficient indications of that."

Many critics read the 10th par. as belonging to the preceding one, so that the burial of the marquis of Ch'in was the act of Ts'oo. There would be no difficulty in accepting this construction, but for the account in the Chuen, which ascribes the burial to Yuen K'ih, an inferior officer of the deceased marquis. Too Yu understands the notice in the same way as the many similar ones of burials in this classic, and says that Loo sent a great officer to be present at it. The K'ang-he editors allow that the notice is to be accepted according to the analogy of similar ones, and yet they say that Loo did not by a representative take any part in the funeral! The entry was made, they fancy, 'by a change of the rule' for such notices, to disallow Ts'oo's extinction of the State of Ch'in!

Ninth year.

冬<sup>五</sup>如<sup>齊</sup>秋<sup>四</sup>災<sup>災</sup>夏<sup>三</sup>許<sup>許</sup>于<sup>于</sup>弓<sup>弓</sup>九<sup>九</sup>  
築<sup>築</sup>郎<sup>郎</sup>圉<sup>圉</sup>齊<sup>齊</sup>仲<sup>仲</sup>孫<sup>孫</sup>饗<sup>饗</sup>四<sup>四</sup>月<sup>月</sup>陳<sup>陳</sup>遷<sup>遷</sup>于<sup>于</sup>夷<sup>夷</sup>陳<sup>陳</sup>楚<sup>楚</sup>子<sup>子</sup>春<sup>春</sup>叔<sup>叔</sup>

左傳曰：九年，春，叔弓、宋華亥、鄭游吉、衛趙驥會楚子于陳。二月，庚申，楚公子棄疾遷許于夷，實城父，取州來淮北之田以益之。伍舉授許男田，然丹遷城父人於陳，以夷濮西田益之。遷方城外，人於許。

○周甘人與晉閻嘉爭閻田。晉梁丙、張馮率陰戎伐潁。王使詹桓伯辭於晉曰：「我自夏以后稷，魏駘、芮岐畢，吾西土也。及武王克商，蒲姑、商奄，吾東土也。巴、濮楚鄧，吾南土也。肅慎、燕亳，吾北土也。吾何邇封之有？文武成康之建母弟，以蕃屏周，亦其廢隊是爲。豈如弁髦而因以敝之？先王居櫛於四裔，以禦魑魅，故允姓之姦居於瓜州。伯父惠公歸自秦，而誘以來，使偪我諸姬，入我郊甸，則我焉取之？戎有中國，誰之咎也？后稷封殖天下，今戎制之，不亦難乎？伯父圖之。我在伯父，猶衣服之有冠冕，木水之有本原，民人之有謀主也。伯父若裂冠毀冕，拔本塞原，專棄謀主，雖戎狄其何有？余一人，叔向謂宣子曰：「文之伯也，豈能改物，翼戴天子，而加之以共，自文以來，世有衰德，而暴滅宗周，以宣示其侈，諸侯之貳，不亦宜乎？且王辭直，子其圖之。」宣子說，王有姻喪，使趙成如周弔，且致閻田，與繇反，頴俘。王亦使賓滑執甘大夫襄，以說於晉。晉人禮而歸之。

夏四月，陳災。鄭裨竈曰：「五年，陳將復封，封五十二年而遂亡。」子產問其故，對曰：「陳水屬也，火，水妃也，而楚所相也。今火出而火陳，逐楚而建陳也。妃以五成，故曰五年。歲五及鶉火，而後陳卒亡。楚克有之，天之道也。」故曰五十二年。

○晉荀盈如齊逆女，還，六月，卒于戲陽。殯于絳，未葬。晉侯飲酒樂，膳宰屠蒯趨入，請佐公使尊。許之，而遂酌以飲。工曰：「汝爲君耳，將司聰也。」辰在子卯，謂之疾日。君徹宴樂，學人舍業爲疾故也。君之卿佐，是謂股肱，股肱或虧，何痛如之？汝弗聞而樂，是不聰也。又飲外嬖嬖叔曰：「女爲君目，將司明也。」服以旌禮，禮以行事，事有其物，物有其容。今君之容，非其物也，而汝不見，是不明也。亦自飲也。曰：「味以行氣，氣以實志，志以定言，言以出令，臣實

司味，二御失官。而君弗命，臣之罪也。公欲廢知氏，而立其外嬖，爲是使荀躒佐下月，使荀躒佐下軍，以說焉。孟僖子如齊，殷聘禮也。冬，築郎囿。書時也。季平子欲其速成也，叔孫昭子曰：「詩曰：『經始勿亟，庶民子來。』」焉用速成？其以勸民也，無囿猶可，無民其可乎？

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, Shuh Kung went to an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo in Ch'in.  
 2 Heu removed [its capital] to E.  
 3 In summer, in the fourth month, there was a fire in [the capital of] Ch'in.  
 4 In autumn, Chung-sun K'eh went to Ts'e.  
 5 In winter, we enclosed the park of Lang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This spring, Shuh Kung, Hwa Hae of Sung, Y'ew Keih of Ch'ing, and Chaou Yen of Wei, had a meeting with the viscount of Ts'oo in Ch'in.'

This was not one of the formal meetings summoned by the ruling State, and therefore the text does not give the names of the ministers of other States who now repaired to Ch'in to see the king of Ts'oo. His dealing with Ch'in had fluttered them all, and they hurried to pay their respects to him. Compare VII. xv. 1. To mark the difference between this and the other usage of 會, I have translated the term differently.

Par. 2. We saw, in VII. xv. 11, how Heu, to escape the pressure of Ch'ing, moved from its original capital in the present Heu Chow, Ho-nan, to Sheh, which is still the name of a district, in Nan-yang dep. of the same province. The same cause operated to produce a removal, still farther south and nearer to Ts'oo, to E, which had formerly been called Shing-foo, 70 li south-east from Poh-chow (亳州), dep.

Ying-chow (潁州), in Gan-hwuy. The movement was carried out by Ts'oo but originated in the desire of Heu itself; and hence the text ascribes it to Heu.

The Chuen says:—'In the 2d month, on K'ang-shin, the Kung-tze K'e-tsih of Ts'oo removed [the capital, of] Heu to E, i. e., to Shing-foo, and took the lands of Chow-lae on the north of the Hwae to increase its territory. Woo Keu delivered over those lands to the baron of Heu; and [at the same time] Jen Tan removed the people of Shing-foo (i. e. E) to Ch'in, giving them in addition the lands of E on the west of the Puh. He also removed the people outside [Ts'oo's] barrier wall to [the old capital of] Heu.'

[We have here a narrative about the relations between Chow and Tsin:—The commandant of Kan in Chow had a quarrel with K'ea, the commandant of Yen in Tsin, about the lands of Yen; on which L'ang Ping and Chang Teih of Tsin led the Yin Jung to attack Ying. The king then sent Hwan-pih of Chen to address the following remonstrance to Tsin:—'We [of Chow], from the time of the H'ea dynasty, in

consequence of [the services of] How-tseih, had Wei, T'ae, Juy, K'e, and Peih as our territories on the west. When king Woo subdued Shang, P'oo-koo and Shang-yen were our territories on the east; Pa, Puh, Ts'oo, and Tang, our territories on the south; Shuh-shin, Yen, and Poh, our territories on the north:—no narrow limits could be assigned to our boundaries. When W'an, Woo, Ch'ing, and K'ang granted fiefs to their own brothers, that they might be fences and screens to Chow, it was also as a precaution against weakness and losses [in the future]:—was it that they should be like the [first] cap for the hair which is subsequently thrown away? The ancient kings located T'ao-wuh in [one of] the four distant regions, to encounter the sprites and other evil things (See on VI. xviii. 9), and so it was that the villains of the surname Yun dwelt in Kwa-chow. When [our] uncle, [your] duke Hwuy, returned from Ts'in (In the 15th year of duke He), he induced them to come in this direction (In He's 22d year), so that they have since pressed on all our Ke States, and entered our suburbs and the districts beyond them;—these the Jung have taken to themselves. That the Jung have thus [a footing in] the Middle State, whose is the blame? How-tseih [taught how to] divide the lands and sow grain all under heaven, and now the Jung regulate them after their own fashion;—is not the case a hard one? Let my uncle well consider it. I am to you as the cap or crown to the other garments, as the root to the tree, or the spring to the stream, as their counsellor to the people. If you tear the cap and break the crown in pieces, tear up the root, stop up the spring, and take it on you to cast the counsellor away, what can be expected by me, the One man, from the Jung and the Teih?'

'Shuh-h'ang said to Seuen-tze, "Even W'an, as leader of the States, was not able to change the order of the kingdom. He acted as the supporter of the son of Heaven, showing towards him extraordinary respect. Since the time of W'an, our virtue has decayed generation after generation, and we have tyrannized over and reduced lower and lower the Head of Chow, thereby proclaiming the extravagance of our course. Is it not right that the States should become disaffected to us? And moreover the

king's words are right. Do you consider the case well?" Seuen-tszé was pleased; and as the king was then in mourning for one of the queen's kindred, he sent Chaou Ch'ing to Chow to offer condolences, and to surrender the lands of Yen, and present an offering of grave-clothes. He also sent back the captives of Ying. The king on his part made Pin Hwah seize S'ang, the commandant of Kan, to please Tsin, where, however, they treated him with courtesy, sending him afterwards back [to Chow].

Par. 3. Kung and Kuh have here 火 instead of 災.

The Chuen says:—"In the 4th month, there was a fire in Ch'in. P'e Tsaou of Ch'ing said, "In 5 years the State of Ch'in will be re-established; and after 52 years of re-establishment, it will finally perish." Taze-ch'an asked the reason [of his saying so], and he replied, "Ch'in, (As representing the dynasty of Chuen-heuh), belongs to [the element of] water. Fire is the antagonistic [element] to water, and is under the regulation of Ts'oo (The rulers of Ts'oo being descended from Chuh-yung). Now the Ho [star] has appeared, and kindled this fire in Ch'in, [indicating] the expulsion of Ts'oo and the establishment of Ch'in. Antagonistic elements are ruled by the number five [in their conjunctions]; and therefore I say in 5 years. The year [-star] must five times come to Shun-ho, and then Ch'in will finally perish, and Ts'oo be able to keep it in possession. This is the way of Heaven, and therefore I said 52 years."

Acc. to the explanation of Too, Jupiter was this year in Sing-ke (Sagittarius-Capricorn). In 5 years (Inclusive of the 1st and last), it would be in Ta-l'ang (Aries-Taurus), when Ch'in would be re-established; and in 4 years after it would be in Shun-ho (Cancer-Leo). When in 48 years it had been again 4 times in Shun-ho, these added to the above 4 years, give the 52 years mentioned.

In this par. and the 1st, as well as in the concluding par. of last year, the text continues to speak of Ch'in as if that State were still existing, after its extinction by Ts'oo. There would appear to be, it is thought, in this way of writing, some indication of Confucius' disapprobation of the procedure of Ts'oo.

[The Chuen appends here a narrative, which we find, with some differences, in the Le Ke, II. Pt. II. ii. 12:—"Seun Ying of Tsin had gone to Ts'e, to meet his bride; and as he was returning, he died, in the 6th month, at He-yang. While his coffin remained unburied in K'ang, the marquis was, [one day], drinking and enjoying himself, when the chief cook, T'oo Kwae, rushed into the apartment, and asked leave to assist the cupbearer. The duke having granted it, he proceeded to fill a cup, which he presented to the music-master, saying, "You are the ruler's ears, and should see to his hearing well. If the day be Ts'ze-maou, it is called an evil day, and the ruler does not feast on it nor have music, and learners give up their study [of music] on it;—because it is recognized as an evil day. The ruler's ministers and assistants are his limbs. If one of his limbs be lost, what equal occasion for sorrow could there be? You have not heard of this, and are practising your music here;—showing that your hearing is defective." He

then presented another cup to the inferior officer of the Exterior, the officer Shuh, saying, "You are the ruler's eyes, and should see to his seeing clearly. The dress is intended to illustrate the rules of propriety, and those rules are seen in the conduct of affairs. Affairs are managed according to the things [which are the subject of them]; and those things are shown in the appearance of the person. Now the ruler's appearance is not in accordance with the [great] thing [of to day], and you do not see this:—your seeing is defective." He also drank a cup himself, saying, "The combination of flavours [in diet] is to give vigour to the humours [of the body], the effect of which is to give fulness and stability to the mind. The mind is thus able to determine the words in which the orders of the government are given forth. To me belongs that combination of flavours, and as you two in attendance here have failed in the duties of your offices, and the ruler has given no orders [condemnatory of you], I am chargeable with the crime."

"The marquis was pleased, and ordered the spirits to be removed. Before this, he had wished to remove the Head of the Che family (Seun Ying) from his office, and to give it to a favourite officer of an extraneous clan; but in consequence of this incident he repented of his purpose and gave it up. In autumn, in the 8th month, he made Seun Leih (Ying's son) assistant-commander of the 3d army, by way of apology [for his dislike of the family]."

Par. 4. This Chung-sun K'eh is the M'ang He-tszé of whose ignorance of the rules and observances of propriety we read under the 7th year. For twenty years, since the 20th year of S'ang, there had been no interchange of complimentary visits between Loo and Ts'e. The present mission was therefore, dispatched on a grand scale. The Chuen says:—"M'ang He-tszé went to Ts'oo, to pay a complimentary visit of the completest order (殷盛):—which was proper."

Par. 5. This par. is literally, "We built the park of Lang." But the "building" must refer principally to the enclosing walls, and I have therefore translated 築 by "enclosed."

The Chuen says:—"We enclosed the park of Lang. Ke P'ing-tszé (Grand-son of Suh or Ke Woo-tszé) wished the work to be quickly completed; but Shuh-sun Ch'au-tszé said,

"When he planned the commencement, [he said], "Be not in a hurry;"

But the people came as if they were his children."

Why must it be quickly completed? That would tend to destroy the people. We can get on without a park; but can we get on without the people?" Lang,—see I. ix. 4, et al.

Tenth year.

十年春王正月。夏齊欒施來奔。秋七月季孫意如叔弓仲孫纘帥師伐莒。戊子晉侯彪卒。九月叔孫舍如晉葬晉平公。十有二月甲子宋公成卒。

左傳曰：十年春，王正月，有星出於婺女，鄭裨寵言於子產曰：七月戊子，晉君將死，今茲歲在顓頊之虛，姜氏任氏，實守其地，居其維首，而有妖星焉，告邑姜也。邑姜，晉之妣也。天以七紀，戊子，逢公以登，星斯於是乎出，吾是以譏之。

齊惠欒高氏，皆習酒，信內多怨，彊於陳鮑氏，而惡之。夏，有告陳桓子曰：子旂子良將攻陳，鮑亦告鮑氏。桓子授甲而如鮑氏，遭子良醉而騁，遂見文子，則亦授甲矣。使視二子，則皆將飲酒。桓子曰：彼雖不信，聞我授甲，則必逐我，及其飲酒也，先伐諸。陳鮑方睦，遂伐欒高氏。子良曰：先得公，陳鮑焉往。遂伐虎門，晏平仲端委立於虎門之外，四族召之，無所往。其徒曰：助陳鮑乎？曰：何善焉？助欒高乎？曰：庸愈乎？然則歸乎？曰：君伐焉，歸公召之，而後入。公卜使王黑以靈姑鉅率，吉。請斷三尺焉而用之。五月庚辰，戰於稷，欒高敗，又敗諸莊。國人追之，又敗諸鹿門。欒施高彊來奔，陳鮑分其室。晏子謂桓子必致諸公，讓德之主也。讓之謂懿德，凡有血氣，皆有爭心，故利不可彊，思義為愈。義，利之本也。蘊利生孽，姑使無蘊乎，可以滋長。桓子盡致諸公，而請老於莒。桓子召子山，私具幄幕器用，從者之衣履，而反棘焉。子商亦如之，而反其邑。子周亦如之，而與之夫子。反子城子公，公孫捷而皆益其祿。凡公子公孫之無祿者，私分之邑。國之貧約孤寡者，私與之粟。曰：詩云，陳錫載周，能施也。桓公是以霸，公與桓子莒之旁邑，辭穆孟姬為之。



請高唐陳氏始大。  
秋七月平子伐莒取郕獻俘始用人於亳社臧武仲在齊聞之曰周公其不饗魯祭乎周公饗義魯無義詩曰德音孔昭視民不佻佻之謂甚矣而壹用之將誰福哉。  
戊子晉平公卒鄭伯如晉及河晉人辭之游吉遂如晉。  
九月叔孫婁齊國弱宋華定衛北宮喜鄭罕虎許人曹人莒人邾人薛人杞人小邾人如晉葬平公也鄭子皮將以幣行子產曰喪焉用幣用幣必百兩百兩必千人千人至將不行不行必盡用之幾千人而國不亡子皮固請以行既葬諸侯之大夫欲因見新君叔孫昭子曰非禮也弗聽叔向辭之曰大夫之事畢矣而又命孤孤斬焉在衰經之中其以嘉服見則喪禮未畢其以喪服見是重受弔也大夫將若之何皆無辭以見子皮盡用其幣歸謂子羽曰非知之實難將在行之夫子知之矣我則不足書曰欲敗度縱敗禮我之謂矣夫子知度與禮矣我實縱欲而不能自克也昭子至自晉大夫皆見高彊見而退昭子語諸大夫曰為人子不可不慎也哉昔慶封亡子尾多受邑而稍致諸君君以爲忠而甚寵之將死疾於公宮輦而歸君親推之其子不能任是以在此忠爲令德其子弗能任罪猶及之難不慎也喪夫人之力棄德曠宗以及其身不亦害乎詩曰不自我先不自我後其是之謂乎。  
冬十二月宋平公卒初元公惡寺人柳欲殺之及喪柳熾炭於位將至則去之比葬又有寵。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, Lwan She of Ts'e came to Loo a fugitive.  
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, Ke-sun E-joo, Shuh Kung, and Chung-sun K'eh, led [our] army and invaded Keu.  
4 On Mow-tsze, P'ew, marquis of Tsin, died.  
5 In the ninth month, Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsin, to the burial of duke P'ing.  
6 In the twelfth month, on K'eah-tsze, Ch'ing, duke of Sung, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen gives here an astrological narrative:—This spring, in the king's first month, a [strange] star appeared in [the constellation] Woo-neu. P'e Tsaou of Ch'ing said to Tsze-ch'an, "In the 7th month, on Mow-tsze, the ruler of Tsin will die. This year, the year [star] is in the *heu* of Chuen-heu (*I. e.*, the zodiacal sign of Heuen-heaou, or Capricorn-

Aquarius). The Houses of K'ang and Jin (*I. e.*, of Ts'e and S'eh) are the guardians of the territory corresponding thereto. Right at the commencing constellation of that sign, there is this ominous star;—with a communication evidently to Yih K'ang, the ancestress of the House of Tsin. [The constellations of] heaven are arranged in sevens; and it was on Mow-tsze that duke Fung [anciently] ascended on high, when a [strange] star appeared in this same place. Thus it is that I make this observation."']

Par. 2. Instead of 齊 Kung-yang has 晉, having confounded the Lwan clan of Tsin, which had played a prominent part in the former period of the Ch'un Ts'ew, with that of Ts'e.

The Chuen says:—The chiefs of the families of Lwan and Kaou, which were descended from duke Hwuy of Ts'e, were both addicted to drink, gave credit to women's stories, and had many animosities. They felt themselves stronger than the families of Ch'in and Paou, and hated them. This summer, some one told Ch'in Hwan-tsze that Tsze-k'e (Lwan She) and Tsze-l'ang (Kaou K'ang) were about to attack the Ch'in and the Paou; and similar information was conveyed to the chief of the Paou. Hwan-tsze [on this] gave out his buff-coats, and proceeded to the house of Paou, when [on the way] he met Tsze-l'ang, dashing along in his chariot drunk. He went on, however, and saw W'an-tsze (Paou Kwoh), who also gave out his buff-coats, while they sent to see what the two chiefs were doing. It turned out that they were setting to to drink, but Hwan-tsze said, "Although our informant was not correct, yet when they hear that we have given out our buff-coats, they will be sure to [try to] drive us out. While they are drinking, let us take the initiative and attack them."

Ch'in and Paou were then on the best of terms, and accordingly they proceeded to attack the Lwan and Kaou. Tsze-l'ang said, "If we first get [the countenance of] the duke, where can Ch'in and Paou go to?" [The duke refusing to see them], they attacked the Hoo gate. Gan P'ing-chung took his place outside it in his court robes. The four clans all called him, but he would not go to any of them. His followers asked him whether he would help Ch'in and Paou, but he said that they had no goodness to make him do so. Would he help Lwan and Kaou then? They were no better, he said. Would he then return to his own house? "When the ruler is attacked," said he, "how should I return?" [By and by] the duke called him, and he entered the palace, where the duke consulted the tortoise-shell, as to whether he should give Wang Hih the [banner] Ling-koo-p'e, and order him to lead forth his troops. The answer being favourable, that officer asked leave to cut off 3 feet [from the border], and took the banner.

In the 5th month, on K'ang-shin, they fought near the altar of [How-] tseih, when Lwan and Kaou were defeated. They were defeated again in the Chwang [street], pursued by the people, and defeated a third time near the Luh gate, after which Lwan She and Kaou K'ang fled to Loo. Ch'in and Paou divided all their property between themselves, but Gan-tsze advised Hwan-tsze to surrender it to the duke, saying, "Courteous deference is the essential point of virtue. It is an admirable quality. All

who have blood and breath have a disposition to quarrel with one another, and hence gain is not to be sought for by violence. It is better to think of righteousness. Righteousness is the root of gain. The accumulation of gain produces misfortune; let me advise you for the present not to seek such accumulation. You will find such a course conduce to the growth of your superiority." On this Hwan-tsze gave up everything to the duke, and asked leave, as being old, to retire to [the city of] Keu. [Subsequently], he called Tsze-shaou (Who, with Tsze-shang and Tsze-chow, had been driven away in S'ang's 21st year) [back to Ts'e], privately provided for him tents and articles of furniture, and clothes and shoes for his followers, and restored [his city of] Keih. So he dealt by Tsze-shang, restoring his city; and by Tsze-chow, giving him [the city of] Foo-yu. He brought back [also] Tsze-shing, Tsze-kung, and Kung-sun Ts'eh (Driven out by Tsze-k'e in Ch'au's 8th year), and increased the emoluments of them all. To all the sons and grandsons of former rulers, who had no revenues, he gave cities of his own; and to all the poor and straitened, the orphans and widows, in the State, he distributed of his grain, saying, "The ode (She, III. i. ode I. 2) says,

'He displayed his gifts in every direction.'

So was [King W'an] able to dispense his bounties; and it was in this way that duke Hwan became the leader of the States."

The duke [wanted to] give to Hwan-tsze the city adjoining Keu, but he declined it. Muh M'ang-ke (The duke's mother) begged Kaou-t'ang for him; and the Ch'in family began to be greater than it had been.'

The text mentions the flight of Lwan She only, as Kaou K'ang was not a minister of Ts'e.

Par. 3. Here and afterwards Kung-yang has 隱如 for 意如. E-joo is Ke P'ing-tsze, who was now chief of the House of Ke-sun. The whole expedition was under him, but the text mentions the other commanders also, because they were all three ministers. Hoo Gan-kwoh confounds Shuh Kung with the chief of the Shuh-sun House. He may also have been in this expedition as assistant-commander to one or other of the others.

The Chuen says:—In the 7th month, P'ing-tsze invaded Keu, and took K'ang. In presenting his captives, he for the 1st time sacrificed a human victim at the altar of Poh. When Tsang Woo-chung heard of this in Ts'e, he said, 'The duke of Chow will not accept the sacrifice of Loo. What he accepts is righteousness, of which Loo has none. The ode (She, II. i. ode I. 2) says,

'Their virtuous fame is grandly brilliant; They show the people not to be mean.'

The disregard of the people in this must be pronounced excessive. Thus using men as victims, who will confer a blessing [on Loo]?"

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—On Mow-tsze, duke P'ing of Tsin died. The earl of Ch'ing was going [in consequence] to Tsin; but when he had got to the Ho, the people of Tsin declined his visit and Y'ew Keih then went on to Tsin.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—In the 9th month, Shuh-sun Ch'eh (*I. q.* Shay), Kwoh Joh of

大蒐于比蒲。<sup>五章</sup>仲孫矍

會邾子盟于祲祥。<sup>七章</sup>

秋季孫意如會晉韓起、

齊國弱、宋華亥、衛比宮

伉、鄭罕虎、曹人、杞人于

厥愁。

九月己亥葬我小君齊

歸。冬十有一月丁酉

楚師滅蔡、執蔡世子有、

以歸、用之。

左傳曰：十一年春，王二月，叔弓如宋，葬平公也。景王問於長弘曰：今茲諸侯，何實吉？何實凶？對曰：蔡侯般弑其君之歲也。歲在豕韋，弗過此矣。楚將有之，然壅也。歲及大梁，蔡復楚凶，天之道也。楚子在申，召蔡靈侯，靈侯將往。蔡大夫曰：王貪而無信，唯蔡於感。今幣重而言甘，誘我也，不如無往。蔡侯不可，三月丙申，楚子伏甲而饗蔡侯於申，醉而執之。夏四月丁巳，殺之，刑其士七十人。

公子棄疾帥師圍蔡。韓宣子問於叔向曰：楚其克乎？對曰：克哉。蔡侯獲罪於其君，而不能其民，天將假手於楚以斃之，何故不克？然辟聞之，不信以幸，不可再也。楚王奉孫吳以討於陳，曰：將定而國，陳人聽命，而遂縣之。今又誘蔡而殺其君，以圍其國，雖幸而克，必受其咎，弗能久矣。樂克有緡，以襲其國，紂克東夷，而隕其身。楚小位下，而亟暴於二王，能無咎乎？天之假助不善，非祚之也。厚其凶惡而降之罰也。且譬之如天，其有五材，而將用之，力盡而敝之，是以無極，不可沒振。

五月齊歸薨。大蒐于比蒲，非禮也。

孟僖子會邾莊公盟于祲祥，修好禮也。泉丘人有女，夢以其帷幕

both of those rules: but I gave way to my self-indulgence and desires, and was not able to deny myself."

"When Ch'au-tsze arrived from Ts'in, all the great officers visited him. Kaou K'chang, [also] came to see him, and when he had retired, Ch'au-tsze said to the great officers, "How careful ought a son to be! Formerly, when King Fung was driven into exile, Tsze-we received many cities, a few of which he gave up to his ruler. The marquis of Ts'e considered him loyal, and made him a great favourite. When he was near his death, he was taken ill in the marquis's palace; and when he was conveyed home in a hand carriage, the marquis himself assisted in pushing it along. His son could not sustain his office, and therefore he is [a fugitive] here. [The father's] loyalty was an excellent virtue, but the son could not sustain it [in the same way], and the charge of guilt came moreover on him;—the evil was that he was not careful. He has ruined what his father had achieved, thrown away his virtue, and emptied his ancestral temple, involving also his own person;—is not the injury he has done [great]? To him we may apply the words of the ode (II. iv. ode VII. 2),

[Why was this time] not before me,  
Or [why was it] not after me?"

Par. 6. For 成 Kung-yang has 戊. The historiographers appear to have inadvertently omitted the character 冬, 'in the winter,' at the beginning of this par.

The Chuen says:—"In winter, in the 12th month, duke P'ing of Sung died. Before this, [his son], duke Yuen, had hated the chief of the eunuchs, L'ew, and wished to put him to death (See on vi. 5). On [P'ing's] death, L'ew placed lighted charcoal in the [mourner's] place, [so as to make it warm], and when the duke was coming [to occupy it], he removed it. After the burial, he continued a favourite as before."

Eleventh year.

十有一年春，王二月，叔弓如宋，葬宋平公。夏四月丁巳，楚子虔誘蔡侯般，殺之于申。楚公子棄疾帥師圍蔡。五月甲申，夫人歸氏薨。

孟氏之廟，遂奔僖子。其僚從之，盟於清丘之社。曰：有子，無相棄也。僖子使助薳氏之筮，反自視祥，宿於薳氏，生懿子。及南宮敬叔於泉丘人，其僚無子，使字敬叔。

楚師在蔡，晉荀吳謂韓宣子曰：不能救陳，又不能救蔡，物以無親，晉之不能，亦可知也。己爲盟主，而不恤亡國，將焉用之？秋，會于厥慙，謀救蔡也。鄭子皮將行，子產曰：行不遠，不能救蔡也。蔡小而弗德，天將棄蔡，以壅楚，盈而罰之，蔡必亡矣。且喪君而能守者，鮮矣。三年，王其有咎乎？美惡周必復，王惡周矣。晉人使狐父請蔡於楚，弗許。

單子會韓宣子於戚，視下言徐。叔向曰：單子其將死乎？朝有著定，會有表，衣有禴，帶有結，會朝之言，必聞於表著之位，所以昭事序也。視不過結禴之中，所以道容貌也。言以命之，容貌以明之，失則有闕。今單子爲王官伯，而命事於會，視不登帶，言不過步，貌不道容，而言不昭矣。不道不共，不昭不從，無守氣矣。

九月，葬齊歸公。公不感，晉士之送葬者，歸以語史趙。史趙曰：必爲魯郊。侍者曰：何故？曰：歸姓也，不思親，祖不歸也。叔向曰：魯公室其卑乎？君有大喪，國不廢蒐，有三年之喪，而無一日之感，國不恤喪，不忌君也。君無感容，不顧親也。國不忌君，君不顧親，能無卑乎？殆其失國。

冬十一月，楚子滅蔡，用隱犬子於岡山。申無宇曰：不祥，五牲不相爲用，况用諸侯乎？王必悔之。

十二月，單成公卒。

楚子城陳，蔡不羹，使棄疾爲蔡公。王問於申無宇曰：棄疾在蔡，何如？對曰：擇子莫如父，擇臣莫如君，鄭莊公城櫟而寘子元焉，使昭公不立，齊桓公城穀而寘仲焉，至於今賴之。臣聞五大不在邊，五細不在庭，親不在外，羈不在內。今棄疾在外，鄭丹在內，君其少戒。王曰：國有大城，何如？對曰：鄭京櫟，實殺曼伯，宋蕭亳，實殺子游，齊渠丘，實殺無知，衛蒲戚，實出獻公，若由是觀之，則害於國，末大必折，尾大不掉，君所知也。

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's second month, Shuh Kung went to Sung, to the burial of duke P'ing.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-sze, K'een, viscount of Ts'oo, beguiled Pan, marquis of Ts'ae, to Shin, and there put him to death.
- 3 The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih of Ts'oo led an army and laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 4 In the fifth month, on K'eah-shin, the lady Kwei, wife [of duke S'ang], died.
- 5 We celebrated a grand review in P'e-p'oo.
- 6 Chung-sun K'eh had a meeting with the viscount of Choo, when they made a covenant in Ts'in-ts'ang.
- 7 In autumn, K'e-sun E-joo had a meeting with Han K'e of Tsin, Kwoh Joh of Ts'e, Hwa Hae of Sung, Pih-kung T'o of Wei, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'au and K'e, in Keueh-yin.
- 8 In the ninth month, on Ke-hae, we buried our duchess Ts'e Kwei.
- 9 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ting-y'ew, the army of Ts'oo extinguished Ts'ae, seized Y'ew, heir-son of the State, and carried him back [to Ts'oo], where he was sacrificed as a victim.

Par. 1. For 二月 Kung-yang has 正月. Tso-she repeats the words of the par., with hardly any alteration; for what reason it would be hard to say, unless the last four characters of the paragraph have been introduced into it from the Chuen.

Par. 2. The name of the king of Ts'oo originally was Wei (圍), but he had changed it to K'een. The mention of the name in the notice is quite anomalous. That the name of the marquis of Ts'ae should appear is in accordance with the general practice in the case of princes killed, or dying, or driven from their States, but the name of the prince inflicting the death or the banishment only appears in this place. Nearly half a dozen different explanations of the thing have been propounded, but it is not worth while to adjudicate among them, or to cast about for any new solution. Kuh-l'ang has 乾 for 虔, and 班 for 般.

The Chuen says:—“The king King asked Chang Hwang which of the princes would be lucky this year, and which would suffer evil in it, and was answered, “It will be disastrous for Ts'ae. This is the [return of the] year in which Pan, the marquis of Ts'ae, murdered his ruler (See IX. xxx. 2). The year [-star] is [again] in Ch'e-wei (Aquarius-Pisces); he will not go beyond this year. Ts'oo will possess Ts'ae;—but to the accumulation [of its own wickedness]. When the year [-star] reaches Ta-l'ang (Aries-Taurus), Ts'ae will be restored, and Ts'oo will have calamity;—this is the way of Heaven.”

“The viscount of Ts'oo, being in Shin, called the marquis Ling of Ts'ae to come to him. When the

marquis was about to go, the great officers of the State said, “The king is greedy, and has no good faith. He is full of indignation against Ts'ae. Now his offerings are great and his words are sweet;—he is beguiling us. You had better not go.” The marquis, however, would not be stopped.

“In the 3d month, on Ping-shin, the viscount of Ts'oo entertained the marquis of Ts'ae in Shin, having [previously] placed soldiers in concealment, who seized the marquis when he was drunk. In the 4th month, on Ting-sze, [the viscount] put him to death, and killed [also] his officers, to the number of 70 men.”

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—“The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih having led an army and laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae, Han Seu-en-tsze asked Shuh-h'ang whether Ts'oo would succeed in taking it. “It will succeed,” was the reply. “The marquis of Ts'ae was a criminal against his ruler, and he was not able [to conciliate] his people. Heaven will borrow the agency of Ts'oo to destroy [the State]. Why should it not succeed? But I have heard that success which happens to be gained through want of good faith cannot be repeated. The king of Ts'oo took the [Kung-] sun Woo with him, when he went to punish Ch'in, saying, “I will settle your State;” on which the people of Ch'in accepted his orders;—and he proceeded to reduce that State to be a district of Ts'oo. Now he has further beguiled Ts'ae, put its ruler to death, and gone on to besiege its capital. Although he may chance to reduce it, he is sure to receive an evil retribution;—he cannot continue long. K'eh vanquished the prince of Min, but thereby lost his kingdom. Chow vanquished the E of the

east, but thereby lost his life. Ts'oo is [comparatively] small and its rank is low, but its [ruler's] acts of tyranny are more than those of those two kings;—is it possible he should not suffer for his evil? When Heaven borrows the assistance of the bad, it is not blessing them; it is increasing their evil and wickedness, and will then send down punishment upon them. We may use [in such a case] this comparison:—There are five kinds of materials supplied [to men] by Heaven. They will use them till their substance is exhausted, and then they are worn out. In consequence of this there is no help for them; they are done with, and cannot be repaired.”

Par. 4. From par. 8, and the Chuen on IX. xxxi. 3, we understand that this lady was the mother of duke Ch'au. But according to Tso-she, she was not the wife proper of duke S'ang, though in this par. she appears as such. Ho H'ew, on Kung-yang, contends that she was the proper wife. It has been thought that there is some confirmation of this view in the fact that the text nowhere mentions the death of any other wife of duke S'ang. We need not, however, discredit the account of Tso-she. On the elevation of duke Ch'au, his mother would be raised to the place of the proper wife.

Par. 5. Too does not attempt to fix the situation of P'e-p'oo. It is generally understood to have been somewhere in the south of Loo.

蒐—see on viii. 6. We have here the description of this as 'a grand review,' when everything connected with the defences and army of the State was regulated. Tso-she says that this review was 'contrary to rule,' meaning that it was improper to hold it when the duke must have been mourning for his mother. The poor duke, however, would have very little to do with it. It was ordered and conducted, no doubt, by the three clans.

Par. 6. Neither does Too identify Ts'in-ts'ang; but its site is to be sought somewhere in the pres. dis. of Tsze-yang (滋陽), dep.

Yen-chow. Kung-yang has 侵羊.

The Chuen says:—M'ang He-tze had a meeting with duke Chwang of Ts'au, when they made a covenant in Ts'in-ts'ang, to cultivate the good relations [between the two States]:—which was according to rule. [Before this], the daughter of a man of Ts'eu-k'ew dreamed that with her curtains she made a tent for the temple of the M'ang family, after which she sought the company of He-tze, accompanied by one of her companions. They had made a covenant at the altar of Ts'ing-k'ew, that, when they had sons, they would not abandon each other. He-tze made them act as assistants to [his concubine] of the family of Wei. When he was now returning from Ts'in-ts'ang, he passed the night at the house of this lady Wei, and by the young woman of Ts'eu-k'ew he had [two sons], E-tze and Nan-kung King-shuh. Her companion had no child, but she was employed to bring up King-shuh.

Par. 7. Kung-yang has 隱 for 意, 酌 for 弱, 軒 for 罕, and 屈銀 for 厥懋. Where Keueh-yin exactly was is not known. The Chuen says:—When the army of Ts'oo was in Ts'ae, Seun Woo of Ts'in said to Han

Senen-tsze, "We were not able to save Ch'in, and again we are not able to save Ts'ae; under such circumstances we shall have none to adhere to us. Ts'in's want of power may be known [from this]. We are lord of covenants, but what is the use of our being so, when we show no regard for States that are perishing?"

"The meeting in the autumn at Keueh-yin was to consult about relieving Ts'ae. When Tsze-p'e of Ch'ing was about to set out for it, Tsze-ch'an said to him, "You will not go far; we are not able to save Ts'ae. Ts'ae is small, and has behaved unreasonably. Ts'oo is great, and has not virtue. Heaven will cast away Ts'ae, to let the [wickedness of] Ts'oo accumulate; and when that is full, it will punish that State. Ts'ae is sure to perish. It is seldom, moreover, that [the State] can be preserved when the ruler is lost. But in three years, his evil will come on the king. When good or evil has gone its round [of 12 years], there is a revolution. The wickedness of the king will then have gone its round."

"The people of Ts'in sent Hoo Foo to beg of Ts'oo to spare Ts'ae, but the request was refused."

[The Chuen appends here:—The viscount of Shen had an interview with Han Seuen-tsze in Ts'eih. His looks were bent downwards, and his words came slow and low. Han Seuen-tsze said, "The viscount of Shen will, probably, die soon. The places at audiences in the court are definitely fixed; those at meetings abroad are marked out by flags. There is the collar of the upper garment, and the knot of the sash. The words spoken at meetings and audiences must be heard at the places marked out and determined, so that the order of the business may be clearly understood. The looks must be fixed on the space between the collar and the knot, in order that the bearing and countenance may be fitly regulated. The words are intended for the issuing of orders; the bearing and countenance to illustrate them. Any error in either of these is a defect. Now the viscount of Shen is the chief of the king's officers; and when giving his instructions about business at this meeting, his looks did not light above the sash, and his words did not reach beyond a foot. His countenance showed no regulation of his bearing, and his words gave no clear intelligence. The absence of such regulation was a want of respect; the absence of such intelligence was a want [in his words] of accordance [with reason]:—he has not breath to preserve his life."']

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—At the burial of Ts'e Kwei, the duke showed no grief. The officer of Ts'in who had come to attend the funeral told this, on his return, to the historiographer Chaou, who said, "He is sure to become [a resident] in the suburbs of Loo (i. e., he will be driven from the capital)." His attendants asked him why he said so, and he replied, "He is the son of Kwei. As he does not think of his parent, his ancestors will not protect him." Shuh-h'ang said, "The House of the dukes of Loo is low indeed! Though the ruler had so great a death [in his family], the State would not give up a review; though he was bound to mourn for 3 years, he could not show one day's grief. The State's paying no regard to [his mother's] death showed that it stands in no awe of the ruler; his having no appearance of grief shows that he had no regard for his parents,

When the State does not stand in awe of the ruler, and the ruler has no regard for his parents, is it possible that he should not be reduced low? He will almost lose the State."

Par. 9. Kuh-l'ang makes the name of the prince of Ts'ae 友. The Chuen calls him 隱, a posthumous title, connected with his melancholy fate. 用 is used here as in V. xix. 4; Ying-tah explains it by 楚以畜牲用之.

The Chuen says:—"In the 11th month, the viscount of Ts'oo extinguished Ts'ae, and sacrificed the marquis's eldest son Yin on mount Kang. Shin Woo-yu said, "This is inauspicious. The five animals used as victims cannot be employed one for another; how much less can a prince of a State be employed as a victim! The king will have occasion to repent of this."

[We have here two narratives:—

1st. "In the 12th month, duke Ch'ing of Shen died:—verifying Shuh-h'ang's remarks in the narrative after par. 7.

2d. "The viscount of Ts'oo walled, [on a large scale, the old capitals of] Ch'in and Ts'ae, and Puh-lang, and appointed K'e-tsih duke of Ts'ae. He then asked Shin Woo-yu what he thought of K'e-tsih's being in Ts'ae. That officer replied, "For choosing among his sons no one is

equal to the father; for choosing among his ministers no one is equal to the ruler. Duke Chwang of Ch'ing walled Leih, and placed Tsze-yuen in it, the consequence of which was that duke Ch'au could not maintain himself in the State (See on II. xv. 9; but we cannot explain the whole of this statement). Duke Hwan of Ts'ae walled Kuh, and placed Kwan Chung in it (See on III. xxxii. 1); and to the present day that State feels the benefit of the proceeding. I have heard that the five great [subjects of a State] should not be located in its borders, and that [subjects of] the five small [classes] should not be in the court. The [ruler's] relatives should not be away from the court, and refugees should not be in it. But now K'e-tsih is abroad, and Tan of Ch'ing (See on IX. xix. 12) is in the court. You ought to be a little careful."

"The king again [further] asked him what he thought of having great cities [besides the capital] in the State, and he replied, "King and Leih of Ch'ing led to the killing of Man-pih. S'au and Poh of Sung led to the killing of Tsze-yu (See on III. xii. 4); K'eu-k'ew of Ts'e led to the killing of Woo-che (See III. ix. 1); P'oo and Ts'eih of Wei led to the expulsion of duke H'ien (In S'ang's 14th year). Looking at these examples, we must conclude that [such great cities] are injurious to a State. Great branches are sure to break [the roots]; a great tail cannot be moved about:—this is what you know.]

Twelfth year.

十有二年春齊高偃  
帥師納北燕伯于陽  
三月壬申鄭伯嘉卒  
夏宋公使華定來聘  
公如晉至河乃復  
五月葬鄭簡公  
楚殺其大夫成熊  
秋七月冬十月公  
子愁出奔齊  
伐徐  
晉伐鮮虞  
楚子



犬子之傳庾皮之子過殺瑕辛於市及宮嬖綽王孫沒劉州鳩陰忌老陽子

季平子立而不禮於南蒯南蒯謂子仲吾出季氏而歸其室於公子更其位我以費爲公臣子仲許之南蒯語叔仲穆子且告之故季悼子之卒也叔孫昭子以再命爲卿及平子伐莒克之更受三命叔仲子欲構二家謂平子曰三命踰父兄非禮也平子曰然故使昭子昭子曰叔孫氏有家禍殺適立庶故婿也及此若因禍以斃之則聞命矣若不廢君命則固有著矣昭子朝而命吏曰婿將與季氏訟書辭無頗季孫懼而歸罪於叔仲子故叔仲小南蒯公子慙謀季氏慙告公而遂從公如晉南蒯懼不克以費叛如齊子仲還及衛聞亂逃介而先遠志家臣而君圖有人矣哉南蒯枚筮之遇坤之比曰黃裳元吉以爲大吉也示子服惠伯曰即欲有事何如惠伯曰吾嘗學此矣忠信之事則可不然必敗外彊內溫忠也和以率貞信也故曰黃裳元吉黃中之色也裳下之飾也元善之長也中不忠不得其色下不共不得其飾事不善不得其極外內倡和爲忠率事以信爲共供養三德爲善非此三者弗當且夫易不可以占險將何事也且可飾乎中美能黃上美爲元下美則裳參成可筮猶有闕也筮雖吉未也將適費飲鄉人酒鄉人或歌之曰我有圃生之杞乎從我者杞乎去我者鄆乎倍其鄰者恥乎已乎已乎非吾黨之士乎平子欲使昭子逐叔仲小聞之不敢朝昭子命吏謂小待政於朝曰吾不爲怨府

楚子狩於州來次於潁尾使蕩侯潘子司馬督躡尹午陵尹喜帥師圍徐以懼吳楚子次於乾谿以爲之援雨雪王皮冠秦復陶翠被豹舄執鞭以出僕析父從右尹子革夕王見之去冠被舍鞭與之語曰昔我先王熊繹與呂伋王孫牟變父禽父並事康王四國皆有分我獨無有今吾使人於周求鼎以爲分王其與我乎對曰與君王哉昔我先王熊繹辟在荊山篳路藍縷以處草莽跋涉山林以事天子唯是桃弧棘矢以共禦王事齊王

左傳曰十二年春齊高偃納北燕伯欵于唐因其衆也

三月鄭簡公卒將爲葬除及游氏之廟將毀焉子大叔使其除徒執用以立而無庸毀曰子產過汝而問何故不毀乃曰不忍廟也諸將毀矣既如是子產乃使辟之司墓之室有當道者毀之則朝而崩弗毀則日中而崩子大叔請毀之曰無若諸侯之賓何子產曰諸侯之賓能來會吾喪豈憚日中無損於賓而民不害何故不爲遂弗毀日中而葬君子謂子產於是乎知禮禮無毀人以自成也

夏宋華定來聘通嗣君也享之爲賦蓼蕭弗知又不答賦昭子曰必亡宴語之不懷寵光之不宜令德之不知同福之不受將何以在

齊侯衛侯鄭伯如晉朝嗣君也

公如晉至河乃復取鄭之役莒人愬於晉晉有平公之喪未之治也故辭公公子慙遂如晉

晉侯享諸侯子產相鄭伯辭於享請免喪而後聽命晉人許之禮也晉侯以齊侯宴中行穆子相投壺晉侯先穆子曰有酒如淮有肉如坻寡君中此爲諸侯師中之齊侯舉矢曰有酒如澠有肉如陵寡人中此與君代與亦中之伯瑕謂穆子曰子失辭吾固師諸侯矣壺何爲焉其以中雋也齊君弱吾君歸弗來矣穆子曰吾軍帥彊禦卒乘競勸今猶古也齊將何事公孫僂趨進曰日旰君勤可以出矣以齊侯出

楚子謂成虎若敖之餘也遂殺之或譖成虎於楚子成虎知之而不能行書曰楚殺其大夫成虎懷寵也

六月葬鄭簡公

晉荀吳僞會齊師者假道於鮮虞遂入昔陽秋八月壬午滅肥以肥子綿泉歸

周原伯綏虐其輿臣使曹逃冬十月壬申朔原輿人逐綏而立公子跪尋綏奔郊

甘簡公無子立其弟過過將去成景之族成景之族賂劉獻公丙申殺甘悼公而立成公之孫鮒丁酉殺獻

晉伐鮮虞。因肥之役也。信善哉。楚靈王若能如是。豈其辱於乾谿。數日不能自克。以及於難。仲尼曰。古也有志。克己復禮。仁也。式如金。形民之力。而無醉飽之心。王揖而入。饋不食。寢不寐。祗宮臣問其詩。而不知也。若問遠焉。其焉能知之。王曰。子能轍馬跡焉。祭公謀父作祈招之詩。以止王心。王是以獲沒於丘。對曰。臣嘗問焉。昔穆王欲肆其心。周行天下。將皆必有車相趨過。王曰。是良史也。子善視之。是能讀三墳五典八索九視之析。父謂子革。吾子。楚國之望也。今與王言如響。國其若之。何子革曰。摩厲以須。王出。吾刃將斬矣。王出。復語。左史倚轅馬跡焉。祭公謀父作祈招之詩。以止王心。王是以獲沒於祗宮。臣問其詩。而不知也。若問遠焉。其焉能知之。王曰。子能乎。對曰。能。其詩曰。祈招之愔愔。式昭德音。思我王度。式如玉。數日不能自克。以及於難。仲尼曰。古也有志。克己復禮。仁也。信善哉。楚靈王若能如是。豈其辱於乾谿。

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, Kaou Yen of Ts'e led a force, and replaced the earl of North Yen in Yang.  
2 In the third month, on Jin-shin, K'ea, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
3 In summer, the duke of Sung sent Hwa Ting to Loo on a complimentary mission.  
4 The duke was going to Tsin; but when he got to the Ho, he returned.  
5 In the fifth month, there was the burial of duke K'een of Ch'ing.  
6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer Ch'ing H'eng.  
7 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
8 In autumn, duke [S'ang's] son Yin fled from the State to Ts'e.  
9 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Seu.  
10 Tsin invaded the S'een-yu.

Par. 1. Yang was a city of Yen,—in the pres. district of T'ang (唐), dep. Paou-ting, Chih-le. It was afterwards called T'ang. This earl of Yen was the K'wan, whose flight to Ts'e is mentioned in iii. 7. In vi. 9 we have the account of an ineffectual attempt on the part of Ts'e to restore him. This second attempt was also a failure, though it secured for the earl possession of T'ang.  
The Chuen says:—'Kaou Yen replaced K'wan, earl of North Yen, in T'ang;—through its inhabitants [being well disposed to him].'  
Par. 2. The Chuen says;—'In the 3d month, duke K'een of Ch'ing died. When they were engaged in levelling the road in order to his burial,

they came to the ancestral temple of the Y'ew family, and were about to pull it down. Tsze-t'ae-shuh (Y'ew Keih, Head of the family) made the clearers stand with their implements in their hands, and not proceed to pull it down, telling them that, when Tsze-ch'an passed by them, and asked why they had not pulled it down, they should say, "We could not bear [to touch] the temple; but yes;—we will pull it down." When they had done this, Tsze-ch'an made them carry the road on one side of it. Right in the way were some houses belonging to the superintendent of the graves. If they were destroyed, the coffin could be put under ground in the morning. If they were not pulled down, it would be mid-day before that could be done. Tsze-t'ae-shuh begged that they might be pulled down, saying, "We must do it for the sake of our guests from the [various] States;" but Tsze-ch'an said, "The guests from the States who come to be present at our funeral will not be afraid of [stopping till] mid-day. Why should we not do what will occasion them no loss, and will save the people from injury?" Accordingly they did not pull the houses down, and the interment was accomplished at mid-day.  
'The superior man will say that Tsze-ch'an knew what was proper. According to the rules of propriety, a man will not overthrow anything of another to establish himself.'  
Too supposes that duke K'een had chosen some new spot to be buried in, which occasioned the difficulties mentioned in the narrative.  
Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'This visit was on behalf of the ruler [of Sung], to open communications [between him and Loo]. [The duke] gave him an entertainment, and there was sung for him the Luh S'eaou (She, II. ii. ode IX.); but he did not understand it, and sang nothing in reply. Ch'au-tze said, "He is sure to be driven into exile. He cherished not that 'We feast and talk;' he declared not his sense of that 'They favour me, they brighten me;' he understood not that 'Excellent virtue;' he accepted not that 'Common happiness;'—how should he continue to be in [Sung]?'"  
[The Chuen gives here:—'The marquises of Ts'e and Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing, went to Tsin to present themselves at the court of the new ruler.']  
Par. 4. In explanation of this par., the Chuen says:—'In consequence of our taking K'ang (See on x. 3), the people of Keu had complained to Tsin, which had not yet dealt with the matter, being occupied by the death of duke P'ing, and therefore declined the duke's visit. Duke [S'ang's] son Yin then went to Tsin.'  
[We have here the following narrative about the visit of the above-named princes to Tsin:—'The marquis of Tsin entertained the princes, but Tsze-ch'an, who was in attendance on and directing the earl of Ch'ing, begged that he might be excused from being present, saying that when they had done with the death [for the late earl], they would receive Tsin's orders; and the request was granted;—which was according to propriety.'  
'The marquis of Tsin was feasting with the marquises of Ts'e, when Chung-hang Muh-tze (Seun Woo), who was directing the ceremonies, [proposed that they should play at] throwing arrows into jars. The marquis of Tsin had the first chance, and Muh-tze said,

"We have spirits to fill the Hwae;  
We have flesh to form the Ch'e."  
If my ruler succeed with this, he will be the master of the princes." The marquis's throw was successful; and then the marquis of Ts'e lifted up an arrow, and said,  
"I have spirits to fill the Shing;  
I have flesh to form a great mound."  
If I hit with this, I shall rise to your lordship's place."  
'His throw was also successful, on which Pih-h'ea (Sze Wan-pih) said to Muh-tze, "You made a slip in what you said;—our [ruler's] position is established as master of the princes. Why did you use those jars? How should a successful throw into them give any superiority? The ruler of Ts'e has treated our ruler as feeble. When he returns, he will not come here [again]."  
Muh-tze replied, "Our armies and generals are most formidable opponents; our soldiers and chariot-men are strong and eager;—now as of old. Whom will Ts'e serve [but Tsin]?" The Kung-sun Sow hurried into the place of entertainment, saying, "The day is declining; our ruler is tired; it is time for him to come out." [With these words], he carried off the marquis of Ts'e.'  
Par. 5. The Chuen repeats this par., as if to show the meaning of Tsze-ch'an's remark in the above narrative, giving, however, 'the 6th month,' instead of the 5th.  
Par. 6. For 熊 Kung-yang has 然; Kuh-l'ang and the Chuen of Tso have 虎. H'engung was a grand-son of Tih-shin or Tsze-yuh, who lost the battle of Shing-puh. Both the Ch'ing and Tow families were descended from Joh-gaou. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo, considering that Ch'ing Hoo was a remnant, [as it were], of Joh-gaou, put him to death. Some one had slandered Ch'ing Hoo to the viscount, and though he was aware of it, he was not able to go away. The text, "Ts'oo put to death its great officer Ch'ing Hoo," shows how he clung to the favour [he enjoyed].'  
[We have here three narratives appended:—1st. 'Seun Woo of Tsin, pretending that he wanted to join the army of Ts'e, borrowed leave to go through S'een-yu, and took the opportunity to take possession of Seih-yang. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Jin-woo, he extinguished Fei, and took its viscount, M'een-kaou, back with him to Tsin.'  
2d. 'K'eaou, earl of Yuen in Chow, behaved oppressively to his servants, and made them run away. In winter, in the 10th month, on Jin-shin, the 1st day of the moon, all the people of Yuen drove K'eaou out, and raised his brother Kwei-sin to his place. K'eaou fled to K'eaou.'  
3d. 'Duke K'een of Kan had no son, and appointed his brother Kwo as his successor. Kwo wished to take off the families descended from [dukes] Ch'ing and King; but these bribed duke H'een of L'ew, who, on Ping-shin, put [Kwo], duke Taou of Kan, to death, and appointed Ts'ew, a grandson of duke Ch'ing, in his room. On Ting-y'ew, he put to death Kwo, a son of Yu P'e, and tutor of the eldest son H'een. He put H'ea Sin to death in the market-place, and Ch'oh a favourite of the palace, Wang-sun Moh, L'ew Chow-k'ew, Yin Ke, and Laou Yang-tze.']

Par. 8. For 愁 Kung-yang has 整. We must suppose that the Kung-tze Yin was a son of duke S'ang, and his being sent on a mission to Tsin, as mentioned in the Chuen on par. 4, shows that he was a minister of the State. His designation was Tsze-chung (子仲).

The Chuen says:—When Ke P'ing-tze became Head of his clan, he behaved discourteously to Nan Kwae (A son of Nan E in the narrative at the end of the 4th year), who said to Tsze-chung, "I will drive out the Head of the Ke family, and give over his property to the duke. You will take his place, and I will hold Pe as a servant of the duke." Tsze-chung agreed, and Nan Kwae then told Shuh-chung Muh-tze (A grand-son of Tae or Shuh-chung Ch'au-pih, and great-grand-son of P'ang-sang or Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih. His name was S'auou; 小), informing him also of the cause [of his conduct].

"When Ke Taou-tze (Son of Ke Woo-tze and father of P'ing-tze) died, Shuh-sun Ch'au-tze was one of the ministers, having received his second appointment, and when P'ing-tze invaded Keu and overcame it, he again received his third appointment. Shuh-chung-tze, wishing to set the two families at variance, said to P'ing-tze, "With his three appointments he has got beyond the rank of his father, and of you his cousin older than himself,—which is contrary to propriety." "Yes," said P'ing-tze; and he sent to Ch'au-tze [to require him to resign his third appointment]. Ch'au-tze said, "The House of Shuh-sun had its family misfortunes, when the sons of the proper wife were put to death, and the son of a concubine was appointed in their place. It was thus that I reached my present position. If you had taken the opportunity of those misfortunes to ruin me, I should have accepted your commands. [But now], if we do not disannul our ruler's appointment, I certainly have this rank and position."

Ch'au-tze went to the court, and gave orders to the officers, saying, "I am going to have a litigation with Ke-sun. You must write the pleas without partiality." Ke-sun became afraid, and laid the blame on Shuh-chung-tze. In consequence of this, Shuh-chung S'auou, Nan Kwae, and the Kung-tze Yin plotted against Ke-sun. Yin informed the duke of it, and immediately after followed him to Tsin. Nan Kwae, fearing their attempt would not succeed, revolted with Pe, and went [with it] to Ts'e. When Tsze-chung was returning [from his mission], he heard of the confusion, stole away from the assistant-commissioner, and went before him; but on his arrival at the suburbs, hearing of the revolt of Pe, he fled to Ts'e.

"When Nan Kwae was about to revolt, a man of the same village was acquainted with his purpose, and passed by him, sighing as he did so. He also said, "Alas! Alas! A case of difficulty and hazard! His thoughts are deep, and his plans are shallow. Circumscribed is his position, and his aims are far-reaching. The servant of a family, his schemes affect the ruler. Such a man there is!" Nan Kwae consulted by some twigs about his object, without mentioning it and got the diagram K'wán (坤, ䷁), which then became Pe (比, ䷇). As it is said [upon

the changed line], "Yellow for the lower garment; great good fortune," he thought this was very lucky, and showed it to Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih, saying, "If I am contemplating something, how does this indicate it will turn out?" Hwuy-pih replied, "I have learned this.—If the thing be one of loyalty and good faith, you may go forward with it. If it be not, it will be defeated. The outer figure indicates strength, and the inner mildness;—expressive of loyalty. We have [also] harmony leading on solidity;—expressive of fidelity. Hence the words, 'Yellow for the lower garment; greatness and good fortune.' But yellow is the colour of the centre; the lower garment is the ornament of that which is beneath; that greatness is the height of goodness. If in the centre (= the heart) there is not loyalty, there cannot be the colour; if below (= in an inferior) there be not the respectful discharge of duty, there cannot be the ornament; if the affair be not good, there cannot be that height. When the outer and inner are mutually harmonious, there is loyalty; when affairs are done in fidelity, there is that discharge of duty; an earnest nourishing of the three virtues makes that goodness. Where there are not these three things, this diagram does not apply."

"Moreover, [this passage of] the Yih cannot be a guide about anything hazardous. What thing are you contemplating that should require that ornamenting? With what is admirable in the centre, you can predicate the yellow; with what is admirable above, you can predicate that great goodness; with what is admirable below, you can predicate that lower garment. Given these three all complete, and you may consult the reeds. If they are defective, though the consultation may [seem to] be lucky, it is not to be acted on."

"When [Nan Kwae] was about to go to Pe, he invited his fellow villagers to drink with him, one of them sang,

"In my garden of vegetables is a medlar tree!  
Follow me, and you will be a good man;  
Leave me, and you will act meanly.  
To rebel against one's friends is shameful.  
Stop! Stop!  
Or you will be no member of our party."

P'ing-tze wished to make Ch'au-tze drive out Shuh-chung S'auou. When S'auou heard it, he did not dare to go to court. Ch'au-tze ordered the officers to tell him that he should be waiting in the court for any governmental orders, adding, "I will not make myself an office of animosities."

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Ts'oo was celebrating the winter hunt in Chow-lae, and halted at the junction of the Ying [with the Hwae], from which he sent the marquis of Tang, the viscount of P'wan, the marshal Tuh, Woo the director of H'auou, and He the director of Ling, with a force to besiege [the capital of] Seu, in order to alarm Woo; while he himself would halt at Kan-k'e to afford them what help they might require.

"The snow was falling, and the king went out with a whip in his hand, wearing a fur-cap, the cloak sent to him from Ts'in ornamented with king-fishers' feathers, and in shoes of leopard skin. He was followed by his charioteer Seih-foo. In the evening Tsze-kih (Tan of Ch'ing),

director of the Right, waited upon him; and when the king saw him, he put off his cap and cloak, laid aside his whip, and spoke with him. "Formerly," said he "my ancestor H'ung Yih, with Leu Keih, Wang-sun Mow, S'eh-foo, and K'in-foo, all served together king K'ang. The four States of those princes all received [precious] gifts, only we [in Ts'oo] got none. If I now send a messenger to Chow, and ask for the tripods as our share, will the king give them to me?" "He will give them, O ruler and king," was the reply. "Formerly, our king, H'ung Yih, lived meanly by mount King, in a deal carriage, with tattered clothes, as befitted his position amid the uncultivated wilds; climbing the hills and wading through the streams in the service of the son of Heaven; with a bow of peach-wood and arrows of thorn, discharging his defence of the king. [On the other hand, Leu Keih of] Ts'e was king [Ch'ing's] maternal uncle; [T'ang-shuh of] Tsin was his own brother; and [the fathers of K'in-foo of] Loo and [S'eh-foo of] Wei were king [Woo's] own brothers. Thus it was that [the prince of] Ts'oo received no [precious] gifts, and all those other princes did. But now Chow and those four States are submissive to you, O ruler and king, and you have only to order them to be obeyed;—how should [Chow] grudge you the tripods?"

"The king pursued, "Formerly, the eldest brother of our remote ancestor dwelt in the old territory of Heu; but now the people of Ch'ing in their greed possess that territory and enjoy the benefit of it, and have refused to give it to us. If I ask it [now], will they give it?" Tsze-kih again replied, "They will give it to you, O ruler and king. If Chow do not grudge its tripods, will Ch'ing dare to grudge its lands?"

"The king went on, "Formerly, the States kept aloof from us and stood in awe of Tsin. But now I have walled on a great scale [the capitals of] Ch'in and Ts'ae, and the [two] Puh-lang, each of which can levy a thousand chariots; and for this I am much indebted to you. Will the States now stand in awe of me?" "They," was the reply, "will stand in awe of you, O ruler and king! Those four States are themselves sufficient to awe them; and when there is added to them the power of Ts'oo, will the States dare not to stand in awe of you, O ruler and king?"

"[At this moment], Loo, director of Works, came with a request, saying, "Your majesty ordered me to break a baton of jade [to ornament] the handle of an axe. I venture to ask for further instructions." The king went in to see the work; and then Seih-foo said to Tsze-kih, "You are looked up to by the State of Ts'oo;

but now, in talking to the king, you have been but his echo;—what will the State think of you?" Tsze-kih replied, "I have been sharpening [my weapon] on the whetstone, to await [my opportunity]; when the king comes out, I will cut down [his extravagance] with the edge of it."

"When the king came out, he was resuming the conversation, and E-s'ang, the historiographer of the Left, passed by. "There," said the king, "is an excellent historiographer. He can read the three Fun, the five T'ien, the eight Sih, and the nine K'ew." "I have questioned him," was the reply. "Formerly king Muh wished to indulge his [extravagant] desire, and travel over all under heaven, so that the ruts of his chariot wheels and the prints of his horses' feet should be everywhere. Mow-foo, duke of Chae, then made the ode of K'e-shaou, to repress the ambition of the king, who died in consequence a natural death in the palace of Che. I asked [E-s'ang] about the ode, and he did not know it. If I were to ask him about anything more ancient, how should he be able to know it?" "Can you repeat it?" asked the king. Tsze-kih replied, "I can. The ode said,

'How mild is the course of our minister Shaou!  
How fitted to show [the king's] virtuous fame!

He would order his measures and movements,  
As more valuable than gold or gem.  
Beyond the people's strength he would not go,  
Nor drunkard's thirst nor glutton's greed would know."

The king bowed to him and went in. For several days he would not eat what was brought to him, nor was he able to sleep; but he was not able to subdue himself, and so he came to his evil [end].

"Chung-ne said, "It is contained in an ancient book that to subdue one's-self and return to propriety is perfect virtue." True is the saying and excellent. If king Ling of Ts'oo could have done this, he would not have come to disgrace at Kan-k'e!"

Par. 10 Tso-she observes that this attack was a sequel to the campaign against Fei, of which we have an account in the 1st narrative appended to par. 6. The people of S'een-yu were a tribe of the White Teih. The territory, called also Chung-shan (中山), was in the pres dep. of Chin-ting (眞定), Chih-le. Too observes that the commander of the army of Tsin is not mentioned, through the inadvertence of the historiographer. Compare VI. x. 2 and VIII. iii. 14.

Thirteenth year.

十<sup>一章</sup>有三年春叔弓帥師圍費。  
夏<sup>二章</sup>四月楚公子比自晉歸于楚弑其君  
虔于乾谿<sup>三章</sup>。楚公子棄疾殺公子比。  
秋<sup>四章</sup>公會劉子晉侯齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯  
曹伯莒子邾子滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子  
于平丘<sup>五章</sup>。八月甲戌同盟于平丘。  
公不與盟<sup>六章</sup>。晉人執季孫意如以歸。  
公至自會<sup>七章</sup>。蔡侯廬歸于蔡陳侯吳歸  
于陳<sup>八章</sup>。冬十月葬蔡靈公<sup>九章</sup>。  
公如晉至河乃復<sup>十章</sup>。吳滅州來<sup>十一章</sup>。

左傳曰十三年春叔弓圍費弗克敗焉平子怒令見費人執之以爲囚俘治區夫曰非也若見費人寒者衣之饑者食之爲之令主而共其乏困費來如歸南氏亡矣民將叛之誰與居邑若憚之以威懼之以怒民疾而叛爲之聚也若諸侯皆然費人無歸不親南氏將焉入矣平子從之費人叛南氏  
楚子之爲令尹也殺大司馬還掩而取其室及即位奪遷居田遷許而質許圍蔡洧有寵於王王之滅蔡也其父死焉王使與於守而行申之會越大夫戮焉王奪鬬韋龜中驪又奪成然邑而使爲郊尹蔓成然故事蔡公故遷氏之族及遷居許圍蔡洧

蔓成然皆王所不禮也因羣喪職之族啟越大夫常壽過作亂圍固城克息舟城而居之觀起之死也其子從在蔡事朝吳曰今不封蔡蔡不封矣我請試之以蔡公之命召子干子皙及郊而告之情強與之盟入襲蔡蔡公將食見之而逃觀從使子干食坎用牲加書而速行已徇於蔡曰蔡公召二子將納之與之盟而遣之矣將師而從之蔡人聚將執之辭曰失賊成軍而殺余何益乃釋之朝吳曰二子若能死亡則如違之以待所濟若求安定則如與之以濟所欲且違上何適而可衆曰與之乃奉蔡公召二子而盟於鄧依陳蔡人以國楚公子比公子黑肱公子棄疾蔓成然蔡朝吳帥陳蔡不羹許葉之師因四族之徒以入楚及郊陳蔡欲爲名故請爲武軍蔡公知之曰欲速且役病矣請藩而已乃藩爲軍蔡公使須務牟與史狎先入因正僕人殺犬子祿及公子罷敵公子比爲王公子黑肱爲令尹次於魚陂公子棄疾爲司馬先除王宮使觀從從師于乾谿而遂告之且曰先歸復所後者劓帥及訾梁而潰王聞羣公子之死也自投於車下曰人之愛其子也亦如余乎侍者曰甚焉小人老而無子知擠於溝壑矣王曰余殺人子多矣能無及此乎右尹子革曰請待于郊以聽國人王曰衆怒不可犯也曰若入於大都而乞師於諸侯王曰皆叛矣曰若亡於諸侯以聽大國之圖君也王曰大福不再祇取辱焉然丹乃歸於楚王沿夏將欲入鄢芋尹無宇之子申亥曰吾父再奸王命王弗誅惠孰大焉君不可忍惠不可棄吾其從王乃求王遇諸棘闡以歸夏五月癸亥王縊於芋尹申亥氏申亥以其二女殉而葬之

觀從謂子干曰不殺棄疾雖得國猶受禍也子干曰余不忍也子玉曰人將忍子吾不忍俟也乃行國每夜駭曰王入矣乙卯夜棄疾使周走而呼曰王至矣國人大驚使蔓成然走告子干子皙曰王至矣國人殺君司馬將來矣君若早自圖也可以無辱衆怒如水火焉不可爲謀又有呼而走至者曰衆至矣二子皆自殺丙辰棄疾即位名曰熊居葬子干於訾實訾敖殺囚衣之王服而流諸漢乃取而葬之以靖國人使子旗爲令尹楚師



而與之，獻無異親，民無異望。天方相晉，將何以代文？此二君者，異於子干，共有寵子，國有與主，無施於民，無援於外，去晉而不送，歸楚而不逆，何以冀國？

晉成虎祁諸侯朝而歸者，皆有貳心。爲取郟故，晉將以諸侯來討。叔向曰：諸侯不可以不示威。乃並徵會，告於吳、秋。晉侯會吳子於良，水道不可，吳子辭，乃還。七月丙寅，治兵於郟南，甲車四千乘，羊舌肸攝司馬，遂合諸侯于平丘。子產子大叔相鄭伯以會，子產以幅幕九張行，子大叔以四十旂而悔之，每舍損焉，及會亦如之。次於衛地，叔鮒求貨於衛，淫芻蕘者，衛人使屠伯饋叔向羹，與一篋錦。曰：諸侯事晉，未敢攜貳，況衛在君之宇下，而敢有異志，芻蕘者異於他日，敢請之。叔向受羹，反錦，曰：晉有羊舌肸者，瀆貨無厭，亦將及矣。爲此役也，子若以君命賜之，其已客從之，未退而禁之。

晉人將尋盟，齊人不可。晉侯使叔向告劉獻公曰：抑齊人不盟，若之何？對曰：盟以底信，君苟有信，諸侯不貳，何患焉？告之以文辭，董之以武師，雖齊不許，君庸多矣。天子之老，請帥王賦，元戎十乘，以先啟行，遲速唯君。叔向告於齊曰：諸侯求盟，已在此矣。今君弗利，寡君以爲請。對曰：諸侯討貳，則有尋盟，若皆用命，何盟之尋？叔向曰：國家之敗，有事而無業，事則不經，有業而無禮，經則不序，有禮而無威，序則不共，有威而不昭，共則不明，不明棄共，百事不終，所由傾覆也。是故明王之制，使諸侯歲聘以志業，閒朝以講禮，再朝而會以示威，再會而盟以顯昭明，志業於好，講禮於等，示威於衆，昭明於神，自古以來，未之或失也。存亡之道，恆由是興。晉禮主盟，懼有不治，奉承齊轍，而布諸君，求終事也。君曰：余必廢之，何齊之有？唯君圖之。寡君聞命矣。齊人懼，對曰：小國言之，大國制之，敢不聽從。既聞命矣，敬共以往，遲速唯君。叔向曰：諸侯有間矣，不可以不示衆。八月辛未，治兵，建而不旆。壬申，復旆之。諸侯畏之。邾人莒人愬於晉曰：魯朝夕伐我，幾亡矣。我之不共，魯故之以。晉侯不見公，使叔向來辭，曰：諸侯將以甲戌盟，寡君知不得事君矣。請君無勤。子服惠伯對曰：君信蠻夷之訴，以絕兄弟之國，棄

還自徐，吳人敗諸豫章，獲其五帥。平王封陳，蔡復遷邑，致羣賂，施舍寬民，宥罪舉職，召觀從。王曰：唯爾所欲。對曰：臣之先佐開卜，乃使爲卜尹，使枝如子躬聘於鄭，且致犢櫟之田。事畢，弗致。鄭人請曰：聞諸道路，將命寡君以犢櫟，敢請命。對曰：臣未聞命。既復，王問犢櫟降服而對曰：臣過失命，未之致也。王執其手，曰：子毋勤，姑歸。不穀有事，其告子也。他年芋尹申亥以王柩告，乃改葬之。初，靈王卜曰：余尙得天下，不吉，投龜詬天而呼曰：是區區者而不余畀，余必自取之。民患王之無厭也，故從亂如歸。初，共王無冢適，有寵子五人，無適立焉。乃大有事於羣望，而祈曰：請神擇於五人者，使主社稷。乃徧以璧見於羣望，曰：當璧而拜者，神所立也。誰敢違之？既乃與巴姬密埋璧於大室之庭，使五人齋，而長入拜。康王跨之，靈王肘加焉。子干子皙皆遠之。平王弱，抱而入，再拜皆厭紐。鬬章龜屬成然焉。且曰：棄禮違命，楚其危哉。子干歸，韓宣子問於叔向曰：子干其濟乎？對曰：難。宣子曰：同惡相求，如市賈焉，何難？對曰：無與同好，誰與同惡？取國有五難：有寵而無人，一也；有人而無主，二也；有主而無謀，三也；有謀而無民，四也；有民而無德，五也。子干在晉十三年矣，晉楚之從，不聞達者，可謂無人。族盡親叛，可謂無主。無主而動，可謂無謀。爲羈終世，可謂無民。亡無愛徵，可謂無德。王虐而不忌，楚君子干涉五難以弑舊君，誰能濟之？有楚國者，其棄疾乎？君陳蔡城外屬焉，苛慝不作，盜賊伏隱，私欲不逞，民無怨心，先神命之，國民信之。芊姓有亂，必季實立，楚之常也。獲神一也。有民二也。令德三也。寵貴四也。居常五也。有五利以去五難，誰能害之？子干之官，則右尹也，數其貴寵，則庶子也，以神所命，則又遠之，其貴亡矣。其寵棄矣。民無懷焉。國無與焉。將何以立？宣子曰：齊桓晉文，不亦是乎？對曰：齊桓衛姬之子也，有寵於僖，有鮑叔牙，賓須無，隰朋，以爲輔佐，有莒衛以爲外主，有國高以爲內主，從善如流，下善齊肅，不藏賄，不從欲，舍施不倦，求善不厭，是以有國，不亦宜乎？我先君文公，狐季姬之子也，有寵於獻，好學而不貳，生十七年，有士五人，有先大夫子餘，子犯，以爲腹心，有魏犢、賈佗，以爲股肱，有齊、宋、秦、楚，以爲外主，有欒、郤、狐、先，以爲內主，亡十九年，守志彌篤，惠懷棄民，民從

周公之後，亦唯君寡君聞命矣。叔向曰：寡君有甲車四千乘在，雖以無道行之，必可畏也。況其率道，其何敵之有？牛雖瘠，賃於豚上，其畏不死。南蒯子仲之憂，其庸可棄乎？若奉晉之衆，用諸侯之師，因邾莒杞鄆之怒，以討魯罪，聞其二憂，何求而弗克？魯人懼，聽命。甲戌，同盟于平丘。齊服也。令諸侯日中造於除，癸酉，退朝。子產命外僕速張於除，子大叔止之，使待明日。及夕，子產聞其未張也，使速往，乃無所張矣。及盟，子產爭承曰：昔天子班靖兵，好以爲事，行理之命，無月不至，貢之無藝，小國有闕，所以得罪也。諸侯修盟，存小國也，貢獻無極，亡可待也。存亡之制，將在今矣。自日中以爭，至於昏，晉人許之。既盟，子大叔咎之曰：諸侯若討，其可瀆乎？子產曰：晉政多門，貳偷之不暇，何暇討？國不競，亦陵，何國之爲？公不與盟。晉人執季孫意如，以幕蒙之，使狄人守之。司鐸射懷錦，奉壺飲冰，以蒲伏焉。守者御之，乃與之錦，而入。晉人以平子歸，子服湫從。

⑤子產歸，未至，聞子皮卒，哭，且曰：吾已無爲爲善矣，唯夫子知我。仲尼謂子產於是行也，足以爲國基矣。詩曰：樂只君子，邦家之基。子產君子之求樂者也，且曰：合諸侯，藝貢事，禮也。

⑥鮮虞人聞晉師之悉起也，而不警邊，且不修備。晉荀吳自著雍，以上軍侵鮮虞，及中人，驅衝競，大獲而歸。楚之滅蔡也，靈王遷許，胡沈道房申於荆焉。平王即位，既封陳蔡，而皆復之，禮也。隱犬子之子廬歸于蔡，禮也。悼犬子之子吳歸于陳，禮也。

冬十月，葬蔡靈公，禮也。

公如晉，荀吳謂韓宣子曰：諸侯相朝，講舊好也，執其卿而朝其君，有不好焉，不如辭之。乃使士景伯辭公於河。吳滅州來，令尹子旗請伐吳，王弗許，曰：吾未撫民人，未事鬼神，未修守備，未定國家，而用民力，敗不可悔。州來

在吳，猶在楚也。子姑待之。

⑤季孫猶在晉，子服惠伯私於中行穆子，曰：魯事晉，何以不如夷之？小國魯，兄弟也，土地猶大，所命能具，若爲夷棄之，使事齊楚，其何瘳於晉？親親與大，賞共，罰否，所以爲盟主也。子其圖之。諺曰：臣一主二，吾豈無大國？穆子告韓宣子，且曰：楚滅陳，蔡不能救，而爲夷執親，將焉用之？乃歸季孫。惠伯曰：寡君未知其罪，合諸侯而執其老，若猶有罪，死命可也。若曰無罪，而惠免之，諸侯不聞，是逃命也。何免之爲？請從君惠於會。宣子患之，謂叔向曰：子能歸季孫乎？對曰：不能，鮒也能。乃使叔魚。叔魚見季孫，曰：昔鮒也得罪於晉君，自歸於魯君，微武子之賜，不至於今。雖獲歸骨於晉，猶子則肉之，敢不盡情歸子，而不歸，鮒也。聞諸吏，將爲子除館於西河，其若之何？且泣。平子懼，先歸，惠伯待禮。

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, Shuh Kung led a force, and laid siege to Pe.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, the Kung-tsze Pe of Ts'oo returned from Tsin to Ts'oo, and murdered his ruler K'een in Kan-k'e.
- 3 The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih of Ts'oo put to death the Kung-tsze Pe.
- 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Lëw, the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and K'e, and the viscount of Little Choo, in T'ing-K'ëw.
- 5 In the eighth month, on Këah-seuh, they made a covenant together in P'ing-k'ëw.
- 6 [But] the duke did not take part in the covenant.
- 7 The people of Tsin seized Ke-sun E-joo, and took him back with them [to Tsin].
- 8 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 9 Leu, marquis of Ts'ae returned to [the rule of] Ts'ae, and Woo, marquis of Ch'in, to [the rule of] Ch'in.
- 10 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Ts'ae.
- 11 The duke was going to Tsin; but when he had got to the Ho, he returned.
- 12 Woo extinguished Chow-lae.

Par. 1. Pe,—see on IX. vii. 4. At that time, Nan E was commandant of Pe for the Ke-sun family; but from the narrative on par. 8 of last year, we learned that it was now held by his son Nan Kwae, who had carried the city with him, and transferred his allegiance from Loo, or the Ke-sun family rather, to Ts'e.

The Chuen says:—"This spring, Shuh Kung laid siege to Pe, but he could not reduce it, and was himself defeated. P'ing-tsze, enraged, gave orders that whenever a man of Pe was seen, he should be seized and kept as a prisoner. Yay Gow-foo said to him, "This is a wrong course. If, when a man of Pe is seen suffering from cold, you clothe him, or suffering from want, you feed him, proving yourself its good lord, and ministering to the privations and distresses of its people, they will come to you as if they were coming home, and the Nan will perish. The people will revolt from them, and there will be none to dwell in the city with them. If you afflict them by your severity and frighten them with your wrath, so that they shall detest you, and be confirmed in their revolt, you will [only] be collecting [more followers] for the Nan. If all the States should deal thus with them, the men of Pe would have none to turn to. If they did not adhere to the chief of the Nan, where could they go to?" P'ing-tsze followed this counsel, and the people of Pe revolted from Nan [Kwae]."

Par. 2. For 乾谿 Kub-läng has 乾溪. The Chuen on par. 9 of last year left the king of Ts'oo at this place, waiting the result of his operations against Seu. It was in the south-east of the pres. Poh-chow (亳州), dep. Ying-chow (穎州), Gan-hwuy. The Kung-tsze Pe was a younger brother of the king of Ts'oo, and had fled to Ts'in 13 years before this, when the king murdered his predecessor;—see the last par. of the 1st year, and the Chuen on the one preceding it.

The Chuen says:—"When the viscount of Ts'oo was chief minister of the State, he put to death the grand-marshal Wei Yen, and took his property to himself (See the narrative after IX. xxx. 8); and when he became viscount, he violently took his lands from Wei Keu. At the removal of [the capital of] Heu (See on ix. 2), he had taken [with him] as a hostage, Wei, [a great officer] of that State. Wei of Ts'ae was a favourite with the king, and when the king extinguished Ts'ae (See xi. 9), his father died [in that State]; but the king made Wei remain to take part in the charge [of the capital], when he proceeded [himself to Kan-k'e]. At the meeting of Shin (iv. 2), a great officer of Yueh was subjected to disgrace. The king [also] took Chung-ch'ow from Tow Wei-kwei, and his city from [Wei-kwei's son], Ch'ing Jen, making him director of the suburbs. This Ch'ing Jen of Man had previously been in the service of the duke of Ts'ae (The viscount's brother K'e-tsih). In this way the families of the Wei clan, with Wei Keu, Wei of Heu, Wei of Ts'ae, and Ch'ing Jen of Man, had all been treated with discourtesy by the king; and they took advantage of the [other] families which had lost their offices to incite Chang Show-kwo, the great officer of Yueh, to raise an insurrection, when he laid siege to Koo-shing, reduced the city of Seih-chow, and walled and occupied it."

"After the death of Kwan K'e (See on IX. xxii. 6), his son Ts'ung went to Ts'ae, and was in the service of Chaou Woo, to whom he [now] said, "If the State of Ts'ae be not now restored, it never will be so. Let me try and bring it about." Accordingly, as if by the

orders of the duke of Ts'ae, he called Tsze-kan (The Kung-tsze Pe) and Tsze-seih [to Ts'ae]. When they had arrived in the suburbs, he told them all the truth [about his plot], forced them to make a covenant with him, and then they entered [the capital of] Ts'ae by surprise. The duke was about to take a meal; and when he saw them, he ran away from them. Kwan Ts'ung made Tsze-kan partake of the food, and they then dug a hole, placed in it [the blood of] a victim with the words [of a covenant] over it, after which [the two princes] went hurriedly away. Ts'ung himself made the thing known through the city, saying, "The duke called his two brothers, and is going to restore them [to Ts'oo]; he has made a covenant with them, and sent them away, but he intends to raise his forces and follow them." The men of Ts'ae collected, and would have seized him, but he said to them, "Of what use will it be to kill me, after you have let the [two] traitors escape, and are raising your army?" On this they let him go, and Chaou Woo said to them, "If you are able to die [for the king], your best plan is to oppose the duke, and wait till you see to whom success falls. But if you seek for rest and establishment, your best plan is to take sides with him, to secure the success of his ambition. And, moreover, if we oppose our superior, to whom can we betake ourselves with advantage?" The multitude said, "We will take sides with him;" and they proceeded to raise the standard of the duke of Ts'ae, called [back] the two other princes, and made a covenant in Täng.

"The dependance [of the princes in their struggle] for the State was on the men of Ch'in, and Ts'ae, which they promised to reconstitute as States; so the three, Pe, Hih-kwäng (Tsze-seih), and K'e-tsih, with Ch'ing Jen of Man and Chaou Woo of Ts'ae, led on the forces of Ch'in, Ts'ae, Puh-lang, Heu, and Sheh, and took advantage of the adherents of the 4 [disaffected] families, to enter [the capital of] Ts'oo. When they arrived at the suburbs, [the men of] Ch'in and Ts'ae wished to get a name, and asked leave to form an entrenched camp. When the duke of Ts'ae knew it, he said, "We want to be expeditious, and such a thing, moreover, would distress the labourers." He begged therefore that they would only make an enclosed encampment; which accordingly was done, and the army lodged in it. He then made Seu Woo-mow and the historiographer P'ae enter the city before them. These, by the assistance of the chief chamberlain, put to death the king's eldest son Luh, and the Kung-tsze P'e-teih. The Kung-tsze Pe became king; and Hih-kwäng, chief minister; [both] halting at Yu-pe. The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih was declared [grand-] marshal, and proceeded to clear out the royal palace, sending [also] Kwan Ts'ung to the army in Kan-k'e, who thereon made known what had been done, and intimated that those who were first in coming over [to the new rule] should be restored to their places, while those who delayed should have their noses cut off. That army advanced to Tsze-läng, and there dispersed."

"When the king heard of the death of his sons, he threw himself down under his chariot, saying, "Do other men love their sons as much as I did mine?" One of his attendants said, "They love them more. Small men know that when they are old, if they have no sons, they

will be rolled into the ditches." "I have killed many sons of others," replied the king. "Was it possible that I should not come to this condition?"

"Tsze-kih, director of the Right, begged the king to wait in the suburbs till they heard what course the people took, but the king said, "They are all enraged, and we must not encounter them." He then proposed that they should enter a great city, and ask military assistance from the States; but the king said, "They will all revolt [from me]." He proposed further, that they should flee to some of the States, and await the deliberations of the [other] great State on his case; but the king said, "Great happiness is not obtained twice. I should only be bringing disgrace on myself." On this, Jen Tan [left the king, and] returned to Ts'oo, while the king took his way along the Hëa, wishing to enter Yen.

"Shin Hae, the son of the Woo-director Woo-yu, said, "My father twice violated the king's orders (See the narrative after vii. 1), and was not punished;—what kindness could be greater? I cannot bear the king's misery, and his kindness is not to be forgotten;—I will follow him." Accordingly he sought for the king, found him at the Keih gate, and took him home with him. In summer, in the 5th month, on Kwei-hae, the king strangled himself in his house, when Shin Hae buried him, and his own two daughters along with him."

When we compare the paragraph and this Chuen, we are startled by the contradictions between them. The Kung-tsze Pe had never been a subject of his brother, and it appears contrary to rule to apply the term 弑 to him. And in fact Pe did not put the king to death;—the king died by his own hands. And he did not die in Kan-k'e. Pe, moreover, was merely a tool in the hands of others; it is both incorrect and unjust to represent him, as the paragraph does, as the prime mover in the proceedings against the king, and then charge him with the crime of regicide. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, even Maou acknowledges an admirable subtlety and propriety in the sage's phraseology in the paragraph! The original name of king Ling was Wei (隗), but he changed it after he had murdered his predecessor, hoping probably thereby to escape somehow the charge of crime that would attach to his name.

Par. 3. For 殺 Kung and Kuh here have 弑; and that term would certainly be as proper here as in the preceding par. As it seemed right, however, to the author not to acknowledge the short-lived dignity of Pe as king, but still to represent him as merely a Kung-tsze, 殺 is, probably, the true reading.

The Chuen says:—"Kwan Ts'ung said to Tsze-kan, "If you do not kill K'e-tsih, though you have got the State, you will still receive calamity." "I cannot bear to do so," was Tsze-kan's reply. Tsze-yuh (Ts'ung's designation) continued, "He will bear to kill you, and I cannot bear to wait [and see it];" and on this he went away. Every night there was an alarm [in the city] that the king had entered it. On the night of Yih-maou, K'e-tsih made people

run all about, crying, "The king is come!" The people were greatly frightened; and then he made Ch'ing Jen of Man run and inform Tsze-kan and Tsze-seih, saying, "The king is come. The people have killed your marshal, and will [soon] be here. If your lordship will be quick and deal with yourself, you may escape disgrace. The multitudes are angry, as [raging] waves or flames, and no plans can be formed against them." There now came others running to [the palace], and crying out, "The multitudes are come;" on which the two princes killed themselves.

"On Ping-shin, K'e-tsih ascended the [vacant] seat, and [took] the name of Hëung Keu. He buried Tsze-kan in Tsze, who is thence known as Tsze Gaou. Having killed a prisoner, he clothed the body in the king's robes, and let it float in the Han, from which he took and buried it, in order to quiet the minds of the people; and he then appointed Tsze-k'e (Ch'ing Jen of Man) to be chief minister."

"When the army of Ts'oo was withdrawing from Seu, the men of Woo defeated it at Yu-chang, and took [all] its five commanders (See the commencement of the narrative on par. 9 of last year). King Ping (K'e-tsih) restored the States of Ch'in and Ts'ae, and the cities from which the inhabitants had been removed; paid all the bribes which he had promised; gave gifts to the people, and forgave them the dues which they owed; dealt gently with criminals, and restored their offices to those who had been deprived of them. Calling Kwan Ts'ung to him, he said, "You may have whatever office you wish." "My ancestors," replied Ts'ung, "assisted the interpreter of divinations by the tortoise-shell;" and he was appointed master of such divinations. The king sent Che-joo Tsze-kung on a complimentary mission to Ch'ing, and to deliver to it the lands of Ch'ow and Leih. When the [other] business [of his mission] was finished, however, he did not deliver these. An officer of Ch'ing took the liberty to say to him, "It was reported on the way that you would give our ruler Ch'ow and Leih. I venture to ask for your orders [to that effect]." He replied, "I have not yet received such orders." When he returned [to Ts'oo], the king asked him about those two places, on which he put off his robe, and replied, "I made a mistake and lost your orders about them, so that I did not give them over." The king took him by the hand, and said, "Do not be concerned about it. Go home for the present; and when I have any business, I will inform you of it." In a year or two, the Woo-director Shin Hae informed the king of the burial of king [Ling], when the coffin was removed and buried in another place.

"King Ling at a former time had asked the tortoise-shell whether he might possibly get the whole kingdom; and when the answer was unfavourable, he cast the shell from him, railed at Heaven, and said, "This small thing you will not give me, but I will take it for myself." The people were distressed by his insatiable ambition, and joined in the insurrection against him as eagerly as if they had been going home."

"At a period before this, king Kung had no son by his queen, whom he could have declared his heir; and though he had five among his other sons, who were favourites with him, none of



them had been appointed to the succession. He therefore celebrated a great service to the Spirits of all the hills and rivers of the State, and prayed, saying, "I ask you, Spirits, from among my five sons to choose one, who may be appointed lord of the altars." He then went all round the altars where he had sacrificed, and exhibited a *peih* before each of them, saying, "He who worships right over this *peih* shall be the whom you Spirits have appointed. Who will dare to oppose your will?" After this, along with [one of his concubines], a Ke of Pa, he secretly buried the *peih* in the court of the ancestral temple, and made his five sons come in, after fasting, in the order of their age, to worship. King K'ang stepped over the place; king Ling touched it with his elbow; T'sze-kan and T'sze-seih were both a long way from it; king P'ing, being then a child, was carried in, and worshipped twice, right over the button of the *peih*. Tow Wei-kwei gave this child in charge to [his son] Ch'ing Jen, saying, "Ts'oo will be endangered both by abandoning the proper law [of succession], and by resisting the appointment [by the Spirits of this child]."

"When T'sze-kan had returned [from Ts'in to Ts'oo], Han S'uen-tsze asked Shuh-h'ang whether he was likely to be successful. "It will be hard for him to be so," was the reply. S'uen-tsze said, "When those who are engaged in the same evil course seek one another's [co-operation], like traffickers in the market, what difficulty can there be?" Shuh-h'ang answered, "Having had no likings in common, they will not have common dislikes. There are five difficulties in the way of taking a State. The candidate may be a favourite, but if he have no [able] men [in his service]—this is the first. He may have the men, but if he have no party [in the State]—this is the second. He may have the party, but if he have no [good] plans—this is the third. He may have the plans, but if he have not the people—this is the fourth. He may have the people, but if he have not virtue—this is the fifth. T'sze-kan has been in Ts'in 13 years; but among his followers, whether of Ts'in or Ts'oo, I have not heard that there are any of distinction—it may be said that he has not the men. His family is extinct [in Ts'oo], and his relatives are against him—it may be said that he has no party. He is moving without any [sufficient] occasion—it may be said that he has no plans. He has been a refugee [here nearly] all his life—it may be said he has not the people. As an exile, there are no proofs that he is loved—it may be said that he has not the virtue. The king is [indeed] oppressive, and stands in awe of nothing; this prince T'sze-kan may adventure in spite of these five difficulties to put him to death, but who can carry his enterprise to complete success? It is K'e-tsih, I apprehend, who will have the State of Ts'oo. He is ruler of Ch'in and Ts'ae, and all outside the barrier wall belongs to him. He has perpetrated no oppression; the banditti [in his jurisdiction] are quiet; he has not, to gratify himself, gone against the people. They have no feeling of animosity against him, and the Spirits formerly gave the appointment to him. The people of the State believe in him, and it has been the regular custom of Ts'oo, that, when there is trouble in the House of Me, the youngest scion of it should get the State. Thus he has obtained the [approval of the]

Spirits—that is one advantage. He has the [confidence of the] people—that is a second. His virtue is admirable—that is a third. He is favoured and noble—that is a fourth. His succession would be in regular order—that is a fifth. With these five advantages to beset against the five difficulties of the other, who can harm him? As to the office of T'sze-kan, he was director of the Right; if you calculate his favour and nobility, he was [only] one of the [king's] sons by concubines; if you judge by the appointment of the Spirits, he was far off from the token which they gave of their approval. His nobility wanting, his favour away from him, the people not cherishing him, and there being no party for him in the State;—how should he become established [in Ts'oo]?"

"S'uen-tsze said, "Were not the cases of Hwan of Ts'e and [our] Wan of Ts'in like his?" Shuh-h'ang replied, "Hwan of Ts'e was the son of a Ke of Wei who was a favourite with [duke] He. He had Paou Shuh-ya, Pin Seu-woo, and Seih P'ang as his assistants. He had Keu and Wei to support him from abroad. He had the [chiefs] Kwoh and Kaou to support him in the State itself. He followed what was good like a flowing stream. He condescended to the good, and was grave and reverent. He did not accumulate his wealth; he did not follow his desires; he gave away unwearyingly; and he was never tired of seeking for good men—was it not right that with such conditions he should have the State? As to our former ruler duke Wan, he was the son of the younger Ke of Hoo, who was a favourite of [duke] H'een. He was fond of learning, and of an unchanging will. When he was 17 years old, he had five officers [who readily followed him]. There were our great officers T'sze-yu (Ts'aon Ts'uy) and T'sze-fan (Hoo Yen) to be his counsellors; there were Wei Ch'ow and K'ea T'o to act as limbs to him; there were Ts'e, Sung, Ts'in, and Ts'oo to support him from abroad; there were the Lwan, K'eh, Hoo, and S'een families to support him in the State itself. During his 19 years of exile, he kept his purpose with increased sincerity, while [the dukes] Hwuy and Hwae neglected the people. The people followed and joined him. There was no [other] son of H'een [remaining]; the people could not look for any other leader. Heaven was then favourably regarding Ts'in, and who was there to take the place of Wan? The cases of those two princes were different from that of T'sze-kan. There is [another] favourite son of [king] Kung; there is [another] lord more honoured in the State. He has shown no beneficence to the people; he has no support from abroad. When he left Ts'in, none escorted him; when he returned to Ts'oo, none met him;—how can he expect to have the State?"

Par. 4. Ping-k'ew was 9 *le* north of the present dis. city of Ch'in-l'ew (陳留), dep. K'ae-fung. The meeting at this place is memorable as being the last of those on a great scale called by Ts'in. Its supremacy among the States had long been waning. The murder of the king of Ts'oo, and the confusion prevailing in that State, encouraged Ts'in to make this final effort to recover its former position; but its day had gone by. To give more solemnity to the meeting, it secured the presence of a representa-

tive of the king in the viscount of L'ew; but Chow had long ceased to command the hearty and reverent homage of the States.

The Chuen says:—"When Ts'in completed [the palace of] Sze-k'e, the princes who then went to its court (in the 8th year) returned home, all alienated from it. It was about to lead the States on a punitive expedition against us, and Shuh-h'ang said, "The States must have the terrors of our majesty displayed to them." They accordingly summoned a meeting on a grand scale, sending notice of it [even] to Woo. In autumn the marquis of Ts'in went to have a meeting with the viscount of Woo in L'ang, who declined it, on account of the difficulty of the communication by water; and he returned [to Ping-k'ew]. In the 7th month, the military array [of Ts'in] was drawn out, on Ping-yin, in the south of Choo, to the number of 4000 chariots of war, Yang-shih Foo having the duties of marshal for the occasion; and the States were forthwith assembled at Ping-k'ew. T'ze-ch'an and T'ze-t'ae-shuh attended the earl of Ch'ing to the conference, the former marching with curtains and coverings for 9 tents, while the latter had taken with him enow for 40. Of this, however, he repented, and reduced the number at every station where they halted, till, when they arrived at the meeting, his number was the same as that of T'ze-ch'an. When they halted in Wei, Shuh-foo (Yang-shih Foo), desiring to get bribes from that State, allowed great license to his foragers and fuel-gatherers. The people sent T'oo Pih to present to Shuh-h'ang a dish of soup, and a basket of flowered silks, saying, "The other States do not dare to swerve from their service of Ts'in, and how much less should Wei, dwelling as it were beneath your eaves, presume to cherish any disaffection! Your foragers and fuel-gatherers are not behaving as on former occasions;—we venture to ask you to take measures with them." Shuh-h'ang accepted the soup, but returned the silks, saying, "There is that Yang-shih Foo, whose craving for bribes is insatiable;—evil will come on him. It is he who has done this. If you give him these silks with your ruler's orders, he will stop the trouble." The visitor did so; and before he retired, a prohibition was issued [to the plunderers]."

Par. 5, 6. The inartificial construction of the classic appears in these two parr., compared with the preceding one. From 4 and 5 we should certainly conclude that the duke took part in the covenant, but from 6 it appears that he did not do so.

"The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'in wished to renew the [existing] covenant, but they of Ts'e refused to do so. The marquis of Ts'in sent Shuh-h'ang to inform duke H'een of L'ew [of the difficulty], saying, "Since the people of Ts'e will not join in covenant, what is to be done?" [The duke] replied, "A covenant is for the confirmation of faith. If your ruler have good faith, the princes will not separate from him. Why should you make a trouble of this matter? Set the thing before them in civil terms, and follow this up with your military force; although Ts'e do not take the covenant, your ruler will accomplish much. An elder of the Son of Heaven, I beg to conduct the king's levies, and with ten large chariots of war lead the way before you;—by-and-by or quickly, as your ruler may

determine." Shuh-h'ang then went to inform Ts'e, saying, "The princes have sought for a covenant and are here; but your lordship does not think it will be profitable, and my ruler thinks it well to ask for your views!" "When the States are about to punish the disaffected," was the reply, "then there is a renewal of covenants; but if all are obedient to your orders, why should there be any such renewal?" Shuh-h'ang said, "The ruin of States [happens in this way]—If they have [meetings of] business, but do not pay their contributions, the business become irregular; if they pay their contributions, but do not observe the [proper] ceremonies, there may be regularity, but there is a want of order; if they observe the ceremonies, but do not have a feeling of awe, the order comes to be without respect; if they have a feeling of awe, but do not declare it [to the Spiritual powers], their respect is not [sufficiently] displayed. The want of that display leads to the casting away of respect; the various affairs of business are not brought to a successful issue; and there ensue downfall and overthrow. For this reason the statutes of the intelligent kings required the princes every year to send a complimentary mission, that they might be kept in mind of the contributions they had to pay; after the interval [of a year], they went themselves to court for the practice of ceremonies; when the time for a second visit to court came, there was a meeting for the display of [the king's] majesty; and when the time for a second meeting came, there was a covenant for the exhibition of his clear intelligence. The keeping their duties in mind was to secure the [continuance of] friendly relations; the practice of ceremonies served to maintain the distinctions of rank; the display of majesty was before the multitude; the clear intelligence was matter of appeal to the Spirits. From antiquity downwards, these rules, we may say, were never neglected. The principles of the preservation or the ruin [of States] depended on them. It is the rule for Ts'in to be lord of covenants. Fearing lest our government should be defective, we bring a victim for a covenant, and announce our purpose to your lordship, seeking the completion of the business. Your lordship, however, has said, 'I will have none of it. What have we in common?' Let your lordship consider the matter well. Our ruler will receive your commands." The people of Ts'e were afraid, and replied, "Our small State said so; but the decision is with your great State. How dare we not listen to and follow you? We have heard your commands, and will reverently proceed [to the covenant]. Let it be early or late as you please."

"Shuh-h'ang said, "There is disaffection among the princes. We must show our numbers." [Accordingly], in the 8th month, on Sin-we, [Ts'in] reviewed its troops, raising up their [small] flags without the banners; but [next day], Jin-shin, the banners were again attached, and the States were afraid of them.

"The people of Choo and Keu made a complaint to Ts'in, saying, "Morning and night Loo keeps invading us, and we are nearly ruined. That we cannot pay our contributions is caused by Loo." The marquis of Ts'in would not see the duke, and sent Shuh-h'ang to decline his presence at the meeting, saying, "The States are going to make a covenant on K'eah-seuh;



but my ruler knows that he cannot serve your lordship;—and prays your lordship not to trouble yourself.” Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih replied, “Your ruler believes the accusations of those Man and E, and cuts off his communications with a brother State, casting from him the descendants of the duke of Chow. Such is his pleasure. Our ruler has heard your order.” Shuh-hëang said, “Our ruler has here 4000 chariots of war. Although he were acting contrary to right, it would be necessary to fear him; but when he is acting in accordance with what is right, who can prove his opponent? An ox may be meagre; but if it fall upon a pig, would you not fear the pig would die? Can you forget your troubles with Nan K'wae and Tszechung? If we lead on the multitudes of Tsin, using also the forces of the other States, and taking advantage of the anger against you of Choo, Keu, K'e, and Tsang; if we come thus to punish Loo for its offences, with the opportunity afforded by those two spirits of trouble:—what can we seek that we shall not get?”

“The people of Loo were frightened by these threats and accepted Tsin's commands. On Keah-seuh the States made a covenant together in P'ing-k'ëw;—together, as Ts'e had submitted.

“Orders were given that the princes should repair to the cleared space [in front of the altar] at mid-day; and on Kwei-yëw, when they retired from the court [of Tsin], Tsze-ch'an commanded the servants, who had attended them on the journey, to pitch the tents [of Ch'ing] there. Tsze-t'ae-shuh, however, stopped them, and told them to wait till the next day. In the evening, Tsze-ch'an, hearing that the tents were not yet pitched, made the servants go immediately to do it; but by this time there was no space left for them. When they came to make the covenant, Tsze-ch'an disputed about the amount of the contributions required [from Ch'ing], saying, “Formerly, the sons of Heaven regulated the amount of the contributions according to the rank of the States. Where the rank was high, the contribution was heavy;—this is the rule of Chow. [Only] from the *t'ien* tenure, was a heavy contribution required, where the rank was low. Ch'ing ranks as [the territory of] an earl or a baron, and yet its contribution is on the scale of that of a duke or a marquis. I am afraid we cannot render it, and venture to make a matter of request concerning it. The States have agreed to abstain from wars, and to make the cultivation of friendly relations their business, but the commands of your messengers come to us every mouth. There is no regular rule for our contributions; and when our small State fails [in rendering what is required], it is held to be an offender. The object of the princes in making covenants is to preserve the small States. When our contributions and offerings have no limit set to them, we have only to wait till our ruin comes. The rule for our preservation or ruin must be made to day.” The contention was continued from mid-day till dusk, when Tsin at last gave way.

“After the covenant, Tsze-t'ae-shuh blamed Tsze-ch'an, saying, “If the States had [determined to] punish us, was it right to take such a liberty [with Tsin]?” Tsze-ch'an replied, “The government of Tsin is in the hands of many families. They have no leisure, with their differences and extravagances, to punish [any other

State]. If a State do not show itself strong, it will be insulted, and no longer be fit to be a State.”

Par. 7. Here and elsewhere Kung-yang has 隱如 for 意如. The Chuen says:—“The duke did not take part in the covenant, and the people of Tsin seized Ke-sun E-joo, and confined him in a tent, with some Teih to guard it. Shih, the herald, carrying some flowered silks in his bosom, and having a vessel with ice to drink in his hand, crawled to the tent. The guards stopped him, but he gave them the silks, and entered. The people of Tsin then took P'ing-tsze back with them, Tsze-pih Tsëaou (Hwuy-pih) going in attendance on him.”

[The Chuen appends here:—“When Tszech'an was returning [from the meeting], before he got to Ch'ing, he heard that Tsze-p'e was dead. He wept and cried, “There is an end of me! There is none [now] to help me in doing good. It was only he who knew me.” Chung-ne said, “On this occasion Tsze-ch'an proved himself fit to be the foundation of his State. The ode (She, II. ii. ode VII. 1) says,

“Objects of complacency are these gentlemen,  
The foundation of my State.”

Tsze-ch'an was a superior man whom one could desire as the object of his complacency.” He also said, “When the States were assembled, to adjust the business of their contributions was according to rule.”]

Par. 8. [The Chuen appends here:—“The people of Sëen-yu, having heard that all the forces of Tsin had been raised [to go to P'ing-k'ëw], ceased all care of their borders, and took no other precautions. On this, Seun-woo of Tsin proceeded with the 1st army from Choo-yung, and made an incursion into their territory; and when he had reached Chung-jin he made a rush upon them, took great spoil, and returned.”]

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—“When Ts'oo extinguished Ts'ae, king Ling removed Heu, Hoo, Shin, Taou, Fang, and Shin within the boundaries of King (=Ts'oo). On the accession of king P'ing, when he re-instated Ch'in and Ts'ae, he restored all these other States:—which was proper. Leu, son of the eldest son Yin, returned to Ts'ae:—which was proper; and Woo, son of the eldest son Taou, returned to Ch'in:—which was proper.”

The eldest son of the last marquis of Ts'ae, whose name was Yëw and who is called in this Chuen by his posthumous title, was sacrificed by Ts'oo, as related in xi. 9. His son Leu had since then remained in Ts'oo. Woo was the son of Yen-sze, the heir-prince of Ch'in, whose murder is related in viii. 1. He also had been kept in Ts'oo. But why the two princes should appear in the text, as if they had all along been the marquises of their States, does not immediately appear. Taken in connection with there being no mention of their restoration by the new king of Ts'oo, there is some ground for believing that Confucius wished, so far as it was possible, to ignore all the proceedings of Ts'oo in regard to Ts'ae and Ch'in. This cannot be argued, however, from the omission of 復 before 歸, as there had been no previous mention of Leu and Woo, as retiring from their States.

Par. 10. Tao-she observes that this burial of duke Ling was ‘proper.’ Thirty months had elapsed since he was put to death by king Ling of Ts'oo (See xi. 2). We are not to suppose that his body had been all that time unburied. It had probably been put into a grave without any honour; and now on the revival of the State, it was taken from that, and re-buried with the appropriate rites.

Par. 11. The duke was, probably, going to Tsin to make his peace with that State, and to try to get the liberation of Ke-sun E-joo. The Chuen says:—“The duke was going to Tsin, but Sëun Woo, said to Han Sëuen-tsze, “The princes visit at each other's courts to speak about [and confirm] the old friendship existing between them. As we are holding his minister a prisoner, though we receive the ruler at our court, there is no friendship between us. We had better decline his visit.” Accordingly, Sze King-pih was sent to the Ho to stop the duke's further progress.”

Par. 12. Chow-lae;—see on VIII. vii. 7. Its position is there given as a city of Ts'oo. From the term ‘extinguished’ here, however, we must suppose that it had originally been the centre of a small State of whose chiefs we know nothing, and that, though it had been incorporated with Ts'oo, they had been allowed to continue the sacrifices of their House.

The Chuen says:—“When Woo extinguished Chow-lae, the chief minister [of Ts'oo], Tsze-k'e, asked leave to invade Woo. The king, however, refused it, saying, “I have not yet soothed [the minds of] the people and the officers, nor done service to the Spirits, nor completed our defences and other preparations, nor fully established [my possession of] the State. If I were to use the strength of the people [before these things have been done], and suffered defeat, repentance would come too late. Chow-lae's being in Woo is the same as its being in Ts'oo; you have only to wait a while.”

[We have here a narrative about the liberation of Ke-sun E-joo from Tsin:—“Ke-sun being still detained in Tsin, Tsze-fuh Hwuy-pih

said privately to Chung-hang Muh-tsze, “In what respect has Loo failed to serve Tsin as well as those small States of the E? [The princes of] Loo [and yours] are brothers. Its territory is still large, and it can provide what you command. If on account of the E you cast it away, and make it serve Ts'e or Ts'oo, what good will that do to Tsin? Kindness to relatives, the cultivation of the great, rewarding contributors, and punishing those who do not contribute;—these are the duties of the presidency of covenants. Do you consider the case. There is the common saying, ‘One subject may have two lords.’ Have we no [other] great State [but Tsin]?” Muh-tsze told this to Han Sëuen-tsze, adding, “When Ts'oo extinguished Ch'in and Ts'ae, we were not able to save those States; and now in behalf of the E we have seized this relative [of our ruler]:—of what use was it to do this?” They wished accordingly to restore Ke-sun, but Hwuy-pih said, “Our ruler is ignorant of his offence; and yet, at the assembly of the States, you seized his minister. If he still be chargeable with any offence, it is competent for you to command his death. If you say that he has no offence, and that you kindly let him go, the States not having heard of it, he will appear to be making his escape from your commands. There is no letting him go in this case; I beg to act in accordance with your ruler's kindness, [declared] at a meeting.” Sëuen-tsze was perplexed by this, and said to Shuh-hëang, “Can you get Ke-sun to return to Loo?” He replied, “No; but Foo can.” Accordingly, they sent Shuh-yu, who went and saw Ke-sun, and said to him, “Formerly, I was an offender in Tsin, and betook myself to the ruler of Loo [in connection with the affairs of Lwan Ying in Sëang's 21st year]. But for the help of [your grand-father] Woo-tsze, I should not have come to my present position. Although I might have got my bones restored to Tsin, the case is as if you had put the flesh on them. Must I not tell you the truth? You have been asked to return, and you will not return. I have heard from the officers that the ground is to be prepared for a lodging for you on the west of the Ho.” This story he followed up with tears. P'ing-tsze was afraid and returned to Loo before Hwuy-pih, who waited for the proper forms [of dismissal].”]

Fourteenth year.

子意冬<sup>六</sup>疾<sup>五</sup>八月<sup>四</sup>秋<sup>三</sup>夏<sup>二</sup>卒。三月<sup>一</sup>意<sup>十</sup>如<sup>有</sup>至<sup>四</sup>自<sup>年</sup>晉<sup>春</sup>。  
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也夫。榮猶義殺親益加三惡除三言而不爲顏刑書以正言其貪侯之獄爲虐邢不國晉魯以寬魯

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, E-joo arrived from Tsin.  
 2 In the third month, T'ang, earl of Ts'au, died.  
 3 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Woo of Ts'au.  
 5 In the eighth month, K'eu-tsih, viscount of Keu, died.  
 6 In winter, Keu put to death the Kung-tsze, E-k'wei.

Par. 1. Tso says that the style of this par., where the name only is given, and not the clan-name, is expressive of honour to Tsin and of Loo's depreciation of itself; and he adds that this was according to propriety. But this criticism may be called in question. The 至 indicating the announcement of the minister's return in the ancestral temple of the State, shows that that return was a subject on which Loo congratulated itself; but we need not cast about for any explanation of the omission of the clan-name. The K'ang-he editors themselves refer with approbation to the view of Sun Fuh (孫復):— "[Only] when a great officer had been seized, was his arrival recorded. In that record he must be named. The clan-name is not given, because it had been previously mentioned (*L. e.* in Par. 7 of last year)."

[A narrative here gives the end of Nan K'wae's revolt (See xii. 8):— When Nan K'wae was about to revolt, he bound the people of Pe by a covenant. Sze-t'oo Laou-k'e and Loo Kwei, pretending that they had been taken ill, sent to beg of Nan K'wae, saying, "Your servants wished to take the covenant, but we have become ill. If by your influence we do not die, we ask that we may take it when we are somewhat better." K'wae agreed; and [by and by], taking advantage of the wish of the people to revolt [from him], they asked him to call the multitude together that they might receive the covenant. They then seized him, and said to him, "His servants have not forgotten their [proper] lord; but [yet] we have listened to your commands. If you do not take speedy measures [for your own safety], the people of Pe cannot endure [to be separated from] their lord, and will not be able to stand in awe of you. Allow us to escort you to any place whatever that you wish to go to." K'wae begged a delay of 5 days, and then he fled to Ts'e. When he was standing by and drinking with duke King, the duke called him by the name of "Revolver." "I wished," he replied, "to increase the power of the ducal House." Tsze-han Seih said, "There could not be a greater crime than for you, the minister of a Family [merely], to wish to increase the authority of the ducal House." Sze-t'oo Laou-k'e and Loo Kwei came and returned Pe [to Loo], and the marquis of Ts'e also sent Paou Wan-tsze to surrender [his claim to] it.]

Par. 3. [There is appended here an account of the procedures of king Ping in Ts'oo:—

'In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo sent Jen Tan to inspect the military forces of the upper part of the State in Tsung-k'ew, and at the same time to comfort the people, giving assistance to the poor and relief to the distressed; nurturing orphans and the young; nourishing the old and the sick; getting hold of the promising; helping sufferers from calamity; remitting the taxes of orphans and widows; pardoning [certain classes of] offenders; making strict inquiry after the perverse and bad; lifting up those whose way was obstructed; showing courtesy to new comers, and giving facilities to old residents; rewarding merit, and bringing relatives together; giving employment to the virtuous, and using officers according to their ability. He also sent K'eh P'e to inspect the forces of the east of the State at Shaou-ling, and to take there the same methods. They were to maintain peace on the borders, so that when the people had rested, they might be employed on military services. All this was proper.]

Par. 5 The Chuen says:— "In autumn, in the 8th month, duke Choo-k'ew of Keu died, and [his son], duke K'au showed no grief, [in consequence of which] the people were not willing to obey him, and wished to raise Kang-yu, the younger brother of Choo-k'ew, to the State. Poo-yu How hated the Kung-tsze E-k'wei, and was friendly with Kang-yu. Duke K'au hated the Kung-tsze Toh, and was on good terms with E-k'wei. The Kung-tsze Toh formed an alliance with Poo-yu How, and concerted a plan with him, saying, "If you will kill E-k'wei, I will drive our ruler out, and we can then make Kang-yu ruler." How agreed to this."

The death of the viscount of Keu is recorded here, it having been, we must suppose, officially notified to Loo. We have no subsequent entry however, of his burial, probably because Loo, smarting under the indignities which it had received through Keu from Tsin, would not send an officer to attend it. [There is here appended a short narrative about Ts'oo:— Tsze-k'e, chief minister of Ts'oo, had been of great service to the king, and knew not how to keep himself within rule. He formed a friendship with the Head of the Yang family, and was insatiable in his desires. The king was vexed about it; and in the 9th month, on K'ah-woo, he put Tow Ching-jen to death, and extinguished the branches of the Yang family. He made Tow Sin (Son of Ching-jen), however, reside in Yun, to show that he did not forget the old services [of his family].]

左傳曰十四年春意如至自晉尊晉罪己也尊晉罪己禮也  
 南蒯之將叛也盟費人司徒老祁慮癸僞廢疾使請於南蒯曰臣願受盟而疾與若以君靈不死請待閒而盟許之二子因民之欲叛也請朝衆而盟遂劫南蒯曰羣臣不忘其君畏子以及今三年聽命矣子若弗圖費人不忍其君將不能畏子矣子何所不逞欲請送子請期五日遂奔齊侍飲酒於景公公曰叛夫對曰臣欲張公室也子韓皙曰家臣而欲張公室罪莫大焉司徒老祁慮癸來歸費齊侯使鮑文子致之  
 夏楚子使然丹簡上國之兵於宗丘且撫其民分貧振窮長孤幼養老疾收介特救災患宥孤寡赦罪戾詰姦慝舉淹滯禮新敘舊祿勳合親任良物官使屈罷簡東國之兵於召陵亦如之好於邊疆息民五年而後用師禮也  
 秋八月莒著丘公卒郊公不慼國人弗順欲立著丘公之弟庚與蒲餘侯惡公子意恢而善於庚與郊公惡公子鐸而善於意恢公子鐸因蒲餘侯而與之謀曰爾殺意恢我出君而納庚與許之  
 楚令尹子旗有德於王不知度與養氏比而求無厭王患之九月甲午楚子殺鬬成然而滅養氏之族使鬬辛居鄢以無忘舊勳  
 冬十二月蒲餘侯茲夫殺莒公子意恢郊公奔齊公子鐸逆庚與於齊齊隰黑公子鉏送之有賂田  
 晉邢侯與雍子爭鄆田久而無成士景伯如楚叔魚攝理韓宣子命斷舊獄罪在雍子雍子納其女於叔魚叔魚蔽罪邢侯邢侯怒殺叔魚與雍子於朝宣子問其罪於叔向叔向曰三人同罪施生戮死可也雍子自知其罪而賂以買直耐也鬻獄邢侯專殺其罪一也已惡而掠美爲昏貪以敗官爲墨殺人不忌爲賊夏書曰昏墨賊殺皇陶之刑也請從之乃施邢侯而尸雍子與叔魚於市仲尼曰叔向古之遺直也治國制刑不隱於親三數叔魚之惡不爲末減曰義也夫可謂直矣平丘之會數其賄也以寬衛國晉不爲暴歸魯季孫稱其詐也

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'In winter, in the 12th month, Poo-yu How (See on par. 5) and Tsze Foo killed the Kung-tsze E-k'wei of Keu, on which duke Kēaou fled to Ts'e. The Kung-tsze Toh met Kāng-yu in Ts'e, from which he was escorted by Seih Tang and the Kung-tsze Ts'oo of that State, Ts'e being promised a bribe of lands.'

The 其 in the text—'its,' but that word would be awkward in English before 公子. E-k'wei was, I suppose, a brother of duke Kēaou; and we might translate,—'Keu put to death E-k'wei, the brother of its ruler.' We should have thought that it would have been more appropriate to intimate in the text the flight of duke Kēaou. Keu being a small State, we never read in the classic of its 'great officers,' else the paragraph would have run 莒殺其大夫公子意恢. Comp. IX. xix. 10, 11; et al.

[We have a narrative here of affairs in Ts'in:—'Hing-how of Ts'in (The son of Woo-shin of Ts'oo; see the 1st narrative after VIII. ii. 6, et al.) and Yung-tsze (Also a refugee from Ts'oo; see the 2d narr. after IX. xxvi. 7) had a dispute about some lands of Ch'uh, which continued after a long time unsettled. When Sze King-pih went to Ts'oo, Shuh-yu was charged for the time with the administration of his duties, and Han Seuen-tsze ordered him to settle this old litigation. Yung-tsze was in the wrong, but he presented his daughter as a gift to Shuh-yu, who thereon decided that Hing-how was in the wrong; and he, enraged, killed both Shuh-yu and Yung-tsze in the court. Seuen-tsze consulted Shuh-hēang about this crime, and was answered, "The three were all equally guilty. You must put him who is alive to death, and expose his body, and you must [further]

disgrace the [two that are] dead. Yung-tsze knew that he was wrong, and gave a bribe to buy a verdict in his favour; Foo sold his judgment in the dispute; and Hing-how took it on him to kill them. Their crimes were equally heinous. To try to make himself right when he was wrong was an instance of moral blindness; through covetousness to defeat the end of his office was an instance of black impurity; to put men to death without fear [of the law] was the act of a ruffian. One of the Books of Hēa says, 'The morally blind, the blackly impure, and ruffians, are to be put to death.' Such was the punishment appointed by Kaou-yaou. I beg you to follow it.' Accordingly Hing-how was put to death, and his body exposed, and the corpses of Yung-tsze and Shuh-yu were [also] exposed, in the market place.

Chung-ne said, "The justice of Shuh-hēang was that which was transmitted from antiquity. In the government of the State, and determining the punishment [for an assigned crime], he concealed nothing in the case of his own relative. Thrice he declared the wickedness of Shuh-yu without making any abatement. Whether we may say that he was righteous [is doubtful], but he may be pronounced to have been straightforward. At the meeting of P'ing-k'ew, he declared his [brother's] craving for bribes:—this was to give relief to Wei, and save Ts'in from the practice of cruelty. In getting Kesun to return to Loo, he declared his [brother's] deceit:—this was to relieve Loo, and save Ts'in from the exercise of oppression. In this legal action of Hing-how, he mentioned his [brother's] covetousness:—this was to keep the records of punishment correct, and save Ts'in from partiality. By his three declarations he took away three evils, and secured three advantages. He put his brother to death and increased [his own] glory;—but this has the semblance of righteousness [only]."

### Fifteenth year.

十有五年春王正月，  
吳子夷末卒。  
三月癸酉，有事于武宮，籥人叔弓卒，去樂卒事。  
夏，蔡朝吳出奔鄭。  
六月丁巳朔，日有食之。  
秋，晉荀吳帥師伐鮮虞。  
冬，公如晉。

左傳曰：十五年春，將禘於武公，戒百官，梓慎曰：禘之日，其有咎乎？吾見赤黑之祲，非祭祥也，喪氛也，其在蒞事乎？二月癸酉，禘，叔弓蒞事，籥人而卒，去樂卒事，禮也。  
楚費無極害朝吳之在蔡也，欲去之，乃謂之曰：王唯信子，故處子於蔡，子亦長矣，而在下位，辱，必求之，吾助子，請又謂其上之人曰：王唯信吳，故處諸蔡，二三子莫之如也，而在其上，不亦難乎？弗圖，必及於難。夏，蔡人逐朝吳，朝吳出奔鄭，王怒曰：余唯信吳，故實諸蔡，且微吳，吾不及此，汝何故去之？無極對曰：臣豈不欲吳，然而前知其爲人之異也，吳在蔡，蔡必速飛去吳，所以翦其翼也。  
秋八月戊寅，王穆后崩。  
晉荀吳帥師伐鮮虞，圍鼓，鼓人或請以城叛，穆子弗許，左右曰：師徒不勤，而可以獲城，何故不爲？穆子曰：吾聞諸叔向曰：好惡不愆，民知所適，事無不濟，或以吾城叛，吾所甚惡也，人以城來，吾獨何好焉？賞所甚惡，若所好何？若其弗賞，是失信也，何以庇民？力能則進，否則退，量力而行，吾不可以欲城而邇姦，所喪滋多，使鼓人殺叛人，而繕守備，圍鼓三月，鼓人或請降，使其民見曰：猶有食色，姑修而城，軍吏曰：獲城而弗取，勤民而頓兵，何以事君？穆子曰：吾以事君也，獲一邑而教民怠，將焉用邑？邑以賈怠，不如完舊，賈怠無卒，棄舊不祥，鼓人能事其君，我亦能事吾君，率義不爽，好惡不愆，城可獲而民知義，所有死命而無二心，不亦可乎？鼓人告食竭力盡而後取之，克鼓而反，不戮一人，以鼓子戴鞮歸。  
冬，公如晉，平丘之會故也。  
十二月，晉荀躒如周葬穆后，籍談爲介，既葬，除喪，以文伯宴，樽以魯壺，王曰：伯氏諸侯皆有以鎮撫王室，晉獨無有，何也？文伯揖籍談，對曰：諸侯之封也，皆受明器於王室，以鎮撫其社稷，故能薦彝器於王，晉居深山，戎

將焉用之。二禮無大經矣，言以考典，典以志經，忘經而多言，舉典

狄之與鄰，而遠於王室，王靈不及，拜戎不暇，其何以獻器？王曰：叔氏而忘諸乎？叔父唐叔，成王之母弟也，其反無分乎？密須之鼓，與其大路，文所以大蒐也，闕鞶之甲，武所以克商也，唐叔受之，以處參虛，匡有戎狄，其後襄之二路，鍼鉞鉅鬲，彤弓虎賁，文公受之，以有南陽之田，撫征東夏，非分而何？夫有勳而不廢，有績而載，奉之以土田，撫之以彝器，旌之以車服，明之以文章，子孫不忘，所謂福也。福祚之不登，叔父焉在？且昔而高祖，孫伯也，司晉之典籍，以爲大政，故曰籍氏，及辛有之二子董之，晉於是乎有董史，故曰典之後也。何故忘之？籍談不能對，賓出，王曰：籍父其無後乎？數典而忘其祖，籍談歸，以告叔向，叔向曰：王其不終乎？吾聞之，所樂必卒焉。今王樂憂，若卒以憂，不可謂終。王一歲而有三年之喪，二焉，於是乎以喪賓宴，又求彝器，樂憂甚矣，且非禮也。喪器之來，嘉功之由，非由喪也。三年之喪，雖貴遂服，禮也。王雖弗遂，宴樂以早，亦非禮也。禮王之大經也，一動而失二禮，無大經矣，言以考典，典以志經，忘經而多言，舉典

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, E-mei, viscount of Woo, died.
- 2 In the second month, on Kwei-yëw, there was a sacrifice in the temple of duke Woo, when Shuh Kung died as the flute-players were entering. The musicians were [consequently] sent away, and the sacrifice was finished [without them].
- 3 In summer, Chaou Woo of Ts'ae fled from that State to Ch'ing.
- 4 In the 6th month, on Ting-sze, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 5 In autumn, Sëun Woo of Tsin led a force and invaded Sëen-yu.
- 6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin.

Par. 1. Kung-yang makes the name of the viscount of Woo 夷昧.

Par. 2. 有事, we saw on VII. viii. 3, denotes the celebration of a sacrifice; and the Chuen says expressly that Loo now celebrated a *te* (祫) sacrifice. It could not be 'the great *te* sacrifice,' however, for that was performed in the grand temple; nor could it be a repetition of 'the fortunate *te* (吉祫),' for that would have fallen on the previous year. We must suppose this

was a special *te* (特祫), celebrated, probably, in contemplation of some military enterprise. See the account of the erection of the temple of duke Woo on VIII. vi. 2. The paragraph has its place in the classic not because of any thing peculiar in the sacrifice, but because of the death of Shuh Kung at it, and the consequent action taken. Comp. VII. viii. 3, 4.

The Chuen says:—'[The duke] being about to offer a *te* sacrifice in the temple of duke Woo, orders had been given to all the officers to fast [in preparation for it]. Tsze Shin said, "I fear some misfortune will happen on the day of the

sacrifice, for I have seen a red and black halo inauspicious for it; it is a vapour of death. Will it take effect on the officer in charge of the business?" In the 2d month, on Kwei-yëw, the sacrifice was being performed, with Shuh Kung as manager, when he died as the flute-players were entering. The musicians were then all sent away, and the business was concluded [without them]:—which was according to rule.

At the sacrifice mentioned in VII. viii. 3, only the civil dancers put away their flutes, but on this occasion all the music used at the service was stilled. The death of Shuh Kung happening at it, and while he was engaged in the superintendence of it, was a more striking event than that of Suy, which took place at a distance. It was not deemed proper, however, to suspend the sacrifice altogether.

Par. 3. For 朝 Kung-yang has 昭, and he leaves out the 出. The part which Chaou Woo played in the revolution which seated king P'ing in Ts'oo appears in the narrative on xiii. 2. He had been a faithful minister of Ts'ae.

The Chuen says:—'Fei Woo-keih of Ts'oo felt hurt at Chaou Woo's being in Ts'ae, and resolved to remove him. He accordingly said to him, "In you only does the king repose confidence, and he has therefore placed you in Ts'ae. You are also grown up, and it is a disgrace that you should be in an inferior position. You must seek a higher one, and I will assist you in preferring your request." At the same time he spoke to the men who were above him, saying, "The king reposes confidence only in Chaou Woo, and has therefore placed him in Ts'ae. You are not deemed equal to him;—will you not find it hard to be above him? If you do not take early measures for your safety, you will find yourselves in difficulties." [In consequence of this], in summer they drove Chaou Woo from Ts'ae, when he fled to Ch'ing. The king was angry, and said, "It is only in Woo that I have confidence, and therefore I placed him in Ts'ae. But for him, moreover, I should not have reached my present position. Why have you sent him away?" Woo-keih replied, "Do not I wish Woo [well]? But I knew before what a different man he is from others. With him in Ts'ae, it would be sure soon to take wings and fly. The removal of Woo was the way to clip its wings."

Par. 4. This eclipse took place on the 10th of April, B.C. 526, and was visible in the forenoon.

[There are appended here the following notices:—'In the 6th month, on Yih-ch'ow, Show, the eldest son of the king, died. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Mow-yin, the queen Muh died.']

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'When he invaded Sëen-yu, Sëun Woo laid siege to Koo. Some of the inhabitants offered to revolt to him and surrender the city, but he (Muh-tsze in the Chuen was Woo's designation. He often appears as Chung-hang Muh-tsze) declined the proposal. The people about him said, "Since you could [in this way] get possession of the city without any toilsome efforts of the army, why do you not adopt it?" He replied, "I have heard from Shuh-hëang that, when the likings and dislikings [of superiors] are all correct, the people know to

whom to commit themselves, and their affairs are all successful. If any one were to revolt with a city of ours, I should hate him extremely; when other people come to revolt with their city to us, why should I show a liking for them? If I rewarded them whom I should be hating extremely, what should I do in the case of those whom I loved? And if I did not reward them, it would be a breach of faith. How should I thus protect the people? [My way is] to advance when I am able, and to retire when my strength fails, acting on the calculation of my resources. I must not from any wish to get possession of the city have dealings with traitors. What I should lose [thereby] would be much greater [than my gain]." [He then informed] the people of Koo that they might kill those who proposed to revolt, and put their defences in good order.

'When he had invested Koo 3 months, some of the officers in it proposed to surrender it, and sent a party of the people to see Woo; but he said to them, "You still look as if you had plenty of food. Repair your walls for the present." The officers of the army said to him, "When you might get the city, you do not take it, making the people toil and continuing the troops here. In what way do you thus serve our ruler?" He replied, "I act thus to serve our ruler. If I took the city, and thereby taught the people to be indifferent to their duty, of what use would the city be? Than to pay the price of that indifference for the city it is better that they should maintain it in their old allegiance. If you trade with that indifference, there will be no success in the end; it is inauspicious to abandon old allegiance. When the people of Koo are able to serve their ruler, our people will also be able to serve theirs. By following the course of righteousness without swerving from it, being correct in my likings and dislikings, I shall get the city, and the people will know in what righteousness consists; they will be prepared to die without any wavering in their allegiance:—is not that desirable?"

'When the people of Koo announced that their provisions and other resources were exhausted, then he took the city. When he returned from its reduction, he had not put a single man to death. He took Yuen-te, viscount of Koo, back with him to Tsin.'

Par. 6. Tso says this visit was on account of the meeting of P'ing-k'ëw, meaning, acc. to Tso, that it was to thank Tsin for the liberation of E-joo. We may suppose it was with a less worthy object,—to get to be on fair terms with Tsin at any price.

[We have a narrative here of the royal court and an envoy of Tsin:—'In the 12th month, Sëun Leih of Tsin went to Chow to the funeral of queen Muh, Tseih T'an being the assistant-commissioner. When the funeral was over, and the king had put off his mourning, he invited [Wan-pih] (Sëun Leih) to a feast, at which the spirits were served from a tankard presented by Loo. The king said [to his guest], "Elder Sir, the States, with the single exception of Tsin, have all [sent offerings] to comfort the royal House;—how is this?" Wan-pih motioned to Tseih T'an, who thereupon replied, "At the establishment of the States, all [the rest] received brilliant articles from the royal House for the protection and comfort of their altars, so that they



are able to present valuable gifts to the king. But the royal beneficence did not extend to Tsin, placed among high hills, in the neighbourhood of the Jung and the Teih, and far away from the royal House. It has hardly had time to repay its obligations to the Jung; how should it have presented such articles [to the court]? "Have you forgotten, younger Sir?" said the king. "Our uncle T'ang-shuh (First lord of Tsin) was own brother to king Ch'ing; was it likely that he should not share [in the royal presents]? There were the drum and the great chariot of Meih-seu, which [king] Wan used at his grand reviews; and the cuirass of Keueh-kung in which [king] Woo subdued Shang:—T'ang-shuh received them, to occupy the tract corresponding to Ts'an [in the heavens], and to subdue to himself the Jung and the Teih. Afterwards, there were the two chariots of [king] S'ang, the axes large and small, the flavoured spirits of black millet, the red bow and a party of life-guards:—duke Wan received these (See the Chuen on V. xxviii. 8), that he might hold the lands of Nan-yang, and [according to circumstances] either comfort or punish the eastern States of the kingdom. Now when the services [of Tsin] were [thus] not left without acknowledgment, when its merits were recorded, when it was invested with territory, gratified with valuable articles, distinguished with chariots and robes, and made illustrious with banners, so that the descendants [of its princes] could not forget [the royal favours], this is what may be pronounced blessing. If blessing and bounty have not lighted on [the State of] our uncle [T'ang-shuh], on whom have they done so? Moreover, your ancestor Sun Pih-yen had charge of the archives of Tsin, and was consulted on the great matters of the government, in consequence of which he got the clan-name of Tseih. When the two sons of Sin-yew, the Tungs, went to Tsin, that State had [also] the historiographers of that surname. You are the descendant of the superintendent of the archives;—how is it that you are so forget-

ful of these matters?" Tseih T'an could not reply; and when his guests went out, the king said, "Mr. Tseih will not, we may anticipate, leave any posterity. He must have numbered the archives, and yet he has forgotten [the work of] his ancestors!"

When Tseih T'an returned [to Tsin], he told all this to Shuh-h'ang, who said, "The king will, probably, not complete his years. I have heard that a man is sure to die of that in which he delights. Now the king seeks pleasure in the midst of his grief. If he die [in the midst] of grief, it cannot be said that he has completed his years. In one year, he has had two deaths for each of which he should have mourned 3 years. At such a time to feast with the guests at his mourning, and to be further asking for gifts of valuable articles, shows excessively what he delights in in the midst of his grief. And moreover such conduct is contrary to the rules of propriety. Gifts of valuable articles are presented [by the States] on occasions of extraordinary merit, and not on occasions of mourning. When a death that should be mourned for 3 years has occurred, even the noblest should, according to rule, complete the mourning for it. If the son of Heaven should not complete that, yet to feast and seek pleasure at an early period must be pronounced contrary to propriety. The rules of propriety are the king's great canons. On one occasion to neglect two of them shows that he has no great canons. Words serve to make the archives; the archives serve to record the canons. Forgetting the canons, and making a flourish of words, what use does his reference to the archives serve?"

Sixteenth year.

十有六年春齊侯伐徐。楚子誘戎蠻子殺之。夏公至自晉。秋八月己亥晉侯夷卒。九月大雩。冬十月葬晉昭公。

左傳曰十六年春王正月公在晉晉人止公不書諱之也。齊侯伐徐二月丙申齊師至於蒲隧徐人行成徐子及邾人莒人會齊侯盟於蒲隧賂以甲父之鼎叔孫昭子曰諸侯之無伯害哉齊君之無道也與師而伐遠方會之有成而還莫之亢也無伯也夫詩曰宗周既滅靡所止戾正大夫離居莫知我肄其是之謂乎。楚子聞蠻氏之亂也與蠻子之無質也使然丹誘戎蠻子嘉殺之遂取蠻氏既而復立其子焉禮也。三月晉韓起聘於鄭鄭伯享之子產戒曰苟有位於朝無有不共恪孔張後至立於客間執政禦之適客後又禦之適縣間客從而笑之事畢富子諫曰夫大國之人不可不慎也幾爲之笑而不陵我我皆有禮夫猶鄙我國而無禮何以求榮孔張失位吾子之耻也子產怒曰發命之不衷出令之不信刑之頗類獄之放紛會朝之不敬使命之不聽取陵於大國罷民而無功罪及而弗知僑之耻也孔張君之昆孫子孔之後也執政之嗣也爲嗣大夫承命以使周於諸侯國人所尊諸侯所知立於朝而祀於家有祿於國有賦於軍喪祭有職受賑歸賑其祭在廟已有著位在位數世世守其業而忘其所僑焉得耻之辟邪之人而皆及執政是先王無刑罰也子寧以他規我。宣子有環其一在鄭商宣子謁諸鄭伯子產弗與曰非官府之守器也寡君不知子犬叔子羽謂子產曰韓子亦無幾求晉國亦未可以貳晉國韓子不可偷也若屬有讒人交鬪其間鬼神而助之以與其凶怒悔之何及吾子何愛於一環其以取憎於大國也盍求而與之子產曰吾非偷晉而有二心將終事之是以弗與忠信故也僑聞君子非無貽之難立而無令名之患僑聞爲國非不能事大字小之難無禮以定其位之患夫大國之人令於小國而皆獲其求將何以給之一共一否爲罪滋大。大國之求無禮以斥之何饜之有吾且爲鄙邑則失位矣若韓子奉命以使而求玉焉貪淫甚矣獨非罪乎出一玉以起二罪吾又失位韓子成貪將焉用之。

且吾以玉賈罪，不亦銳乎？韓子買諸賈人，既成賈矣，商人曰：「必告君大夫。」韓子請諸子產，曰：「日起請夫環，執政弗義，弗敢復也。」今買諸商人，商人曰：「必以聞，敢以爲請。」子產對曰：「昔我先君桓公與商人皆出自周，庸大比耦，以艾殺此地，斬之蓬蒿藜藿，而共處之，世有盟誓，以相信也。」曰：「爾無我叛，我無強買，毋或勾奪，爾有利市寶賄，我勿與知，恃此質誓，故能相保，以至於今。」今吾子以好來辱，而謂敝邑強奪商人，是教敝邑背盟誓也，毋乃不可乎？吾子得玉而失諸侯，必不爲也。若大國令而共無藝，鄭鄙邑也，亦弗爲也。僑若獻玉，不知所成，敢私布之。韓子辭玉，曰：「起不敏，敢求玉以微二罪，敢辭之。」

夏四月，鄭六卿餞宣子於郊。宣子曰：「二三君子請皆賦，起亦以知鄭志。」子驥賦：「野有蔓草，宣子曰：『孺子善哉，吾有望矣。』」子產賦：「鄭之羔裘，宣子曰：『起不堪也。』」子大叔賦：「褰裳，宣子曰：『起在此，敢勤子至於他人乎？』」子大叔拜，宣子曰：「善哉，子之言是，不有是事，其能終乎？」游賦：「風雨，子旗賦：『有女同車，子柳賦：『蘼兮，宣子曰：『喜曰：『鄭其庶乎？』』』」二三君子以君命貺起，賦不出鄭志，皆昵燕好也。二三君子數世之主也，可以無懼矣。宣子皆獻馬焉，而賦我將子產拜，使五卿皆拜，曰：「吾子靖亂，敢不拜德。」宣子私覲於子產，以玉與馬，曰：「子命起舍夫玉，是賜我玉，而免吾死也，敢不藉手以拜。」

公至自晉。子服昭伯語季平子曰：「晉之公室，其將遂卑矣。君幼弱，六卿彊而奢傲，將因是以習，習實爲常，能無卑乎？」平子曰：「爾幼，惡識國。」

秋八月，晉昭公卒。

九月，大雩，旱也。

冬十月，季平子如晉，葬昭公。平子曰：「子服回之言猶信，子服氏有子哉。」

- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Seu.  
 2 The viscount of Ts'oo inveigled the viscount of the Man-jung [into his power], and put him to death.  
 3 In summer, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ke-hae, E, marquis of Tsin, died.  
 5 In the ninth month, we had a great sacrifice for rain.  
 6 Ke-sun E-joo went to Tsin.  
 7 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'ao of Tsin.

[The Chuen has here a note about the duke's remaining in Tsin over the new year:—'This spring, the duke was detained there by the people of Tsin. The text does not mention it, concealing [the disgrace].']

Par. 1. The marquis of Ts'e, aware of the decay of Tsin, was now scheming to revive the old presidency of his State, and make himself another duke Hwan. During the time of Hwan, Seu had taken the side of the northern States. After his time it came under the power of Ts'oo, and we have nothing about it in the text in all the years of S'uen, Ch'ing, and S'ang. Soon after the accession of Ch'ao, it became an object of suspicion to Ts'oo, as being inclined to side against it with Woo; and the marquis of Ts'e now took advantage of the disorders of Ts'oo to try and secure its adherence to himself. But he was not another Hwan, and Ts'e's time had gone by.

The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ts'e invaded Seu. In the 2d month, on P'ing-shin, his army arrived at Poo-suy, when the people of Seu made their submission, and the viscount, with officers of T'an and Keu, had a meeting in that place, and made a covenant with the marquis, who received, as a bribe, the tripod of K'eah-foo. Shuh-sun Ch'ao-tsze said, "Alas for the [small States] that there is now no leader among the princes! The ruler of Ts'e, devoid of principle, raises an army and invades a distant region. He assembles a conference, is successful, and returns;—no one resisting him. Such is the consequence of there being no leader! To this state of things may be applied the words of the ode (She II. iv., ode X. 2),

'The honoured House of Chow is [nearly] extinguished;  
 There is none to put an end to the disorders.  
 The Heads of the officers have left their places.  
 And none know my toil.'

Par. 2. For 蠻 Kung-yang has 曼. In the Chuen on VIII. vi. 4. we read of the Man-she. They were a tribe of the Jung, whose principal town or city was in the south-west of the pres. Joo Chow (汝州), in Ho-nan.

The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo, having heard that the Man-she were all in disorder, and that their viscount K'ea had no good faith, made Jen Tan inveigle him [into his power], and put him to death. He then took

[the territory of] the Man-she, but he proceeded to appoint K'ea's son in his place:—which was proper.' Against this concluding decision of Tao the K'ang-he editors strongly protest;—considering all the circumstances of the case.

[We have here three narratives connected with Han S'uen-tsze of Tsin in Ch'ing:—

1st. 'In the 3d month, Han K'e of Tsin went on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, when the earl gave him an entertainment. Tsze-ch'an had warned [the various officers] beforehand, that all of them who could claim positions in the court should behave with the utmost respect. K'ung Chang, however, came late, and stood among the visitors. From that place the director [of the ceremonies] made him remove. He then took his place behind the visitors, from which also he was removed; and he [finally] went among the instruments of music, followed by the smiles of the guests. When the ceremony was over, Foo-tsze reproved [Tsze-ch'an], saying, "With the officers of the great State we ought to be particularly careful. If we often give them occasion to laugh at us, they will despise us. Though we all of us observed the rules of ceremony, those men would think meanly of us; but when a State does not observe the rules of ceremony, how can it seek for glory? K'ung Chang's losing his place was a disgrace to you." Tsze-ch'an replied with indignation, "If I issued commands which were not proper, gave out orders without sincerity, took advantage of circumstances to be partial in punishing, allowed litigations to be confused, were disrespectful at meetings [of the States] and at other courts, caused the orders of the government to be disregarded, brought on us the contempt of a great State, wearied the people without accomplishing anything, or allowed crimes to occur without taking knowledge of them;—any of these things would be a disgrace to me. But K'ung Chang is the descendant of Tsze-k'ung who was the elder brother of one of our rulers, [thus] the heir of a chief minister and himself by inheritance a great officer. He has been sent on missions to Chow, is honoured by the people of other States, and is known to the princes. He has had his place in our court, and maintains the sacrifices in his family [temple]. He has endowments in the State, and contributes his levies to the army. At funerals and sacrifices [of our ruling House] he has [regular] duties; he receives of the sacrificial flesh from our ruler, and sends of his own to him. At the sacrifices in our ancestral temple, he has his assigned place. He has been in offices under several

rulers, and from one to another he has kept his position. Though he forgot his proper course, how can that be a disgrace to me? That prejudiced and corrupt men should all lay everything on me as minister, is because the former kings did not appoint sufficient punishments and penalties. You had better find fault with me for something else?"

2d. 'Seuen-tsze had a ring of jade, the fellow of which was in the possession of a merchant of Ch'ing, and he begged it from the earl. Tsze-ch'an, however, refused it, saying, "It is not an article kept in our government treasury;—our ruler knows nothing about it." Tsze-t'ae-shuh and Tsze-yu said to him, "It is not a great request which Han-tsze has made, nor can we yet show any swerving from our allegiance to the State of Ts'in;—Han-tsze of that State is not to be slighted. If any slanderous persons should stir up strife between it and Ch'ing, and the Spirits should assist them, so as to arouse its evil indignation, regrets [for your refusal] would be in vain; why should you grudge a ring, and thereby bring on us the hatred of the great State? Why not ask for it and give it to him?" Tsze-ch'an replied, "I am not slighting Ts'in, nor cherishing any disaffection to it. I wish all my life to serve it, and therefore I do not give [Han-tsze this ring];—[the refusal] is a proof of my loyalty and good faith. I have heard that a superior man does not consider it hard to be without wealth, but that his calamity is to be in office and not acquire a good name. I have heard that the minister of a State does not consider the ability to serve great States and foster small ones to be his difficulty, but thinks it a calamity when he does not keep to the rules of propriety so as to establish his position. Now, when the officers of a great State are sent to a small State, if they all get what they seek, what will there be to give to them [all]? If one be gratified and another denied, the number of its offences will be [deemed to be] increased. If the requisitions of the great State are not repulsed on the principles of propriety, it will become insatiable; we shall become [as one of], its border cities, and so lose our position. If Han-tsze, sent here on his ruler's commission, asks for this gem, it shows an excessive greed;—shall we make an exception of this as if it were not a crime? Why should we produce this piece of jade, thereby originating two crimes,—the loss of our own position, and the development of Han-tsze's greed? Would it not be very trivial traffic with a piece of jade to purchase such crimes?"

'Han-tsze [himself then went to] purchase [the ring] from the merchant. When the price had been settled, the merchant said that he must inform the ruler, and the great officers [of the transaction], on which Han-tsze made a request to Tsze-ch'an, saying, "Formerly, I asked for this ring, and when you thought that my doing so was not right, I did not presume to repeat the request. Now I have bought it of the merchant, who says that he must report the transaction, and I venture to ask [that you will sanction it]." Tsze-ch'an replied, "Our former ruler, duke Hwan, came with the [ancestor of this] merchant from Chow. Thus they were associated in cultivating the land, together clearing and opening up this territory, and cutting down its tangled southernwood and

orach. Then they dwelt in it together, making a covenant of mutual faith to last through all generations, which said, 'If you do not revolt from me, I will not violently interfere with your traffic. I will not beg or take anything from you, and you may have your profitable markets, precious things, and substance, without my taking any knowledge of them.' Through this attested covenant, [our rulers and the descendants of that merchant] have preserved their mutual relations down to the present day. Now your Excellency having come to us on a friendly mission, and asking our State to take away [the ring] from the merchant by force, this was to request us to violate that covenant;—is not such a thing improper? If you get the jade, and lose a State, you would not [wish to] do the thing. If when your great State commands, we must satisfy it without any law, Ch'ing becomes one of your border cities, and I would not wish to be party to such a thing. If we present the jade to you, I do not know what the consequence may be, and venture privately thus to lay the case before you." Han-tsze then declined the jade, saying, "I presumed in my stupidity to ask for the jade, which would have occasioned two [such] crimes;—let me now presume to decline it."

3d. 'In summer, in the 4th month, the 6 ministers of Ch'ing gave a parting feast to Seuen-tsze in the suburbs, when he said to them, "Let me ask all you gentlemen to sing from the odes, and I will thence understand the views of Ch'ing." Tsze-tso, (Han Ying-ts'e, son of Tsze-p'e) then sang the Yay yew man ts'aou (She, I. vii. ode xx.), and Seuen-tsze said, "Good! young Sir. I have the same desire." Tsze-ch'an sang the Kaou k'ew of [the odes of] Ch'ing (I. vii. ode VI.); and Seuen-tsze said, "I am not equal to this." Tsze-t'ae-shuh sang the K'een chang (I. vii. ode XIII.), and Seuen-tsze said, "I am here. Dare I trouble you to go to any other body?" on which the other bowed to him. Seuen-tsze then said, "Good! your song is right. If there were not such an understanding, could [the good relations of our States] continue?" Tsze-yew sang the Fung yu (I. vii. ode XVI.); Tsze-k'e (Fung She, son of Kung-sun T'wan) sang the Yew neu t'ung keu (ode IX.); Tsze-l'ew (Yin K'wei, son of Yin T'wan or Tsze-shih) sang the T'oh he (ode XI.). Seuen-tsze was glad, and said, "Ch'ing may be pronounced near to a flourishing condition! You, gentlemen, received the orders of your ruler to confer on me this honour, and the odes you have sung are all those of Ch'ing, and all suitable to this festive friendliness. You are all Heads of clans that will continue for several generations; you may be without any apprehensions." He then presented them all with horses, and sang the Go ts'ang (IV. i. Bk i. ode VII.). Tsze-ch'an bowed in acknowledgment, and made the other ministers do the same, saying, "You have quieted the confusion [of the States]; must we not acknowledge your virtuous services." [After this], Seuen-tsze went privately to Tsze-ch'an, and presented him with a piece of jade and [two] horses, saying, "You ordered me to give up that [ring of] jade;—it was giving me a piece of jade, and saving my life. I dare not but make my acknowledgments with these things in my hand."

Compare with the last of these narratives the latter half of the Chuen on IX. xxvii. 5.]

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"When the duke arrived from Ts'in (He had been allowed at last to get away; see the note at the beginning of the year), Tsze-fuh Ch'au-pih (Son of Hwuy-pih. The Tsze-fuhs were an offshoot from the Chung-shun clan) said to K'e P'ing-tsze, "The ducal House of Ts'in will soon be reduced to a low condition. The ruler is young and weak, and the six ministers are strong, extravagant, and arrogant. They will take advantage of this [feebleness of the ruler] to practise [their bad ways], till the practice becomes a regular thing. Must not [the House] be reduced low?" P'ing-tsze said, "You are young; how should you know [any thing about] a State?"

Par. 4. Tso repeats this, merely with the difference of 'duke Ch'au' instead of the marquis's name.

Par. 5. Tso observes that the sacrifice was because there was a drought; and he appends the following narrative about Ch'ing, which was suffering in the same way:—"There was a great drought in Ch'ing, and T'oo Keih, with the priest K'wan, and an attendant Foo, were sent to sacrifice on mount Sang, when they cut down the trees; but there came no rain. Tsze-ch'an said, "A sacrifice on a hill is intended for the nourishment of its forests. But these have cut down the trees;—their crime could not be greater." He then took from them their offices and lands."

Parr. 6, 7. The Chuen says:—"P'ing-tsze had gone to Ts'in, to attend the funeral of duke Ch'au. He [then] said, "The words of Tsze-fuh Hwuy (Ch'au-pih; see the Chuen on par. 3) would seem to be true. The family of Tsze-fuh has a [worthy] son!"

### Seventeenth year.

十有七年春，小邾子來朝。夏六月，甲戌朔，日有食之。秋，鄭子來朝。八月，晉荀吳帥師，滅陸渾之戎。冬，有星孛于大辰。楚人及吳戰于長岸。

左傳曰：十七年春，小邾穆公來朝。公與之燕，季平子賦采芣，穆公賦芣菁者，義昭子曰：不有以國，其能久乎。夏六月，甲戌朔，日有食之。視史請所用幣，昭子曰：日有食之，天子不舉，伐鼓於社，諸侯用幣於社，伐鼓於朝，禮也。平子禦之曰：止也。唯正月朔，慝未作，日有食之，於是乎有伐鼓用幣，禮也。其餘則否。大史曰：在此月也，日過分而未至三辰，有災，於是乎百官降物，君不舉，辟移時，樂奏鼓，祝用幣，史用辭，故夏書曰：辰不集於房，瞽奏鼓，嗇夫馳，庶人走，此月朔之謂也。當夏四月，謂之孟夏，平子弗從。昭子退曰：夫子將有異志，不君君矣。秋，鄭子來朝，公與之宴，昭子問焉，曰：少皞氏鳥名官，何故也。鄭子曰：吾祖也，我知之。昔者黃帝氏以雲紀，故爲雲師，而雲名，炎帝氏以火紀，故爲火師，而火名。

以取大亂之從對呼從對餘曰於人鬣之死之之  
歸餘皇之吳楚而楚皆人送三夜則呼側伏三長許救

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, the viscount of Little Choo came to Loo to court.  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, on K'eah-seuh, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
3 In autumn, the viscount of T'an came to the court of Loo.  
4 In the eighth month, Seun Woo of Tsin led a force, and extinguished the Jung of Luh-hwān.  
5 In winter, there was a comet in Ta-shin.  
6 A body of men from Ts'oo fought a battle with Woo in Ch'ang-gan.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—“This spring, duke Muh of Little Choo came to our court. The duke feasted with him, when Ke Ping-tse sang the Ts'ae shuh (She, II. vii. ode VIII.), and duke Muh responded with the Ts'ing-ts'ing chay go (II. iii. ode II). Ch'au-tse said, “Is he not able to rule his State, so that it will continue long?”

Par. 2. This eclipse occurred in the afternoon of August 14th, B.C. 524. The Chuen says:—“When the eclipse occurred, the priest and the historiographer asked for the offerings of silk which should be employed. Ch'au-tse said, “On the occurrence of an eclipse, the son of Heaven does not have his table fully spread, and causes the drum to be beaten at the altar of the land, while the princes of States present offerings of silk at that altar, and cause the drum to be beaten in their courts. This is the rule.” Ping-tse opposed it, saying, “Stop; it is only in the first month, before the evil influence has shown itself, that it is the rule, on the occurrence of an eclipse, to beat the drum and present those offerings. On other occasions there is no such rule.” The grand historiographer said, “That is just this month. After the sun has passed the equinox and before he has arrived at the solstice, when any calamity happens to the sun, moon, or stars, the various officers put off their elegant robes, the ruler does not have his table fully spread, and withdraws from his principal chamber, till the time [of the eclipse] is past; the musicians beat the drums, the priest presents his offerings, and the historiographer makes an address. Hence in one of the Books of Hēa (Shoo, III. iv. 4) it is said, ‘The sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind [musicians] beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped and the common people ran about.’ That is said of the first day of this month;—it was in the 4th month of Hēa, which is called the first month of summer (The 4th month of Hēa was the 6th of Chow. But the present text of the Shoo places the eclipse in the 9th month of the year).” [Notwithstanding this], Ping-tse would not follow their counsel, on which Ch'au-tse retired, and said, “He will [soon] show that he is disaffected. He is not treating our ruler as his ruler.”

Par. 3. T'an,—see VII. iv. 1. The viscounts of T'an traced their lineage up to Kint-t'een (金天氏), the dynastic title of Shaou-haou (少昊), the eldest son of Hwang Te.

The Chuen says:—“When the viscount of T'an came to our court, the duke feasted with him, and Ch'au-tse asked what was the reason that Shaou-haou named his officers after birds. The viscount replied, “He was my ancestor, and I know [all about] it. Before him, Hwang-te came to his rule with [the omen of] a cloud, and therefore he had cloud officers, naming them after clouds; Yen-te (Shin-nung) came to his with the [omen of] fire, and therefore he had fire officers, naming them after fire; Kung-kung came to his with [the omen of] water, and therefore he had water officers, naming them after water; T'ae-haou (Fuh-he) came to his with [the omen of] a dragon, and therefore he had dragon officers, naming them after dragons. When my ancestor Shaou-haou Ch'au succeeded to the kingdom, there appeared at that time a phoenix, and therefore he arranged his government under the nomenclature of birds, making bird officers, and naming them after birds. There were so and so Phoenix-bird, minister of the calendar; so and so Dark-bird (The swallow), master of the equinoxes; so and so Pih-chau (The shrike), master of the solstices; so and so Green-bird (A kind of sparrow), master of the beginning [of spring and autumn]; and so and so Carnation-bird, (The golden pheasant), master of the close [of spring and autumn];—so and so Chuh-k'ew, minister of instruction; so and so Ts'eu-k'ew, minister of War; so and so She-k'ew, minister of Works; so and so Shwang-k'ew, minister of Crime; so and so Kwuh-k'ew, minister of affairs. These five K'ew kept the people collected together. The five Che (Pheasants) presided over the five classes of mechanics;—they saw to the provision of implements and utensils, and to the correctness of the measures of length and capacity, keeping things equal among the people. The nine Hoo were the ministers of the nine departments of husbandry, and kept the people from becoming dissolute. After the time of Chuen-heuh [who came after Shaou-haou], they were not able to

共工氏以水紀，故爲水師而水名，犬皞氏以龍紀，故爲龍師而龍名，我高祖少皞摯之立也，鳳鳥適至，故紀於鳥，爲鳥師而鳥名，鳳鳥氏，歷正也，立鳥氏，司分者也，伯趙氏，司至者也，青鳥氏，司啟者也，丹鳥氏，司閉者也，祝鳩氏，司徒也，鵲鳩氏，司馬也，鴈鳩氏，司空也，爽鳩氏，司寇也，鵲鳩氏，司事也，五鳩鳩民者也，五雉爲五工正，利器用，正度量，夷民者也，九扈爲九農正，扈民無淫者也，自顓頊以來，不能紀遠，乃紀於近，爲民師而命以民事，則不能故也，仲尼聞之，見於郊子而學之，既而告人曰，吾聞之，天子失官，學在四夷，猶信。

晉侯使屠蒯如周，請有事於雒與三塗，長弘謂劉子曰，客容猛，非祭也，其伐戎乎，陸渾氏甚睦於楚，必是故也，君其備之，乃警戎備，九月，丁卯，晉荀吳帥師涉自棘津，使祭史先用牲於雒，陸渾人弗知，師從之，庚午，遂滅陸渾，數之以其貳於楚也，陸渾子奔楚，其衆奔甘鹿，周大獲，宣子夢文公攜荀吳而授之陸渾，故使穆子帥師獻俘於文宮。

冬，有星孛于大辰，西及漢，申須曰，彗所以除舊布新也，天事恆象，今除於火，火出必布焉，諸侯其有火災乎，梓慎曰，往年吾見之，是其徵也，火出而見，今茲火出而章，必火入而伏，其居火也久矣，其與不然乎，火出於夏，爲三月，於商爲四月，於周爲五月，夏數得天，若火作，其四國當之，在宋衛陳鄭乎，宋，大辰之虛也，陳，犬皞之虛也，鄭，祝融之虛也，皆火房也，星孛及漢，漢，水祥也，衛，顓頊之虛也，故爲帝丘，其星爲大水，水火之牡也，其以丙子，若壬午作乎，水火所以合也，若火入而伏，必以壬午，不過其見之月，鄭裨竈言於子產曰，宋衛陳鄭將同日火，若我用璫，璫玉璫，鄭必不火，子產弗與。

吳伐楚，陽句爲令尹，卜戰不吉，司馬子魚曰，我得上流，何故不吉，且楚故司馬令龜，我請改卜，令曰，魴也，以其屬死之，楚師繼之，尙大克之，吉，戰于長岸，子魚先死，楚師繼之，大敗吳師，獲其乘舟餘皇，使隨人與後至者守之，環而塹之，及泉，盈其隧炭，陳以待命，吳公子光請於其衆曰，先喪王之乘舟，豈唯光之罪，衆亦有焉，請藉取



arrange their offices by [such symbols coming] from afar, and did so by what was near at hand. Their officers being over the people, they named them from the business of the people, not being able to do otherwise."

"Chung-ne having heard of this, he had an interview with the viscount of T'an, and learned from him. Afterward he said to people, "I have heard that, when the officers of the son of Heaven are not properly arranged, we may learn from the wild tribes all round about. The remark seems to be true."

At this time Confucius was 27 years old. Too, by mistake, makes him 28.

Par. 4. For 陸渾 Kung-yang has 賁渾, and Kuh-läng omits the 之 between 渾渾 and 戎. For these Jung, see on VII ii. 4.

The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Tsin sent T'oo K'wae to Chow, to ask leave to sacrifice to the Loh and to [the hill of] San-t'oo. Ch'ang Hwang said to the viscount of Lëw, "The countenance of our visitor looks fierce. Their object is not sacrifice, but probably an attack on the Jung. The chief of Luh-hwän is very friendly with T'oo; that must be the reason [for their movement]. You should make preparations for it." Accordingly orders were given for preparations against the Jung.

In the 9th month, on Ting-maou, Seun Woo of Tsin led a force, crossed [the Ho] at the ford of Keih, and made an officer of sacrifice first offer victims to the Loh. The people of Luh-hwän knew nothing [of their object, till] the army came after him; and on Kang-woo he took the opportunity to extinguish the [tribe of] Luh-hwän, denouncing it for its disaffection and adherence to T'oo. The viscount of it fled to T'oo, and the multitudes to Kan-luh, where [the troops of] Chow captured many of them. Seuen-tze had dreamed that duke Wän led Seun Woo and gave him Luh-hwän, in consequence of which he made Muh-tze command the expedition and [afterwards] present his prisoners in [the temple of] duke Wän."

Par. 5. Ta-shin is another name for Ta-ho (大火), the seventh of the signs of the Chinese Zodiac, embracing part of Libra and Scorpio,—the constellations of Fang, Sin, and Wei (房, 心,

尾) in the tract of the Azure Dragon. The Chuen says:—"In winter there was a comet on the west of Ta-shin, which travelled [eastward] to the Milky way. Shin Seü said, "This broom-star serves to take away what is old and arrange something new. The doings of Heaven are constantly attended by such appearances. Now the operation of taking away occurring in Ho, when Ho appears again, the new arrangement will be seen. We may conclude that the States are going to have the calamity of fires." Tsze Shin said, "Last year I saw it, when it was still small. It was visible when Ho appeared. Now, this year, when Ho appeared, it was brilliant;—it must have remained concealed when Ho disappeared; and it has thus dwelt about Ho for a long time. It must happen as you say. Ho appears in the 3d month of Hëa, the 4th of Shang, and the 5th of Chow. The numbers of Hëa are the more correct deductions from the heavens. When Ho [again] appears, the 4

States to which this comet has reference will be, I apprehend, Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing. Sung is the region corresponding to Ta-shin; Ch'in was the old abode of T'ae-haou; Ch'ing, that of Chuh-yang:—all of them abodes of fire. The comet is travelling to the Han of the sky, and the Han is ominous of water. Now Wei was the abode of Chuen-heuh, hence we have Te-k'ew in it, and its star is Ta-shwuy (Great Water). Water is the husband of fire. The calamity will arise, probably, on a Ping-tze day or a Jin-woo, when there is a meeting of water and fire."

"P'e Tsaou of Ch'ing said to Tsze-ch'an, "There are going to be fires in Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing on the sameday. If we sacrifice with a kwan goblet and a libation cup of jade, Ch'ing will escape the fire." Tsze-ch'an did not agree to the proposal."

Par. 6. Ch'ang-gan was in T'oo, close on the southern bank of the Yang-tze,—in the pres. dis. of Tang-t'oo (當塗), dep. T'ae-p'ing (太平), Gan-hwuy.

The Chuen says:—"Woo invaded T'oo. Yang Kae, the chief minister [of T'oo], consulted the tortoise-shell about fighting, and got an unfavourable reply. The marshal Taze-yu said, "We are at the upper part of the stream; why should it be unfavourable? Moreover, it is the old custom of T'oo for the marshal to give the charge to the shell;—allow me to divine again." [Accordingly], he propounded the matter, saying, "If I and my followers die in the conflict, and the army of T'oo continue it, may we inflict a great defeat on the enemy?" The answer was favourable, and they fought at Ch'ang-gan. Tsze-yu died in the first onset, but the army of T'oo came on afterwards and greatly defeated that of Woo, capturing the [king's] vessel, Yu-hwang. The men of Suy and others who came late [for the fight] were then set to guard it. A ditch was dug all round it, down to the watersp rings, and along the channel [between it and the river] was piled up [lighted] charcoal. At the same time the army was drawn up, waiting further orders.

"The Kung-tze Kwang of Woo made a request to all his men, saying, "That we lost the vessel of our former kings is not my fault only, but you all share in it. I would ask your help to retake it, and you will thus save me from death." They all agreed; and he then sent three men with long beards to lie hid by the side of the vessel, saying to them, "When we cry out Yu-hwang, you must answer." The army followed in the night, and thrice cried out Yu-hwang, when the men responded one after another. The men of T'oo came at the cries, and killed them; but their army fell into confusion, and the men of Woo gave them a great defeat, retook the Yu-hwang, and carried it back with them."

The men with long beards were intended to appear as if they belonged to the army of T'oo, few of the people of Woo having the distinction of such an appendage. This circumstance helped to throw the army of T'oo into confusion.

Eighteenth year.

十有八年春，王三月，曹伯須卒。夏五月，壬午，宋衛陳鄭災。六月，邾人入郕。秋，葬曹平公。冬，許遷于白羽。

左傳曰：十八年春，王二月，乙卯，周毛得殺毛伯過而代之。葛弘曰：毛得必亡，是昆吾稔之日也。侈故之以，而毛得以濟侈於王都，不亡，何待？三月，曹平公卒。夏五月，火始昏見，丙子，風，梓慎曰：是謂融風，火之始也。七日，其火作乎。戊寅，風甚，壬午，大甚，宋衛陳鄭皆火。梓慎登大庭氏之庫以望之，曰：宋衛陳鄭也。數日皆來告火。裨竈曰：不用吾言，鄭又將火。鄭人請用之，子產不可。子犬叔曰：寶以保民也。若有火，國幾亡，可以救亡，子何愛焉？子產曰：天道遠，人道邇，非所及也。何以知之？竈焉知天道？是亦多言矣，豈不或信？遂不與。亦不復火。鄭之未災也，里析告子產曰：將有大祥。民震動，國幾亡，吾身泯焉。弗良及也。國遷，其可乎？子產曰：雖可，吾不足以定遷矣。及火，里析死矣。未葬，子產使與三十人遷其柩。火作，子產辭晉公子公孫於東門，使司寇出新客，禁舊客勿出於宮，使子寬、子上、巡羣屏攝。至於大宮，使公孫登徙大龜，使祝史徙主禘於周廟，告於先君，使府人庫人各儆其事。商成，公儆司宮，出舊宮人，寘諸火所不及。司馬司寇列居火道，行火所燬。城下之人，伍列登城。明日，使野司寇各保其徵，郊人助祝史除於國北，禳火於玄冥。回祿，祈於四鄩，書焚室而寬其征，與之材。三日，哭，國不市，使人告於諸侯。宋衛皆如是。陳不救火，許不弔災。君子是以知陳許之先亡也。六月，邾人藉稻，邾人襲郕，郕人將閉門，邾人羊羅攝其首焉，遂入之，盡俘以歸。郕子曰：余無歸矣。從帑於邾，邾莊公反，郕夫人而舍其女。

秋葬曹平公。往者見周原伯魯焉。與之語，不說學，歸以語閔子馬。閔子馬曰：周其亂乎？夫必多有是說，而後及其大人。大人患失而惑，又曰：可以無學，無學不害，不害而不學，則苟而可。於是乎下陵上替，能無亂乎？夫學殖也，不學將落。原氏其亡乎？

○七月，鄭子產爲火故，大爲社，祓禳於四方，振除火災，禮也。乃簡兵大蒐，將爲蒐除。子犬叔之廟在道南，其寢在道北，其庭小，過期三日，使除徒陳於道南。廟北曰：子產過汝，而命速除，乃毀於道北。而鄉子產朝，過而怒之，除者南毀。子產及衝，使從者止之，曰：毀於北方，火之作也。子產授兵登陣，子犬叔曰：晉無乃討乎？子產曰：吾聞之，小國忘守則危，況有災乎？國之不可小，有備故也。既晉之邊吏讓鄭曰：鄭國有災，晉君大夫不敢寧居，卜筮走望，不愛性玉，鄭之有災，寡君之憂也。今執事擗然授兵登陣，將以誰罪？邊人恐懼，不敢不告。子產對曰：若吾子之言，敝邑之災，君之憂也。敝邑失政，天降之災，又懼讒慝之閒謀之，以啟貪人，薦爲敝邑不利，以重君之憂也。幸而不亡，猶可說也。不幸而亡，君雖憂之，亦無及也。鄭有他竟，望走在晉，既事晉矣，其敢有二心？

楚左尹王子勝言於楚子曰：許於鄭，仇敵也，而居楚地，以不禮於鄭，晉鄭方睦，鄭若伐許，而晉助之，楚喪地矣。君盍遷許，許不專於楚，鄭方有令政，許曰：余舊國也，鄭曰：余俘邑也。葉在楚國，方城外之蔽也，土不可易，國不可小，許不可俘，讐不可啟，君其圖之。楚子說，冬，楚子使王子勝遷許於析，實白羽。

- XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Seu, earl of Ts'au, died.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-woo, the calamity of fire occurred in [the capitals of] Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing.
- 3 In the sixth month, a body of men from Choo entered Yu.
- 4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke P'ing of Ts'au.
- 5 In winter, Heu removed [its capital] to Pih-yu.

[The Chuen gives here a short narrative about affairs in Chow:—“This spring, in the king's 2d month, on Yih-maou, Maou Tih of Chow killed Kwo, earl of Maou, and took his place. Chang Hwang said, “Maou Tih is sure to become a fugitive. It was on this day that [the

wickedness of] Keun-woo (The *pa* of the Hēa dyn.) reached its height,—in consequence of his extravagance. And [now, on this day] Maou Tih has consummated his extravagance in the king's capital. What are we to wait for but his becoming a fugitive.”]

Par. 1 Tso repeats this par. with the change of 'duke Ping' for the earl's name.

Par. 1. We have here the fulfilment of the vaticinations in connection with the comet of the preceding winter. The Chuen says:—“In summer, in the 5th month, the Ho star made its first appearance at dusk. On Ping-tse there was wind, and Tsze Shin said, “This is called a north-east wind; it is a prelude of fire. In 7 days, we may presume, the fire will break-out.” On Mow-yin the wind was great; on Jin-woo it was vehement; and the capitals of Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing all caught fire. Tsze Shin went up on the top of the magazine of Ta-ting to look in the direction of them, and said, “In a few days, messengers from Sung, Wei, Ch'in and Ch'ing will be here with announcements of fire.”

“P'e Tsaou said, “If you do not do as I said (See at the end of the narrative on par. 5 of last year), Ch'ing will suffer from fire again.” The people [also] begged that his advice should be taken, but Tsze-ch'an still refused. Tsze-t'ae-shuh said, “The use of precious articles is to preserve the people. If there be [another] fire, our city will be nearly destroyed. If they can save it from that destruction, why should you grudge them?” Tsze-ch'an replied, “The way of Heaven is distant, while the way of man is near. We cannot reach to the former; what means have we of knowing it? How should Tsaou know the way of Heaven? He is a great talker, and we need not wonder if his words sometimes come true.” Accordingly he would not agree to the proposal, and there was no repetition of the fire.

“Before the calamity occurred in Ch'ing, Le Seih said to Tsze-ch'an, “There are great portents of something to occur. The people will be alarmed and excited; the city will be nearly ruined; I myself will die, and not survive till its occurrence. Would it be proper to remove the city to another site?” “It might be so,” was the reply, “but I am not sufficient to determine on such a removal.” When the fire occurred, Le Seih was dead; but as he was not yet buried, Tsze-ch'an made 30 men remove his coffin. When the fire broke out, Tsze-ch'an dismissed a Kung-tse and Kung-sun of Tsin, [who had just arrived], at the east gate. He made the minister of Crime send recent visitors out of the city, and prohibit older visitors from leaving their houses. He made Tsze-k'wan and Tsze-shang go round and inspect all the places of sacrifice, and go on to the grand temple. He made Kung-sun T'ang remove the great tortoise-shell; the priests and historiographers remove the Spirit-tablets to the stone niches in the Chow temple, and announce [the calamity] to the former rulers; and the officers in charge of the treasuries and magazines to look well after their departments. Shang Ch'ing-kung kept the keepers of the palace on guard, sent out all the old inmates of the harem, and put them in a place which the fire could not reach. The ministers of War and Crime took post in order along the course of the fire, and went where it was burning. The people at the foot of the wall were sent up upon it in companies of five.

“Next day, orders were given to the magistrates in the country to take good care of the people under them. The people of the suburbs assisted the priests and historiographers in

clearing the ground on the north of the city. Deprecatory sacrifices against fire were offered to Heuen-ming (The Spirit of water) and Hwuy-luh (The Spirit of fire); and prayers were offered on the walls all round about. A writing was made of the houses that had been burned; their taxes were remitted; and materials were supplied to the owners. For three days there was a [general] weeping, and markets were not opened. Messengers were sent to announce [the calamity] to the [other States].

“Sung and Wei [also] adopted similar measures. But Ch'in took no measures against the fire, nor did Heu send any message of condolence. From this a superior man might know that Ch'in and Heu would be the first of the States to perish.”

Par. 3. Yu was a small State whose principal city was 15  $\frac{1}{2}$  north from the pres. dep. city of E-chow. Sung restored Yu in the next year, but before long we shall find that it was absorbed by Loo.

The Chuen says:—“In the 6th month, the people of Yu were engaged upon the public lands, when a body of men from Choo surprised the city. One of the people was about to shut the gate, but a Shoo-ite, Yang Lo, cut off his head, on which the attackers entered it, made all in it prisoners, and carried them off to Choo. The viscount of Yu (We must suppose he had been with the people in the fields) said, “I have nowhere to go to;” and he followed his family to Choo. Duke Chwang of Choo returned to him his wife, but kept his daughter.”

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—“In autumn, when there was the burial of duke P'ing of Ts'au, our officer who had gone to attend it had an interview with Loo, earl of Yuen, and in conversation with him found that he did not like learning. On his return he told this to Min Tsze-ma, who said, “There will [soon] be disorder in Chow. There must be many there who talk in that way, before such an idea reaches the great men. The great men are troubled at errors [of some who have learned], and become deluded [on the subject], till they say, “Learning may be done without. The want of learning does no harm.” But it is an accidental circumstance when the want of learning does no harm. From such a condition inferiors will be usurping, and superiors will be set aside;—is it possible that disorder should not ensue? Learning is like cultivation; if people do not learn, there will be decadence and decay. We may judge that the family of Yuen will come to ruin.”

[We have here a sequel to the narrative under par. 2:—“Tsze-ch'an of Ch'ing, in consequence of the fire, celebrated a great sacrifice at the altar of the land, and ordered exorcisms and deprecatory sacrifices throughout the State, in order to remove entirely the plague of the fire;—all which was in accordance with propriety. He then inspected the weapons, and was going to hold a review. For this it was necessary to clear the way. The temple of Tsze-t'ae-shuh was on the south of the road, and his dwelling-house on the north of it, so that the space between was small. [Orders were given to clear them away,] but three days after the time [it was not done, and Tsze-t'ae-shuh] made the workmen stand with their implements on the south of the road and the north of the temple,

saying to them, "When Tsze-ch'an passes by you, and orders you to clear away quickly, then fall to pulling down right before you." [Soon after], Tsze-ch'an passed by, as he was going to court, and was angry [at the dilatoriness], so the clearers began pulling down on the south. However, when he came to the cross way, he made his attendants stop them, saying, "Pull down on the north." When the fire occurred, Tsze-ch'an gave out weapons, and sent men on the parapets. Tsze-t'ae-shuh said to him, "Is not Tsin likely to call us to account for this?" "I have heard," was the reply, "that, when a small State forgets to keep guard, it is in a perilous position; how much more must it be so on an occasion of calamity! It is being prepared which keeps a State from being made little of." By and by, the officer of Tsin, on the borders, came to complain to Ch'ing, saying, "When Ch'ing suffered such a calamity, the ruler of Tsin and the great officers did not dare to dwell at ease. They consulted the tortoise-shell and the reeds, and ran to sacrifice to the hills and streams, grudging neither victims nor gems. The calamity of Ch'ing was a grief to our ruler. And now, your minister, with looks of determination, is giving out weapons and sending men up on the parapets. On whom is he going to lay the blame? We are afraid, and dare not but lay our thoughts before you." Tsze-ch'an replied, "According to what you say, the calamity of our State was a grief to your ruler. There were defects about our government, and Heaven sent down the calamity. We are further afraid, lest some evil, slanderous people should take the opportunity to form a plot and excite the covetousness of people against us, which would be still more disadvantageous to our State, and increase the grief of your ruler. If we are fortunate enough to escape ruin, we shall be

able to explain [our conduct]. If we are not so fortunate, however much your ruler may be grieved for our fate, explanation will be too late. Ch'ing has other neighbours on its borders. Its hope is in Tsin, and to it is its recourse. We serve Tsin;—how should we dare to admit a spirit of disaffection to it?"

Par. 5. Pih-yu was a city of Ts'oo, called also Seih (析), by which name it is mentioned in the Chuen on V. xxv. 5. It was in the pres. T'ang Chow (鄧州), dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. In the time of duke Yin, the capital of Heu was Heu-ch'ang (See on I. xi. 3). In the 15th year of duke Ch'ing, it was removed to Sheh (葉). See VII. xv. 1). In ix. 2, a further removal to E is recorded. In the 13th year, king Ling of Ts'oo appears to have removed it further within Ts'oo; but his successor, king Ping, removed Heu back to Sheh; from which the change in the text was made.

The Chuen says:—"The king's son Shing of Ts'oo, director of the Left, said to the viscount, "Heu's natural position to Ch'ing is that of an enemy; and through its situation in the territory of Ts'oo, it observes no ceremony to Ch'ing. Tsin and Ch'ing are now on good terms. If Ch'ing attack Heu and is assisted by Tsin, Ts'oo will lose the territory;—why not remove Heu? Heu cannot at present be entirely devoted to Ts'oo. Ch'ing has now good government, so that Heu says, "It is my old State;" and Ch'ing says [of Heu], "It is the State which I captured." Sheh in the State of Ts'oo is like a screen outside the barrier wall. The country is not to be thought little of; the State [of Ch'ing] is not to be slighted; Heu is not to be captured; enmity is not to be excited:—your lordship should consider the case." In winter the viscount of Ts'oo employed this Shing to remove Heu to Seih, i.e., to Pih-yu."

Nineteenth year.

十有九年春，宋公伐邾。夏五月戊辰，許世子止弒其君買。己卯，地震。秋，齊高發帥師伐莒。冬，葬許悼公。

世而已。左傳曰：十九年春，楚工尹赤遷陰於下陰，令尹子瑕城邾。叔孫昭子曰：楚不在諸侯矣，其僅自完也，以持其。楚子之在蔡也，邾陽封人之女奔之，生犬子建，及即位，使伍奢爲之師，費無極爲少師，無寵焉，欲譖諸王，曰：建可室矣。王爲之聘於秦，無極與逆，勸王取之。正月，楚夫人羸氏至自秦。邾夫人宋向戌之女也，故向寧請師。二月，宋公伐邾，圍蟲。三月，取之，乃盡歸邾俘。邾人，邾人，徐人，會宋公，乙亥，同盟於蟲。夏，許悼公薨。五月，戊辰，飲犬子止之藥，卒。犬子奔晉。書曰：弒其君，君子曰：盡心力以事君，舍藥物可也。楚子爲舟師以伐濮，費無極言於楚子曰：晉之伯也，邇於諸夏，而楚辟陋，故弗能與爭。若大城城父，而寘犬子焉，以通北方，王收南方，是得天下也。王說，從之。故犬子建居於城父，令尹子瑕聘於秦，拜夫人也。秋，齊高發帥師伐莒。莒子奔紀鄆，使孫書伐之。初，莒有婦人，莒子殺其夫，已爲嫠婦，及老，託於紀鄆，紡焉以度而去之。及師至，則投諸外，或獻諸子占。子占使師夜縋而登，登者六十人，縋絕，師鼓譟，城上之人亦譟，莒共公懼，啟西門而出。七月，丙子，齊師入紀。是歲也，鄭駟偃卒。子游娶於晉大夫，生絲，弱，其父兄立子瑕。子產憎其爲人也，且以爲不順，弗許，亦弗止。駟氏聳他日，絲以告其舅冬，晉人使以幣如鄭，問駟乞之立故。駟氏懼，駟乞欲逃，子產弗遣，請龜以下，亦弗予。大夫謀對，子產不待而對客曰：鄭國不天，寡君之二三臣，札瘥天昏，今又喪我先大夫偃，其子幼弱，其一二父兄懼，宗室私族於謀，而立長親，寡君與其二三老曰：抑天實剝亂是，吾何知焉？諺曰：無過亂門，民有兵亂，猶憚過之，而況敢知天之所亂乎？今大夫將問其故，抑寡君實不敢知，其誰實知之？平丘之會，君尋舊盟，曰：無或失職，若寡君之二三臣，其卽世者，晉大夫而專制其位，是晉之縣鄙也，何國之爲辭客幣而報其使，晉人舍之。

歸蹶由。者楚之謂矣。舍前之忿。可也。乃  
 必敗。楚人城州來。沈尹筮曰。楚人  
 王曰。吾未撫吾民。今亦如之。而  
 城州來以挑吳。能無敗乎。侍者  
 曰。王施舍不倦。息民五年。可謂  
 撫之矣。戊曰。吾聞撫民者。節用  
 於內。而樹德於外。民樂其性。而  
 無寇讐。今宮室無量。民人日蹙。  
 勞罷死轉。忘寢與食。非撫之也。  
 淵國人請為榮焉。子產弗許。曰。  
 我聞龍不我覲也。龍鬪。我獨何  
 覲焉。禳之。則彼其室也。吾無求  
 於龍。龍亦無求於我。乃止也。  
 令尹子瑕言蹶由於楚子。曰。  
 彼何罪。諺所謂室於怒。市於色  
 者。楚之謂矣。舍前之忿。可也。乃

- XIX. 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, the duke of Sung invaded Choo.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-shin, She, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae.  
 3 On Ke-maou, there was an earthquake.  
 4 In autumn, Kaou Fah of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu.  
 5 In winter there was the burial of duke Taou of Heu.

[The Chuen introduces here two short narratives relative to Ts'oo.

1st. 'This spring, Ch'ih, director of Works in Ts'oo, removed Yin to Hea-yin; and Tsze-hëa, the chief minister, walled Këah. Ch'au-tze said, "Ts'oo cannot occupy itself about the States [now]; it can barely maintain itself, and try to preserve the succession of its rulers, one after another."

2d. '[One time], when the viscount of Ts'oo had gone [on a mission] to Ts'ae, the daughter of the border warden of Yun-yang had sought his company, and the issue was [recognized as] the eldest son Këen. When he succeeded to the State, he appointed Woo Ch'ay tutor to Këen, and Fei Woo-keih assistant-tutor. Woo-keih was no favorite with his charge; and wishing to discredit him with the king, he suggested that it was time Këen should be married. The king [accordingly] engaged for Këen a daughter of Ts'in, and Woo-keih took part in meeting her, and advised the king to take her for himself. In the 1st month, she, the lady Ying, [who became] wife of the ruler of Ts'oo, arrived from Ts'in.'

Par. 1. See on the 3d par. of last year. The Chuen here says:—'The wife of [the viscount of] Yu was a daughter of Hëang Seuh of Sung, and therefore Hëang Ning [now] begged that an expedition might be undertaken [against Choo]. In the 2d month, the duke of Sung invaded that State, and laid siege to Ch'ung, which he took in the third month. Choo then returned all the captives whom it had taken from Yu. Officers of Choo, E, and Seuh, had a meeting with the duke of Sung; and on Yih-hae they made a covenant together in Ch'ung.'

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In summer, duke Taou of Heu had fever; and in the 5th month,

on Mow-shin, he drank some medicine from his eldest son Che, and died. The son then fled to Ts'in. On the words of the text,—'murdered his ruler,' the superior man will say, "If a man use all his mind and strength in serving his ruler, he may let his physic alone." Kuh-lëang gives rather a different account of this matter:—'Che did not commit the murder, but it is here said that he did so,—in reproof of Che. Che said, "I have been a party with the murderer." He therefore would not take his father's place, but resigned the State to his younger brother, wept and refused proper nourishment, so that he died within a year. Therefore the superior man here reproves him, as he reproved himself.' Kung-yang, also, without going into particulars, says that Che was not the murderer. The critics conclude from Kuh-lëang's account that Che's crime was that he had not tasted, as he ought to have done, the medicine supplied to his father before he gave it to him, whereas Tso would seem to say that he had himself ignorantly prepared the medicine, a wrong one, which led to his father's death. Whatever the real facts were, it is difficult to reconcile the bare, hard statement of the text with our ideas of historical justice.

Par. 3. 地震,—see VI. ix. 11. Of the 5 earthquakes mentioned in the Ch'ün Ts'ew two occurred in the time of duke Ch'au; this one, and one in his 23d year.

[The Chuen appends a narrative here about affairs in Ts'oo:—'The viscount of Ts'oo prepared a naval expedition to invade Puh. Fei Woo-keih said to him, "Ts'in's leading position is owing to its being near to the great States, while Ts'oo, through its remote and obscure

position, is unable to contend with it. If you wall Shing-foo on a great scale, and place your eldest son there, to communicate with the northern regions, while your majesty keeps together those of the south, you will get possession of all under heaven." The king was pleased, and took his advice. In consequence of this, Këen, the king's eldest son, dwelt in Shing-foo. [About the same time], the chief minister Tsze-hëa went on a complimentary mission to Ts'in, to make acknowledgments for [the king's] wife.]

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'When Kaou Fah invaded Keu, the viscount of that State fled to Ke-chang, and Fah sent Sun-shoo to attack it. At an earlier period, the viscount of Keu had put to death the husband of a woman of Keu, who thenceforth lived as a widow; and in her old age she had taken up her residence in Ke-chang, where she span a rope with which she measured [the height of the wall] and then kept concealed; but when the troops [of Ts'e] came, she threw it over the wall, [hanging down] outside. Some one showed it to Tsze-chen (Sun-shoo), who made his soldiers climb up by means of it. When 60 of them had got up, the rope broke; but the troops then beat their drums and shouted, the men on the wall shouting also, so that duke Kung of Keu became frightened, opened the west gate, and left the place. In the 7th month, on Ping-tsze, the army of Ts'e entered Ke.'

Par. 5. Many of the critics think that this entry of the burial of duke Taou of Heu is a condonation by the sage of his son's share in his death. Confucius is thus made to charge the son first with the murder of his father, of which he was not guilty, and then in this indirect way to withdraw the charge!

[We have here four narratives appended in the Chuen:—

1st, of affairs in Ch'ing. 'This year, Sze Yen (Tsze-yëw; 子游) of Ch'ing died. He had married the daughter of one of the great officers of Ts'in, by whom he had Sze, who was still young [when his father died]. The elder members of his family, however, raised Tsze-hëa, (an uncle of Yen, called Sze K'ëih; 駟乞) in his room. Tsze-ch'an, who disliked his character, and because the proceeding, moreover, was not according to the natural order, did not approve of the appointment, neither did he stop it; thereby alarming the Sze family. In the meantime, Sze sent word to his mother's brother of it; and in the winter the people of Ts'in sent a messenger with some offerings of silk to Ch'ing, and to ask about the cause of the appointment of Sze K'ëih. The Sze family were frightened in consequence, and K'ëih wished to run away. Tsze-ch'an would not allow him to go; and when he begged leave to consult the tortoise-shell, neither would the minister agree to that. The great officers were consulting what reply should be given [to the envoy of Ts'in], but without waiting [for the result of their deliberations], Tsze-ch'an replied to him, "Through want of the blessing of Heaven on Ch'ing, several of our ruler's officers have died in pestilences, great and small, or by too early deaths, or even before they had got any name; and now we have lost our late great officer Yen. His son being young and feeble, the elders of the family, fearing lest their ancestral temple

should be without a [proper] master, consulted privately among themselves, and appointed the oldest of his near relatives. Our ruler and the elders [of his council] said [to themselves], "Heaven, perhaps, is causing [the family] to fall into disorder;—why should we take knowledge of it?" There is the common saying about not passing by the gate of a family in disorder. If in [any family of] the people there be the confusion of strife, and we are still afraid to pass by it, how much more should we be afraid in a case where the disorder is caused by Heaven! Your Excellency now asks the cause [of this appointment]; but since our ruler does not presume to take knowledge of it, who is there that really knows it? At the meeting of Ping-k'ëw, in renewing the old covenants, your ruler said, "Let no State fail in the discharge of its duties;" but if, when any of the ministers of our ruler leaves the world, the great officers of Ts'in must determine who shall be his successor, this is to make Ch'ing a district or border of Ts'in;—it ceases to be a State." He then declined the offerings, and replied to the mission by one to Ts'in, the people of which let the matter drop.'

2d, relating to affairs in Ts'oo. "The people of Ts'oo walled Chow-lac (See XIII. 12. Ts'oo must have retaken the place.), on which Seuh, director of Shin, said, "The men of Ts'oo are sure to be defeated there. Formerly, when Woo extinguished Chow-lac, Tsze-k'e asked leave to attack it, but the king said, "I have not yet comforted the minds of the people." The state of things is still the same; and we are walling Chow-lac to provoke Woo:—is it possible we should not be defeated?" An attendant who was by him said, "The king has been unwearied in his beneficence, and has allowed five years' rest to the people;—he may be said to have comforted their minds." Seuh replied, "I have heard that he who comforts the minds of the people is moderate in all his internal expenditure, and establishes the proofs of his virtue abroad, so that the people rejoice in their life, and there are no marauders nor enemies. Now [the king's] palaces are [built and beautified] without measure; the people are kept in daily terror, so that they are dying or removing, wearied with their toils, and forgetful both of their sleep and food. There is no comforting of them."

3rd, relating to affairs in Ch'ing. 'There were great floods in Ch'ing; and [some] dragons fought in the pool of Wei, outside the She gate. The people asked leave to sacrifice to them; but Tsze-ch'an refused it, saying, "If we are fighting, the dragons do not look at us; when dragons are fighting, why should we look at them? We may offer a deprecatory sacrifice, but that is their abode. If we do not seek anything of the dragons, they will not seek anything from us." On this [the people] desisted [from their request].

4th, relating to Ts'oo and Woo. 'Tsze-hëa, the chief minister, spoke to the viscount of Ts'oo about Kwei-yëw (See the Chuen on V. 8) saying, "What offence is he chargeable with?" The words of the common saying might be applied to Ts'oo,—'He is angry with the members of his family, and he shows his anger in the market-place.' It would be well to put away the former resentment against him." [The viscount] accordingly sent Kwei-yëw back to Woo].



Twentieth year

二十<sup>一</sup>年春王正月。  
夏<sup>二</sup>曹公孫會自鄆  
出奔宋。  
秋<sup>三</sup>盜殺衛侯之兄  
縶。  
冬<sup>四</sup>十月宋華亥向  
寧<sup>五</sup>華定出奔陳。  
十<sup>五</sup>有一月辛卯蔡  
侯廬卒。

◎左傳曰：二十年春，王二月己丑，日南至，梓慎望氛曰：「今茲宋有亂，國幾亡，三年而後弭。」蔡有大喪，叔孫昭子曰：「然則戴桓也，汰侈無禮已甚，亂所在也。」

◎費無極言於楚子曰：「建與伍奢將以方城之外叛，自以爲猶宋、鄭也，齊晉又交輔之，將以害楚，其事集矣。」王信之，問伍奢，伍奢對曰：「君一過多矣，何信於讒？」王執伍奢，使城父司馬奮揚殺犬子，未至而使遣之。三月，犬子建奔宋，王召奮揚，奮揚使城父人執己以至。王曰：「言出於余口，入於爾耳，誰告建也？」對曰：「臣告之。」君王命臣曰：「事建如事余，臣不佞，不能苟貳，奉初以還，不忍後命，故遣之。」既而悔之，亦無及已。王曰：「而敢來，何也？」對曰：「使而失命，召而不來，是再奸也，逃無所入。」王曰：「歸從政如他日，無極曰：『奢之子材，若在吳，必憂楚國，盍以免其父召之。』彼仁，必來，不然，將爲患。」王使召之曰：「來，吾免而父。」棠君尚謂其弟員曰：「爾適吳，我將歸死，吾知不逮，吾能死，爾能報，聞免父之命，不可以莫之奔也。親戚爲戮，不可以莫之報也。奔死免父，孝也，度功而行，仁也，擇任而往，知也，知死不辟，勇也，父不可棄，名不可廢，爾其免之，相從爲愈。」伍尚歸，奢聞員不來，曰：「楚君大夫其盱食乎？楚人皆殺之。」員如吳，言伐楚之利於州于公子光曰：「是宗爲戮，而欲反其讐，不可從也。」員曰：「彼將有他志，余姑爲之求士，而鄙以待之，乃見鱣設諸焉，而耕於鄙。」

◎宋元公無信多私，而惡華向、華定、華亥，與向寧謀曰：「亡愈於死，先諸。」華亥僞有疾，以誘羣公子，公子問之，則執之。夏六月丙申，殺公子寅、公子御戎、公子朱、公子固、公孫援、公孫丁，拘向勝，向行於其廩，公如華氏，請焉，弗許，遂劫之。癸卯，取犬子縶，與母弟辰、公子地，以爲質。公亦取華亥之子無感，向寧之子羅，華定之子啟，與華氏盟，以爲質。

衛公孟縶狎齊豹，奪之司寇與鄆，有役則反之，無則取之。公孟惡北宮喜、褚師圃，欲去之。公子朝通於襄夫人宣姜，懼而欲以作亂，故齊豹、北宮喜、褚師圃、公子朝作亂。初，齊豹見宗魯於公孟，爲駟乘焉，將作亂而謂之曰：「公孟之不善，子所知也，勿與乘，吾將殺之。」對曰：「吾由子事公孟，子假吾名焉，故不吾遠也，雖其不善，吾亦知之，抑以利故，不能去，是吾過也。」今聞難而逃，是僭子也。子行事乎？吾將死之，以周事子，而歸死於公孟，其可也。」丙辰，衛侯在平壽，公孟有事於蓋，獲之門外，齊子氏帷於門外，而伏甲焉，使祝遺寘戈於車薪，以當門，使一乘從公孟以出，使華齊御公孟，宗魯駟乘，及閔中，齊氏用戈擊公孟，宗魯以背蔽之，斷肱，以中公孟之肩，皆殺之。公聞亂，乘驅自閔門入，慶比御公，公南楚駟乘，使華寅乘貳車，及公宮，鴻鵠駟乘於公，公戴寶以出，褚師子申、遇公於馬路之衢，遂從過齊氏，使華寅肉袒執器，以當其闕，齊氏射公，中南楚之背，公遂出，寅閉郭門，踰而從公，公如死鳥，析朱鉏宵從寶出，徒行從公，齊侯使公孫青聘於衛，既出，聞衛亂，使請所聘，公曰：「猶在竟內，則衛君也，乃將事焉，遂從諸死鳥，請將事。」辭曰：「亡人不佞，失守社稷，越在草莽，吾子無所辱君命。」賓曰：「寡君命下臣於朝曰：『阿下執事，臣不敢貳。』主人曰：『君若惠顧，先君之好，照臨敝邑，鎮撫其社稷，則有宗祧在。』乃止。」衛侯固請見之，不獲命，以其良馬見，爲未致使故也。衛侯以爲乘馬，賓將擲主人辭曰：「亡人之憂，不可以及吾子，草莽之中，不足以辱從者，敢辭。」賓曰：「寡君之下臣，君之牧圉也，若不獲扞外役，是不有寡君也，臣懼不免於戾，請以除死，親執鐸，終夕與於燎。」齊氏之宰渠子召北宮子，北宮氏之宰不與聞，謀殺渠子，遂伐齊氏，滅之。丁巳晦，公入。

行非度，無所還忌，不思謗譏，不憚鬼神，神怒民痛，無悛於心，其祝史薦信，是言罪也，其蓋失數美，是矯誣也，進退無辭，則虛以求媚，是以鬼神不饗其國，以禍之，祝史與焉，所以天昏孤疾者，爲暴君使也，其言僭慢於鬼神，公曰：然則若之何？對曰：不可爲也，山林之木，衡鹿守之，澤之萑蒲，舟蛟守之，藪之薪蒸，虞侯守之，海之鹽蜃，祈望守之，縣鄙之人，入從其政，偏介之關，暴征其私，承嗣大夫，強易其賄，布常無藝，徵斂無度，宮室日更，淫樂不違，內寵之妾，肆奪於市，外寵之臣，僭令於鄙，私欲養求，不給則應，民人苦病，夫婦皆詛，祝有益也，詛亦有損，聊攝以東，姑尤以西，其爲人也多矣，雖其善祝，豈能勝億兆人之詛？君若欲誅於祝史，修德而後可，公說，使有司寬政，毀關，去禁，薄斂，已責。

十二月，齊侯田於沛，招虞人以弓，不進，公使執之，辭曰：昔我先君之田也，旃以招大夫，弓以招士，皮冠以招虞人，臣不見皮冠，故不敢進，乃舍之，仲尼曰：守道不如守官，君子韙之。

齊侯至自田，晏子侍於遼臺，子猶馳而造焉，公曰：唯據與我，和夫，晏子對曰：據亦同也，焉得爲和？公曰：和與同，異乎？對曰：異，和如羹焉，水火醯醢鹽梅，以烹魚肉，燂之以薪，宰夫和之，齊之以味，濟其不及，以洩其過，君子食之，以平其心，君臣亦然，君所謂可而有否焉，臣獻其否，以成其可，君所謂否而有可焉，臣獻其可，以去其否，是以政平而民無爭心，故詩曰：亦有和羹，既戒既平，饌嘏無言，時靡有爭，先王之濟五味，和五聲也，以平其心，成其政也，聲亦如味，一氣二體，三類四物，五聲六律，七音八風，九歌，以相成也，清濁小大，短長疾徐，哀樂剛柔，遲速高下，出入周疏，以相濟也，君子聽之，以平其心，心平德和，故詩曰：德音不瑕，今據不然，君所謂可，據亦曰可，君所謂否，據亦曰否，若以水濟水，誰能食之？若琴瑟之專壹，誰能聽之？同之不可也如是，飲酒樂，公曰：古而無死，其樂若何？晏子對曰：古而無死，則古之樂也，君何得焉？昔爽鳩氏始居此地，季荊因之，有逢伯陵因之，蒲姑氏因之，而後大公因之，古者無死，爽鳩氏之樂，非君所願也。

與北宮喜盟於彭水之上，秋七月，戊午朔，遂盟國人，八月辛亥，公子朝，褚師圃，子玉霄，子高魴，出奔晉，閏月，戊辰，殺宣姜，衛侯賜北宮喜謚曰貞子，賜析朱鉏謚曰成子，而以齊氏之墓予之，衛侯告寧於齊，且言子石，齊侯將飲酒，徧賜大夫曰：二三子之教也，苑何忌辭曰：與於青之賞，必及於其罰，在康誥曰：父子兄弟，罪不相及，況在羣臣，臣敢貪君賜，以干先王，琴張聞宗魯死，將往弔之，仲尼曰：齊豹之盜，而孟縶之賊，汝何弔焉？君子不食姦，不受亂，不爲利疚於回，不以回待人，不蓋不義，不犯非禮。

宋華向之亂，公子城，公孫忌，樂舍，司馬彊，向宜，向鄭，楚建，鄒甲，出奔鄭，其徒與華氏戰於鬼閭，敗子城，子城適晉，華亥與其妻必盥而食，所質公子者，而後食，公與夫人，每日必適華氏，食公子而後歸，華亥患之，欲歸公子，向寧曰：唯不信，故質其子，若又歸之，死無日矣，公請於華賈，遂將攻華氏，對曰：臣不敢愛死，無乃求去憂而滋長乎？臣是以懼，敢不聽命，公曰：子死亡有命，余不忍其詢，冬十月，公殺華向之質而攻之，戊辰，華向奔陳，華登奔吳，向寧欲殺大子，華亥曰：于君而出，又殺其子，其誰納我？且歸之有庸？使少司寇輕以歸，曰：子之齒長矣，不能事人，以三公子爲質，必免，公子既入，華輕將自門行，公遽見之，執其手曰：余知而無罪也，入復而所。

齊侯疥，遂疢，期而不瘳，諸侯之賓，問疾者多在，梁丘據與裔欸言於公曰：吾事鬼神，豐於先君有加矣，今君疾病，爲諸侯憂，是祝史之罪也，諸侯不知，其謂我不敬，君盍誅於祝史，史闕以辭賓，公說，告晏子，晏子曰：日宋之盟，屈建問范會之德於趙武，趙武曰：夫子之家事治，言於晉國，竭情無私，其祝史祭祀，陳信不愧，其家事無猜，其祝史不祈，建以語康王，康王曰：神人無怨，宜夫子之光輔五君，以爲諸侯主也，公曰：據與欸謂寡人能事鬼神，故欲誅於祝史，子稱是語，何故？對曰：若有德之君，外內不廢，上下無怨，動無違事，其祝史薦信，無愧心矣，是以鬼神用饗，國受其福，祝史與焉，其所以蕃祉老壽者，爲信君使也，其言忠信於鬼神，其適遇淫君，外內頗邪，上下怨疾，動作靡違，從欲厭私，高臺深池，撞鐘舞女，斬刈民力，輪掠其聚，以成其違，不恤後人，暴虐淫從，肆

⑤鄭子產有疾，謂子犬叔曰：「我死，子必爲政。唯有德者，能以寬服民。其次莫如猛。夫火烈，民望而畏之，故鮮死焉。水懦弱，民狎而翫之，則多死焉。故寬難。」疾數月而卒。犬叔爲政，不忍猛而寬。鄭國多盜，取人於萑苻之澤。犬叔悔之，曰：「吾早從夫子，不及此。」與徒兵以攻萑苻之盜，盡殺之，盜少止。仲尼曰：「善哉！政寬則民慢，慢則糾之以猛；猛則民殘，殘則施之以寬；寬以濟猛，猛以濟寬，政是以和。」詩曰：「民亦勞止，汔可小康。」惠此中國，以綏四方。施之以寬也。毋從詭隨，以謹無良。式遏寇虐，慘不畏明。糾之以猛也。柔遠能邇，以定我王。平之以和也。又曰：「不競不絀，不剛不柔，布政優優，百祿是遄和之至也。」及子產卒，仲尼聞之出涕曰：「古之遺愛也。」

- XX. 1 In the [duke's]. twentieth year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, the Kung-sun Hwuy of Ts'aou fled from Mung to Sung.  
3 In autumn, some ruffians killed Chih, the elder brother of the marquis of Wei.  
4 In winter, in the tenth month, Hwa Hae, Hëang Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung fled from that State to Ch'ing.  
5 In the eleventh month, on Sin-maou, Leu, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

[The Chuen introduces under this spring two narratives. The 1st is astrological; and Tso-she, in introducing it, seems to change the 'king's first month' of the text into the king's 2d month, the 1st day of which was the day of the winter solstice. The officers of the calendar had omitted to make an intercalary month after the 12th month of last year, which they ought to have done, making this year commence on the day of the solstice. The 5th year of duke He commenced on that day; seven periods of 19 years (= 133 years) had intervened. This 20th year of Ch'au, therefore, was the 1st of another period, and should, had the intercalation been always correctly made, have fallen on the solstice. There is here the indication of another error in the calendar, for in this year, which was Ke-maou (己卯), the solstice fell on Sin-maou, (辛卯), two days later than Tso-she's Ke-ch'ow.

'This year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ke-ch'ow, the sun reached the limit of his southern path (*I. e.*, it was the winter solstice). Teze Shin, having looked at all the indications of the sky, said, "This year there will be confusion in Sung. That State will be nearly brought to ruin, and it will be 3 years before the evil is arrested. There will [also] be a great death in Ts'au." Shuh-sun Ch'au-teze said, "Well then, [the evil in Sung] will

arise from [the descendants of dukes] Tae and Hwan; their ambitious extravagance and want of propriety are excessive; it is there that the disorder will be found."

2d, relating to affairs in Ts'oo. 'Fei Woo-keih said to the viscount of Ts'oo, "K'een, with Woo Ch'ay, is intending to revolt with the territory beyond the barrier wall, considering himself there equal to Sung or Ch'ing. Ts'ao and Ts'in also will both assist him, with the intention of injuring Ts'oo. The thing will be successful." The king believed him, and asked Woo Ch'ay, who replied "The one fault which you committed (Appropriating to himself his son's bride) was more than enough; why do you believe slanderers?" The king then made him be seized, and sent Fun Yang, the marshal of Shing-foo, to kill his own eldest son, but that officer warned K'een to go away before his arrival; and in the 3d month that prince fled to Sung. The king then called Fun Yang [back to the capital], who made the people of Shing-foo seize him, and carry him thither. "The words," said the king, "went forth from my mouth, and entered into your ears;—who told K'een of them?" "I did," was the reply. "O ruler and king, you had [formerly] commanded me to serve K'een as I would serve yourself. In my want of ability I could not allow myself in any way to deviate from this, but regulated my conduct by that first command. The second I could not bear to

execute, and therefore sent the prince away. When the thing was done, I repented of it; but that was then of no avail." The king asked, "How [in these circumstances] did you dare to come here?" Yang said, "I had been sent on a commission which I had failed to execute; if I had refused to come when called here, I should have been twice a traitor; and though I might have made my escape, no place would have received me." The king said, "Return, and discharge the duties of your office as before."

‘Woo-kein said [to the king], “The sons of Ch’ay are men of ability. If they should be in Woo, it would be to the grief of Ts’oo. Why not call them, making their coming a condition of their father’s pardon? They are virtuous and loving, and are sure to come. If you do not do so, there will be trouble hereafter.” On this the king sent to call them, saying, “Come, and I will liberate your father.” Shang, the commandant of T’ang, said to his younger brother Yun, “Do you go to Woo, and I will return [to the capital], and die. My wisdom is not equal to yours. I can die, and you can repay. Having received this summons, based on the promise to liberate our father, it would not do not to go. When one’s nearest relatives are slaughtered, it would not do not to repay the injury. To hurry to death for the liberation of our father is filial duty; to act on a calculation of what can be accomplished is virtue; to select one’s duty to be performed and go to it is wisdom; to know death is before him and not try to avoid it is valour. Our father must not be abandoned; our name must not be allowed to perish. Do you exert yourself to the utmost. Our best plan is for each to allow the other to take his way.”

“Woo Shang then returned [to Ying]; and when Ch'ay heard that Yun had not come, he said, “The ruler of Ts'oo and his great officers will [now] take their meals late.” Both father and son were put to death in Ts'oo. Yun went to Woo, and spoke to Chow-yu of the advantages of attacking Ts'oo. The Kung-tsze Kwang, however, said, “He wishes to revenge the murder of the members of his family, and should not be listened to.” [On this] Yun said, “That Kwang has another object in his mind. I will in the meantime seek for braves to take service with him, and will wait in the borders of the State [for the development of his ambition].” Accordingly, he introduced Chuen Sheh-choo [to Kwang], and commenced farming himself on the borders.]

Par. 2. For 夢 Kuh-lêng has 夢 Mung was a city of Ts'au, in the north of the pres. dept. of Ts'au-chow. The specification of Hwuy's flight as not taking place from Ts'au simply, but from Mung in Ts'au, has led to much speculation among the critics. We must suppose that Mung was the city belonging to Hwuy's family; but whether he had been holding it in revolt against the earl of Ts'au, or what other unsatisfactory relations there had been between them, can only be matter of conjecture. Comp. XXII. 2.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Sung:—'Duke Yuen of Sung was without good faith, and had many private favourites, while he hated the clans of Hwa and Hêng. Hwa Ting and Hwa Hae consulted with Hêng

Ning, saying, "It is better to be driven into exile than to die. Let us anticipate [the duke]." [Accordingly], Hwa Hae pretended to be ill, to inveigle [into his power] the scions of the ducal House; and when they came to inquire for him, he made them be seized. In the 6th month, on Ping-shin, he put to death the Kung-tszes Yin, Yu-jung, Choo, and Koo, and the Kung-suns Yuen and Ting, and confined Hëang Shing and Hëang Häng in his granary. The duke went to the house of the Hwa to beg [the liberation of those two], but Hae refused it, and made the duke himself a prisoner. On Kwei-mau he received the duke's eldest son Lwan, and his full brother -Shin, with the Kung-tszé Te, as hostages. The duke on his part took Woo-ts'eh the son of Hwa Hae, Lo the son of Hëang Ning, and K'e the son of Hwa Ting, as hostages; and made a covenant with the Hwa.]

Par. 3. For 勢 Kung and Kuh have 軼. This Chih was the rightful heir of the State of Wei. For the reason why he was passed over, and the succession given to his younger brother, see on VII. 8. The Chuen says:—‘Kung-máng Chih of Wei treated Ts’e P’ao with contempt, and deprived him of his office of minister of Crime, and of [his city] Keuen, which he would restore to him when he was engaged on service, and take from him [again] when he was not so engaged. He [also] hated Pih-kung He and Poo superintendent of markets, and wished to put them out of the way. [At the same time] the Kung-tsze Chau had an intrigue with Seuen Kéang, the widow of duke Séang; and, being afraid, he wished to take advantage of circumstances to raise an insurrection. In this way, Ts’e P’ao, Pih-kung He, Poo the superintendent of markets, and the Kung-tsze Chau united in an insurrection.

'Before this, Ts'e P'au had introduced Tsung Loo to Kung-mang, who appointed him to the 3d place in his chariot. Contemplating the insurrection, [P'au now] said [to Loo], "You are acquainted with the badness of Kung-mang. Do not ride in his chariot with him, for I am going to kill him." Loo replied, "It is through you that I am in the service of Kung-mang. You recommended me on the ground of my character, and therefore he has not been distant to me. Although he is bad, and I was aware of it, yet for the gain of it I have served him, and would not leave him;—that was my fault. If now I should slink away on hearing of the [impending] calamity, I should falsify your [words about me]. Do what you have in hand. I will die in it, and thereby complete my service of you. I will return and die with Kung-mang."

'On Ping-shin, the marquis of Wei was at Ping-show, and Kung-mäng had a sacrifice outside the Kae-hwoh gate. T'se-tsze's family pitched a tent outside the gate, and concealed men-at-arms in it. He made the priest Wa place a spear amid the faggots in a waggon which was set to stop up the gate, and at the same time he sent a carriage to follow Kung-mäng, if he should get out. Hwa T'se was acting as chariot-eer to Kung-mäng, Tsung Loo being the 4th person in the chariot; and when they came to the turn in the gate, one of the T'ses took the spear to strike Kung-mäng, whom Tsung Loo tried to cover with his back. The blow cut off



his arm, and then fell on the shoulder of Kung-mäng, both of whom were slain.

When the duke heard of the insurrection, he hurried rapidly to the capital, which he entered by the Yuch gate. King Pe drove his chariot, in which was also Kung-nan Ts'oo, while Hwa Yin occupied the supporting chariot. When they arrived at the palace, Hung Lëw-t'uy got as a 4th man into the chariot of the duke, who then took into it his most valuable articles and left. Tsze-shin, a superintendent of the markets, met him in the Ma-loo street, and followed him. When he passed the house of the Ts'e, he made Hwa Yin, with the upper part of his body bared, hold an umbrella to cover where he was exposed. One of the Ts'es let fly an arrow at the duke, which hit Nan Ts'oo in the back. In this way the duke got out of the city, and Yin shut the gate of the suburbs behind them, getting over the wall himself afterwards and following. The duke went to Sze-nëaou. Seih Choo-ts'oo in the night got out at a hole, and followed him on foot.

The marquis of Ts'e had sent Kung-sun Ts'ing on a complimentary mission to Wei. When he had left [the capital of Ts'e], he heard of the confusion in Wei, and sent to ask where he should go to accomplish his mission. The marquis said, "He is still within the boundaries of the State, and is the ruler of Wei; do you discharge your mission to him." Ts'ing then went to Sze-nëaou, and begged there to deliver his message. [The marquis of Wei], however, declined to receive it, saying, "A fugitive, without ability, I have failed in guarding my altars, and am here in the jungle. There is no place in which you can condescend to deliver your ruler's message." The guest replied, "My ruler charged me in his court that I should deport myself humbly as one of your officers. I dare not think of anything else." The host rejoined, "If your ruler, kindly regarding the friendship between his predecessors and mine, [has sent you] on a bright visit to my poor State, to support and comfort its altars, there is my ancestral temple, [where I should receive you]." On this [the envoy] desisted from his purpose. The marquis begged earnestly to see him, but could not obtain a favourable reply. Ts'ing, however, sent him [some good] horses in place of seeing him, [that being impossible] while he had not yet discharged his commission; and the marquis employed them for his chariot.

The guest proposed keeping watch at night; but the host declined [the service], saying, "The sad circumstances of my condition as a fugitive must not be allowed to affect you, Sir. Your followers must not be subjected to the duties arising from my position here in the jungle. I venture to decline your proposal." The guest replied, "I am an inferior officer of my ruler, as a herdsman or a groom of your Lordship. If I am not allowed to share in guarding you when you are thus abroad, I shall be forgetting my duty to my ruler. I am afraid I shall not escape the charge of being an offender, and beg you to deliver me from the risk of death." He then himself took bell in hand, and joined all night long the torch-bearers.

K'eu-tsze, the steward of the Ts'e family, had called Pih-kung-tsze [to an interview with him]. The steward of Pih-kung was not privy to the matter, and laid a plot to kill K'eu-tsze, after which

he attacked the Ts'e family, and extinguished it. On Ting-sze, the last day of the moon, the marquis [again], entered [his capital], and made a covenant with Pih-kung He near the river P'ang. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-woo, he imposed a covenant on the people. In the 8th month, on Sin-hae, the Kung-tsze Chaou, Poo the superintendent of markets, Tsze-yuh Sëaou, and Tsze-kaou Fang, fled to Tsin. In the intercalary month, on Mow-shin, Seuen Këang was put to death. The marquis conferred on Pih-kung He the honorary epithet of Ching-tsze, and on Seih Choo-ts'oo that of Ch'ing-tsze, and bestowed on them the burial place of the Ts'e family. He announced the [restoration of] tranquillity to Ts'e, making mention of the [admirable] behaviour of Tsze-shih (The Kung-sun Ts'ing). The marquis of Ts'e was about to drink; [when the message arrived], and he gave [a cup] to the great officers all round, saying, "There is a lesson for you, gentlemen." Yuen Ho-ke declined the cup, saying, "If we share in Ts'ing's reward, we must also share in any punishment [he may incur]. In the Announcement to the prince of K'ang (Shoo, V. ix. 6; but the words quoted are not in the text, and they are a very roundabout deduction from what it says), it is said, 'The crimes of father or son, younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual's self; how much more is this rule applicable to officers! I do not presume to desire your gift in violation of [that rule of] the former kings.'"

When K'in Chang (A disciple of Confucius; see Ana. IX. vi. 4) heard of the death of Tsung Loo, he wished to pay a visit of condolence to his family. Chung-ne, however, said to him, "Why should you pay such a visit for him, through whom Ts'e P'aoou proved a ruffian and Mäng Chih was murdered? A superior man does not eat [the bread of] the wicked, nor receive [the advances of] rebels; he does not for the sake of gain endanger himself by corruption, nor treat others evilly, nor conceal unrighteousness, nor violate the rules of propriety."

On the 盜 in the text compare on IX. x. 8. The individual intended by the term here is Ts'e P'aoou.

Par. 4. Kung-yang has 甯 for 寧. The Chuen says:—"On the insurrection of the Hwa and the Hëang in Sung, the Kung-tsze Shing (A son of duke P'ing, XI. 1), the Kung-sun Ke, Yoh Shay, the marshal K'ëang, Hëang E, Hëang Ch'ing, Këen of Ts'oo (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of the year) and Këah (The reading here is uncertain, whether 申 or 甲) of E, left the State to flee to Ch'ing. Their followers fought with the Hwa clan at Kwei-yen, where Tsze-shing was defeated, after which he went to Tsin. Hwa Hae and his wife were accustomed to wash their hands and then feed the Kung-tszes who were hostages with them, taking afterwards their own meal. The duke and his wife every day would go to their house with food for the Kung-tszes, and then return to the palace. Hwa Hae was annoyed at this, and wished to send the Kung-tszes home. Hëang Ning said to him, "It was because he has not good faith, that you took his son as a hostage. If you send them back, we shall die very soon." The duke begged [the assistance] of Hwa Pe-suy, and

proposed to attack the Hwas; but that officer replied, "I do not grudge dying [for you], but while you wish to get rid of your sorrow, will it not be increased and prolonged [by such a step]? This is why I am afraid of it; should I [otherwise] presume not to obey your command?" The duke said, "My son will die according as it is appointed for him, but I cannot bear the disgrace [of my position]."

In winter, in the 10th month, the duke put to death the hostages left with him by the Hwa and Hëang, and attacked those clans, when their chiefs fled to Ch'in, and Hwa Täng to Woo. Hëang Ning had wished to put to death [the duke's] eldest son, but Hwa Hae said, "We have opposed our ruler and are going forth; if we also kill his son, who will receive us? And moreover to send him back will be an act of merit." [Accordingly], he made the sub-minister of Crime, Käng, take [the hostages] back to the duke, saying to him, "You are advanced in years, and cannot take service in any other [State]. If you take these three Kung-tszes back as evidence of your faith, you will be pardoned." As the Kung-tszes entered [the palace], Hwa Käng was going away from the gate, when the duke suddenly saw him, took him by the hand, and said, "I know that you are not guilty. Come in, and resume your office."

Par. 5. For 廬 Tso-she has 廬. See the record of Len's succession to the marquise of Ts'ae in XIII. 9.

[We have here four narratives in the Chuen:—1st, relating to affairs in Ts'e:—"The marquis of Ts'e had a scabbiness which issued in intermittent fever, and for a whole year he did not get better, so that there were many visitors from the various States [in the capital], who had come to inquire for him. Keu of Lëang-k'ëw and E K'wan said to him, "We have served the Spirits more liberally than former rulers did; but now your lordship is very ill, to the grief of all the princes;—it must be the crime of the priests and the historiographers. The States, not knowing this, will say that it is because we have not been reverential [to the Spirits]; why should your lordship not put to death the priest Koo and the historiographer Yin, and thereupon give an answer to your visitors." The marquis was pleased and laid the proposal before Gan-tsze, who replied, "Formerly, at the covenant of Sung, K'ëuh Këen asked Chaou Woo of what kind had been the virtue of Fan Hwuy (See the narrative on IX. xxvii. 2, 5), and was answered, "The affairs of his family were well regulated; when conversing [with his ruler] about the State, he told the whole truth, without any private views of his own. His priests and historiographers, at his sacrifices, set forth the truth, and said nothing to be ashamed of. The affairs of his family afforded no occasion for doubt or fear, and his priests and historiographers did not pray about them." Këen reported this to king K'ang, who said, "Since neither Spirits nor men could resent his conduct, right was it he should distinguish and aid five rulers, and make them lords of covenants." The marquis said, "Keu and K'wan said that I was able to serve the Spirits, and therefore they wished the priest and historiographer to be executed; why have you repeated these words [in reference to their proposal]?" Gan-tsze replied, "When a virtu-

ous ruler is negligent of nothing at home or abroad, when neither high nor low have any cause for dissatisfaction, and none of his movements are opposed to what circumstances require, his priests and historiographers set forth the truth, and he has nothing to be ashamed of in his mind. Therefore the Spirits accept his offerings, and the State receives their blessing, in which the priests and historiographers share. The plenty and happiness [of the State] and the longevity [of the people] are caused by the truth of the ruler; the words [of the priests and historiographers] to the Spirits are real and faithful accordingly. If they meet with a ruler abandoned to excesses, irregular and vicious at home and abroad, causing dissatisfaction and hatred to high and low, his movements and actions deflected from and opposed to the right, following his desires and satisfying his private aims, raising lofty towers and digging deep ponds, surrounding himself with the music of bells and with dancing girls, consuming the strength of the people, and violently taking from them their accumulations of wealth;—[if they meet with a ruler] who thus carries out his violation of the right, not caring for his posterity, oppressive and cruel, giving the reins to his lusts, wildly proceeding without rule or measure, without reflection or fear, giving no thought to the maledictions of the people, having no fear of the Spirits, and however the Spirits may be angry and the people may suffer, entertaining no thought of repentance:—the priests and historiographers, in setting forth the truth, must speak of his offences. If they cover his errors and speak of excellences, they are bearing false testimony; when they would advance or retire, they have nothing which they can rightly say, and so they may vainly seek to flatter. Therefore the Spirits will not accept the offerings, and the State is made to suffer misery, in which the priests and historiographers share. Short lives, premature deaths, bereavements and sicknesses, are caused by the oppression of the ruler; the words [of the priests and historiographers] are false, and an insult to the Spirits."

"The duke said, "Well then, what is to be done?" Gan-tsze replied, "[What is proposed] will be of no avail. The trees of the hills and forests are watched over [for your use] by the hëny-luh; the reeds and flags of the marshes by the chow-këaou; the fire-wood of the meres by the yu-how; and the salt and cockles of the sea [-shore] by the k'e-wang. The people of the districts and borders are made to enter and share in the services of the capital. At the barrier-passes near the capital, oppressive duties are levied on the private [baggage of travellers]. The places of the great officers which should come to them by inheritance are forcibly changed for bribes. There are no regular rules observed in issuing the common measures of government. Requisitions and exactions are made without measure. Your palaces and mansions are daily changed. You do not shun licentious pleasures. The favourite concubines in your harem send forth and carry things away from the markets; your favourite officers abroad issue false orders in the borders;—thus nourishing the gratification of what they selfishly desire. And if people do not satisfy them, they [make them criminals] in return. The people are pained and distressed; husbands and wives join



in cursing [the government]. Blessings are of benefit, but curses are injurious. From Lēaou-shih on the east, and from Koo-yēw on the west, the people are many. Although your prayers may be good, how can they prevail against the curses of millions? If your lordship wishes to execute the priest and the historiographer, cultivate your virtue, and then you may do it." The marquis was pleased, and made his officers institute a generous government, pull down the barrier-passes, take away prohibitions, make their exactions more light, and forgive debts."

2d, relating to an incident in Ts'e:—"In the 12th month, the marquis of Ts'e was hunting in P'ei, and summoned the forester to him with a bow. The forester did not come forward, and the marquis caused him to be seized, when he explained his conduct, saying, "At the huntings of our former rulers, a flag was used to call a great officer, a bow to call an inferior one, and a fur cap to call a forester. Not seeing the fur cap, I did not dare to come forward." On this he was let go. Chung-ne said, "To keep the rule [of answering a ruler's summons] is not so good as to keep [the special rule for] one's office. Superior men will hold this man right."

3d, still relating to the marquis of Ts'e and Gan-tsze:—"When the marquis of Ts'e returned from his hunt, Gan-tsze was with him in the tower of Ch'uen, and Tze-yu (Kou of Lēang-k'ew of the 1st narrative) drove up to it at full speed. The marquis said, "It is only Kou who is in harmony with me!" Gan-tsze replied, "Kou is an assenter merely; how can he be considered in harmony with you?" "Are they different," asked the marquis,—"harmony and assent?" Gan-tsze said, "They are different. Harmony may be illustrated by soup. You have the water and fire, vinegar, pickle, salt, and plums, with which to cook fish. It is made to boil by the firewood, and then the cook mixes the ingredients, harmoniously equalizing the several flavours, so as to supply whatever is deficient and carry off whatever is in excess. Then the master eats it, and his mind is made equable. So it is in the relations of ruler and minister. When there is in what the ruler approves of anything that is not proper, the minister calls attention to that impropriety, so as to make the approval entirely correct. When there is in what the ruler disapproves of anything that is proper, the minister brings forward that propriety, so as to remove occasion for the disapproval. In this way the government is made equal, with no infringement of what is right, and there is no quarrelling with it in the minds of the people. Hence it is said in the ode (She IV. iii. ode II.),

'There are also the well-tempered soups,  
Prepared beforehand, the ingredients rightly  
proportioned.  
By these offerings we invite his presence  
without a word;  
Nor is there now any contention in the  
service.'

As the ancient kings established the doctrine of the five flavours, so they made the harmony of the five notes, to make their minds equable and to perfect their government. There is an analogy between sounds and flavours. There are the breath, the two classes of dances, the three subjects, the materials from the four quarters, the five notes, the six pitch-pipes, the seven

sounds, the eight winds, the nine songs;—[by these nine things the materials for music] are completed. Then there are [the distinctions of] clear and thick, small and large, short and long, fast and slow, solemn and joyful, hard and soft, lingering and rapid, high and low, the commencement and close, the close and the diffuse, by which the parts are all blended together. The superior man listens to such music, that his mind may be composed. His mind is composed, and his virtues become harmonious. Hence it is said in the ode (She, I. xv. ode VII. 2),

'There is no flaw in his virtuous fame.'

Now it is not so with Kou. Whatever you say 'Yes' to, he also says 'Yes.' Whatever you say 'No' to, he also says 'No.' If you were to try to give water a flavour with water, who would care to partake of the result? If lutes were to be confined to one note, who would be able to listen to them? Such is the insufficiency of mere assent."

'They were drinking and joyous, when the marquis said, "If from ancient times till now there had been no death, how great would [men's] pleasure have been!" Gan-tsze replied, "If from ancient times till now there had been no death, how could your lordship have shared in the pleasure of the ancients? Anciently the Shwang-k'ew occupied this territory. To them succeeded [the House of] Ke-shih. Pih-ling of Fung followed; and then the House of P'oo-koo, after which came [your ancestor] T'ae-kung. If the ancients had not died, the happiness of the Shwang-k'ew is what you never could have desired.'

4th, the dying counsels of Tsze-ch'an:—"Tsze-ch'an was ill, and said to Tze-t'ae-shuh, "When I die, the government is sure to come into your hands. It is only the [perfectly] virtuous, who can keep the people in submission by clemency. For the next class [of rulers] the best thing is severity. When fire is blazing, the people look to it with awe, and few of them die from it. Water again is weak, and the people despise and make sport with it, so that many die from it. It is difficult therefore to carry on a mild government."

'After being ill several months, he died, and T'ae-shuh received the administration of the govt. He could not bear to use severity, and tried to be mild. The consequence was that there were many robbers in the State, who plundered people about the marsh of Hwan-foo. T'ae-shuh repented of his course, saying, "If I had sooner followed the advice of Tsze-ch'an, things would not have come to this." He then raised his troops, and attacking the robbers of Hwan-foo, killed them all, on which robbers [generally] diminished and disappeared. Chung-ne said, "Good! When govt. is mild, the people despise it. When they despise it, severity must take its place. When govt. is severe, the people are slaughtered. When this takes place, they must be dealt with mildly. Mildness serves to temper severity, and severity to regulate mildness;—it is in this way that the administration of government is brought to harmony. The ode says (III. ii. ode IX. 1):—

'The people indeed are heavily burdened:—  
But perhaps a little ease may be got for them.  
Deal kindly in this centre of the kingdom,  
And so give rest to the four quarters of it;—

that has reference to the employment of mildness. [Again]:—

'Give no indulgence to deceit and obsequiousness,  
In order to make the unconscientious careful,  
And repress robbers and oppressors,  
Who have no fear of the clear [will of Heaven];—

that has reference to the substitution for it of severity. [And further]:—

'So may you encourage the distant  
And help the near,  
And establish [the throne of] our king;—

that has reference to the harmonious blending of both of these. Another ode (IV. iii. ode IV. 4) says:—

He was neither violent nor remiss,  
Neither hard nor soft.  
Gently he spread his instructions abroad,  
And all dignities and riches were concentrated in him;—

that has reference to the perfection of such harmony." When Tsze-ch'an died and Chung-ne heard of it, he shed tears and said, "He afforded a specimen of the love transmitted from the ancients!"

### Twenty-first year.

二十有一年春，王三月葬蔡平公。夏，晉侯使士鞅來聘。宋華亥、向寧、華定自陳入于宋南里，以叛。秋七月壬午朔，日有食之。八月乙亥，叔輒卒。冬，蔡侯朱出奔楚。公如晉，至河乃復。

左傳曰：二十一年春，天王將鑄無射，淪州鳩曰：王其以心疾死乎？夫樂天子之職也，夫音，樂之興也，而鐘音之器也，天子省風以作樂，器以鍾之，興以行之，小者不窺，大者不櫛，則和於物，物則嘉成，故和聲入於耳而藏於心，心億則樂，宛則不咸，櫛則不容，心是以感，感實生疾，今鐘櫛矣，王心弗堪，其能久乎？三月葬蔡平公，蔡犬子朱失位，位在卑，大夫送葬者，歸見昭子，昭子問蔡故，以告，昭子歎曰：蔡其亡乎？若不亡，是君也，必不終，詩曰：不解于位，民之攸暨，今蔡侯始即位而適卑，身將從夏，晉士鞅來聘，叔孫為政，季孫欲惡諸晉，使有司以齊鮑國歸費之禮為士鞅，士鞅怒曰：鮑國之位下其國小。

爲右，干鑾御呂封人華豹，張弓爲右，相遇，城還，華豹曰：「城也，城怒而反之，將注，豹則闕矣。」曰：「平公之靈，尙輔相余，豹射出其間，將注，則又闕矣。」曰：「不狎鄙，抽矢，城射之，殪，張弓抽矢而下，射之，折肢，扶伏而擊之，折軫，又射之，死。」干鑾請一矢，城曰：「余言汝於君，對曰：不死，伍乘，軍之大刑也。」干刑而從子，君焉用之？子速諸，乃射之，殪。大敗華氏，圍諸南里，幸而後亡，使華登如楚，乞師，華以車十五乘，徒七十人，犯師而出，食於睢上，哭而送之，乃復入。楚遠越帥師，將逆華氏，大宰犯諫曰：「諸侯唯宋事其君，今又爭國，釋君而臣是助，無乃不可乎？」王曰：「而告我也，後既許之矣。」蔡侯朱出奔楚，費無極取貨於東國，而謂蔡人曰：「朱不用命於楚，君王將立東國，若不先從王欲，楚必圍蔡。」蔡人懼，出朱而立東國，朱愬於楚，楚子將討蔡，無極曰：「平侯與楚有盟，故封其子有二心，故廢之。」靈王殺隱太子，其子與君同惡，德君必甚，又使立之，不亦可乎？且廢置在君，蔡無他矣。公如晉，及河，鼓叛晉，晉將伐鮮虞，故辭公。

- XXI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-first year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke P'ing of Ts'ae.
- 2 In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze Yang to Loo on a complimentary mission.
- 3 Hwa Hae, Hëang Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung entered Nan-le [in the capital] of that State from Ch'in, and held it in revolt.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin-woo, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 5 In the eighth month, on Yih-hae, Shuh Cheh died.
- 6 In winter, Choo, marquis of Ts'ae, fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 7 The duke was going to Tsin; but when he had got to the Ho, he returned.

[The Chuen introduces here the following narrative:—“This spring, the king by Heaven's grace proposed to cast [the bell] Woo-yih (The name of the 11th of the musical pipes). The musician Chow-këw said, “The king is likely to die from disease of the heart! Music comes within the duties of the son of Heaven. The notes are the vehicle of music. The bell is the vessel that contains the notes. The son of Heaven examines the manners [of the people],

to guide him in making his [instruments of] music. In his instruments he collects the notes, and by those notes the music goes forth. The smaller notes must not be too small, nor the greater too great. [This being the case], there ensues a harmony with things without, and admirable music is the result. Hence the harmonious sounds enter the ear, and descend into the heart. When repose is given to the heart, there is pleasure. If the notes be too

而使鞅從其牢禮，是卑敝邑也，將復諸寡君。魯人恐，加四年焉，爲十一年。宋華費遂生華貙，華多僚，華登，貙爲少司馬，多僚爲御士，與貙相惡，乃譖諸公，曰：「貙將納亡人，亟言之。」公曰：「司馬以吾故，亡其良子，死亡有命，吾不可以再亡之。」對曰：「君若愛司馬，則如亡，死如可逃，何遠之有？公懼，使侍人召司馬之侍人宜僚，飲之酒，而使告司馬。司馬歎曰：「必多僚也，吾有讒子，而弗能殺，吾又不死，抑君有命，可若何？」乃與公謀逐華貙，將使田孟諸而遣之。公飲之酒，厚酬之，賜及從者。司馬亦如之，張句尤之，曰：「必有故，使子皮承宜僚以劍而訊之，宜僚盡以告。張句欲殺多僚，子皮曰：「司馬老矣，登之謂甚，吾又重之，不如亡也。」五月，丙申，子皮將見司馬而行，則遇多僚，御司馬而朝，張句不勝其怒，遂與子皮、白任、鄭翩殺多僚，刳司馬以叛，而召亡人壬寅，華向入，樂大心、豐愆、華慳、禦諸橫，華氏居廬門，以南里叛。六月，庚午，宋城舊鄆，及桑林之門，而守之。秋七月，壬午朔，日有食之。公問於梓慎，曰：「是何物也？禍福何爲？」對曰：「二至二分，日有食之，不爲災，日月之行也，分同道也，至相過也，其他月則爲災，陽不克也，故常爲水。」於是叔輒哭，日食，昭子曰：「子叔將死，非所哭也。」八月，叔輒卒。

冬十月，登以吳師救華氏，齊烏枝鳴成宋，廚人濮曰：「軍志有之，先人有奪人之心，後人有待其衰，盍及其勞，且未定也，伐諸，若入而固，則華氏衆矣，悔無及也。」從之。丙寅，齊師敗吳師於鴻口，獲其二帥，公子苦、淮偃、州員、華登帥其餘以敗宋師，公欲出，廚人濮曰：「吾小人，可藉死，而不能送亡君，請待之。」乃徇曰：「揚徽者，公徒也，衆從之。」公自揚門見之，下而巡之，曰：「國亡君死，二三子之耻也，豈專孤之罪也？」齊烏枝鳴曰：「用少莫如齊致死，齊致死，莫如去備，彼多兵矣，請皆用劍。」從之。華氏北，復卽之。廚人濮以裳裹首，而荷以走，曰：「得華登矣，遂敗華氏於新里。」翟倭新居於新里，既戰，說甲於公而歸，華姓居於公里，亦如之。十一月，癸未，公子城以晉師至，曹翰、胡會、晉荀吳、齊苑何忌、衛公子朝救宋。丙戌，與華氏戰於赭丘，鄭翩願爲鸛，其御願爲鵠，子祿御公子城，莊董

small, the heart is not satisfied; if they be too large, it cannot bear them. It is consequently agitated, and the agitation produces disease. This bell will be too large, and the king's heart will not be able to endure it. Is it possible he can continue long?"

K'ung Ying-tah traces the history of this bell to the commencement of the Suy dynasty, about the end of the 6th century, when it was destroyed.]

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"At the burial of duke P'ing, Choo, his heir son (太子 must here be 世子), erred in not taking his proper place, and took a lower one (*i. e.*, a place below an elder brother, the son of a concubine). Our great officer, who had gone to the burial, saw Ch'ou-tse on his return, and, being asked by him about the affairs of Ts'ae, told him of this incident. Ch'ou-tse said, with a sigh, "Is Ts'ae going to perish? If it do not perish, this ruler will not die in his State. The ode says (She, III. ii. ode V. 4.):—

'Not idly occupying his office,  
The people will have rest in him.'

Since the marquis of Ts'ae, immediately on his accession, [thus] took a lower [place than was proper], so it will happen to his person."

Par. 2. The object of this mission, Too thinks, was to open communications between the new ruler of Tsin and the court of Loo. But it was now the 5th year of duke K'ing of Tsin;—he had been remiss in his attentions to the faithful Loo. What is more remarkable,—this was the last mission of the kind sent to Loo by Tsin, which thereby acquiesced in its own decline. Nor does the text of the classic mention any *p'ing* or friendly mission of compliment from any other State to Loo, which had fallen much from the high position which it had once occupied in the kingdom.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, when Sze Yang of Tsin came on a complimentary mission, Shuh-sun was the principal minister of the State. Ke-sun wishing to bring on him the enmity of Tsin, made the officers pay to the envoy the same ceremonies which had been paid to Paou Kwoh of Ts'e when he came to return Pe (See the narrative appended to XIV. 1). Sze Yang was angry, and said, "The rank of Paou Kwoh was inferior to mine, and his State was smaller [than Tsin]; and to treat me with the same number of oxen which he received, is to lower my State. I will report the thing to my ruler." The people of Loo became afraid, and added four sets of animals, making [in all] eleven."

Par. 3. Kung-yang has 畔 for 叛. In 南里 we are to take 里 in the sense of 'neighbourhood,' according to the 1st meaning given to the character in the dictionary (里, 居也, 里者, 止也, 五十家共居止也). A certain neighbourhood inside the wall of the capital went by this name of Nan-le, or 'the south district.'

The Chuen says:—"Hwa Pe-suy (See on par. 4 of last year) had [3 sons], Ch'oo, To-l'au, and T'ang. Ch'oo was assistant-minister of War,

and To-l'au was charioteer [to the duke], cherishing a hostile feeling to Ch'oo, whom he slandered to the duke, saying, "Ch'oo will bring the fugitives back (See the narrative referred to). He often speaks of it." The duke replied, "The minister of War on my account has lost his good son (Hwa T'ang, one of the fugitives). Death and exile are as determined. I must not cause him the loss of another son in the same way." "If your Grace," said To-l'au, "[thus] loves the minister of War, you had better abandon the State. If death can be avoided, no matter to what distance you flee." The duke became frightened, and made one of his attendants call E-l'au, an attendant of the minister of War, entertain him with spirits, and instruct him to inform the minister [of what was agitated]. The minister heard it with a sigh, and said, "This must have been To-l'au. I have a slanderous son, and have not been able to put him to death. I myself also have not [managed to] die [before this]. But since the duke issues his commands, what can be done?" He then took counsel with the duke about driving Ch'oo from the State, and proposed to send him to hunt at M'ang-choo, and thence to send him away. The duke entertained Ch'oo to drink, and gave him large presents at the feast, making gifts also to his followers. [His father] the minister did the same. Chang Kae was surprised at it, and said, "There must be a reason for this." He made Tsze-p'e (Hwa Ch'oo) question E-l'au with his sword at his neck, and all the truth was thus disclosed to them. Kae wanted to kill To-l'au, but Tsze-p'e said, "The minister is old, and [the exile of] T'ang was too great a trial to him. I should [thus] be increasing [his sorrow]. My best plan is to flee."

'In the 5th month, on Ping-shin, Tsze-p'e was going to see the minister and take his leave, when he met To-l'au driving their father to court. Chang Kae could not restrain his anger, and along with Tsze-p'e, K'ew Jin, and Ch'ing P'een, he killed To-l'au. [At the same time] they carried off the minister, thereon declared a revolt, and recalled the exiles. On Jin-yin, the Hwas and H'angs entered the State. Yoh Ta-sin, Fung K'een, and Hwa K'ang tried to withstand them at Hung. The house of the Hwa family was near the Loo gate, and they took possession therefore of the south district (Nan-le, which was adjacent), and held it in revolt. In the 6th month, on K'ang-woo, [the duke] repaired the old wall of the city and the gate of Sang-lin, and appointed guards at them.'

Par. 4. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of June 3d, B.C. 520. The Chuen says:—"On the occurrence of this eclipse the duke asked Tsze Shin saying, "What is this for? What calamity does it indicate, or what blessing?" "At the solstices and equinoxes," was the reply, "an eclipse of the sun does not indicate calamity. The sun and the moon, in their travelling, are at the equinoxes, in the same path; and at the solstices, they pass each other. On other months, an eclipse indicates calamity. The yang principle cannot overcome [the yin], and hence there is always [disaster from] water."

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 彗 for 輒. Shuh Cheh was the son of Shuh Kung, styled Pih-chang (伯張). He has not appeared in

connexion with the business of the State, and this record of his death must have been made simply because of his relationship to the ducal House.

The Chuen says:—"At this time Shuh Cheh wept because of the eclipse of the sun. Ch'ou-tse said, "Tsze-shuh will [soon] die. He weeps when there is no occasion for it." [Accordingly], in the 8th month, Shuh Cheh died."

[The Chuen resumes here the narrative of the troubles in Sung:—"In winter, in the 10th month, Hwa T'ang came with an army of Woo, to relieve the Hwas. [About the same time], Woo Che-ming of Ts'e [had arrived] to garrison [the capital of] Sung. Puh, the commandant of Ch'oo, said, "We find in the 'Art of War,' that, if beforehand with the enemy, we should make up our minds to attack them, and that, if behindhand with them, we should wait the decay [of their strength]. [Why should we not attack them now], while they are tired and have not yet got settled? If they enter [the city] and establish themselves, the Hwas will be very numerous, and our regrets will then be too late." His advice was followed; and on Ping-yin the armies of Ts'e and Sung defeated that of Woo at Hung-k'ow, capturing its two commanders, the Kung-tse K'oo-k'an, and Yen-chow Yun. Hwa T'ang led the remainder of the army, and with it defeated the army of Sung, on which the duke wanted to quit [the city and flee]. Puh of Ch'oo said to him, "A small man like myself can take the opportunity to die [for you], but I cannot escort you in your flight. I beg your Grace to wait [the result of another battle]." He then sent round [the city] saying, "They who display a flag will be for the duke." The people all did so, and the duke, who saw them from the Yang gate, descended, and went round among them, saying, "If the State perish and your ruler die, it will be a disgrace to you, and not the fault of me alone."

Woo Che-ming of Ts'e said, "It is better that we all be prepared to sacrifice our lives than that we [merely] use a small force. And that we be so prepared the best plan is to cast away our long weapons. The enemy have many such weapons, but let us all use swords." This was agreed to, and the Hwas were put to flight. They followed and engaged them again, when Puh of Ch'oo took his lower garment, wrapped up a head in it, with which he ran about, shouting, "I have got Hwa T'ang." On this they defeated the Hwas at Sin-le.

'Telh Leu-sin dwelt in Sin-le, and after the fight he took off his armour before the duke, and returned to his allegiance. Hwa T'ow, who lived in Kung-le, did the same.

'In the 11th month, on Kwei-we, the Kung-tse Shing (See on par. 4 of last year) arrived with a force from Tsin. Han Hoo of Ts'au effected a junction with Seun Woo of Tsin; and along with Yuen Ho-ke of Ts'e, and the Kung-tse Chaou of Wei, they came to the relief of Sung. On Ping-seuh they fought with the Hwas at Chay-k'ew. Ch'ing P'een wished to draw the troops up in the crane fashion, while his charioteer preferred that of the goose. Tsze-luh (H'ang E) drove the Kung-tse Shing, and Chwang Kin was spearman on the right. Kan Ch'ow drove Hwa P'au, warden of Leu, with Chang Kae as spearman. These two chariots met, and Shing was withdrawing, when

Hwa P'au called out, "Shing!" on which he was angry and returned [to the fight]. As he was adjusting his arrow to the string, P'au had already bent his bow. [Shing] said, "May the powerful influence of duke P'ing [now] assist me!" On this the arrow of P'au went past between him [and Tsze-luh]. [Again] he was adjusting his arrow, when [P'au] had again bent his bow. "If you don't let me return your shot," said [Shing], "it will be mean." [P'au on this] took away his arrow, and Shing shot him dead. Chang Kae took his spear, and descended from the chariot. An arrow [from Shing] broke his thigh, but he supported himself on the ground, and struck at Shing, breaking the cross-board of his chariot. Another arrow killed him; and then Kan Ch'ow begged for his death from an arrow. "I will report you to our ruler," said Shing; but he replied, "He who does not die, being in the same file or the same chariot, is doomed to the greatest punishment in the army. If I expose myself to this doom and follow you, how should the ruler use me? Be quick." On this [Shing] shot him dead. A great defeat was inflicted on the Hwas, and they were besieged in Nan-le.

'Hwa Hae beat his breast and cried out. Seeing Hwa Ch'oo, he said, "I am [another] Lwan (See the rebellion and fate of Lwan Ying of Tsin in S'ang's 23d year)." "Do not frighten me," said Ch'oo. "It will be my misfortune if I die after you." They then sent Hwa T'ang to Ts'oo, to ask assistance. Hwa Ch'oo, with 15 chariots and 70 footmen, broke through the duke's army, ate with T'ang near the Suy, wept and escorted him on his route, and then returned and re-entered [Nan-le]. Wei Yueh of Ts'oo led a force to [rescue and] meet the Hwas. Fan, the grand-administrator, remonstrated, saying, "Of all the States it is only in Sung that they have served their ruler, but there also they are now contending for the capital. Is it not improper to pass over the ruler, and assist his subjects?" The king said, "You mention this too late. I have promised them my assistance!"

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"Fei Woo-keih of Ts'oo took bribes from Tung-kwoh (An uncle of Choo), and said to the people of Ts'ae, "Choo is not observant of the orders of Ts'oo; our ruler and king intends to set up Tung-kwoh in his room. If you do not anticipate the king's wishes, he will lay siege to Ts'ae." The people of Ts'ae were afraid, expelled Choo, and made Tung-kwoh marquis. Choo complained to Ts'oo, and the viscount was about to punish Ts'ae, when Fei Woo-keih said to him, "The marquis P'ing had a covenant with Ts'oo, and therefore he was raised to the State. His son was disinherited, and therefore we [now] displace him. King Ling put to death Yin, heir-son [of Ts'ae]. His son (Tung-kwoh) and you had the same object of hatred, and his gratitude to you must be extreme. Is it not proper further to make him the marquis of Ts'ae? Moreover to make and unmake rests with you. Ts'ae has no other [to look to]."

Par. 6. "The Chuen says, "The duke was going to Tsin; but when he arrived at the Ho, Koo (See on XV. 5) had revolted from Tsin, which was going to attack S'een-yu. In consequence of this the duke's visit was declined."

Twenty-second year.

樂輓爲大司寇，以靖國人。

王子朝賓起，有寵於景王。王與賓孟說之，欲立之。劉獻公之庶子伯蚡事單穆公，惡賓孟之爲人也，願殺之。又惡王子朝之言，以爲亂，願去之。賓孟適郊，見雄雞自斷其尾，問之，侍者曰：「自憚其犧也。」遽歸告王。且曰：「雞其憚爲人用乎？人異於是，犧者實用人，人犧實難，已犧何害？」王弗應。夏四月，王田北山，使公卿皆從，將殺單子。劉子王有心疾，乙丑，崩於榮錡氏。戊辰，劉子擊卒，無子。單子立劉蚝。五月，庚辰，見王，遂攻賓起，殺之。盟羣王子於單氏。

晉之取鼓也，既獻而反鼓子焉。又叛於鮮虞。六月，荀吳畧東陽，使師僞糴者，負甲以息於昔陽之門外，遂襲鼓，滅之，以鼓子鳶歸，使涉佗守之。

丁巳，葬景王。王子朝因舊官百工之喪職秩者，與靈景之族以作亂，帥郊，要餞之，甲以逐劉子。壬戌，劉子奔揚。單子逆悼王於莊宮，以歸。王子還夜取王，以如莊宮。癸亥，單子出，王子還與召莊公謀曰：「不殺單旗，不捷，與之重盟，必來，誓盟而克者多矣。」從之。樊頃子曰：「非言也，必不克。」遂奉王以追單子。及領，大盟而復，殺摯荒以說劉子。如劉，單子亡。乙丑，奔於平時。羣王子追之，單子殺還，姑發弱，驪延定，稠子朝奔京。丙寅，伐之。京人奔山。劉子入于王城。辛未，鞏簡公敗績於京。乙亥，甘平公亦敗焉。叔鞅至自京師，言王室之亂也。閔馬父曰：「子朝必不克，其所與者，天所廢也。」

單子欲告急於晉，秋七月，戊寅，以王如平時，遂如圃車，次于皇。

劉子如劉，單子使王子處守于王城，盟百工於平宮。辛卯，鄒睥伐皇，大敗，獲鄒睥。壬辰，焚諸王城之市。八月，辛酉，司徒醜以王師敗績於前城。百工叛，己巳，伐單氏之宮，敗焉。庚午，反伐之。辛未，伐東園。冬十月，丁巳，晉籍談、荀躒帥九州之戎及焦瑕、溫、原之師，以納王子于王城。庚申，單子劉蚝以王師敗績於郊，前城人敗陸渾於社。

二十有二年，春，齊侯伐莒。

宋華亥、向寧、華定自宋南里出。

奔楚。大蒐于昌間。

夏四月，乙丑，天王崩。

六月，叔鞅如京師，葬景王。

王室亂。

劉子單子以王猛居于皇。

秋，劉子單子以王猛入于王城。

冬十月，王子猛卒。

十有二月，癸酉朔，日有食之。

左傳曰：二十二年，春，王二月，甲子，齊北郭啟帥師伐莒。莒子將戰，苑羊牧之諫曰：「齊帥賤，其求不多，不如下之。」大國不可怒也。弗聽。敗齊師於壽餘。齊侯伐莒，莒子行成。司馬竈如莒，盟。莒子如齊，盟。盟於稷門之外。莒於是乎大惡其君。

楚薳越使告於宋曰：「寡君聞君有不令之臣，爲君憂，無寧以爲宗羞。寡君請受而戮之。」對曰：「孤不佞，不能媚於父兄，以爲君憂，拜命之辱。抑君臣日戰，君曰：『余必臣是助，亦唯命。』人有言曰：『唯亂門之無過。』君若惠保敝邑，無亢不衷，以獎亂人，孤之望也。唯君圖之。」楚人患之。諸侯之成謀，曰：「若華氏知困而致死，楚耻無功而疾戰，非吾利也。不如出之，以爲楚功，其亦無能爲也。」已救宋而除其害，又何求？乃固請出之。宋人從之。己巳，宋華亥、向寧、華定、華貜、華登、皇奄傷、省臧、士平出奔楚。宋公使公孫忌爲大司馬，邊卬爲大司徒，樂祁爲司城，仲幾爲左師，樂大心爲右師。



南丑師城行晉次師谿於司籍十二位也子十一  
伐軍軍詭箕於軍泉陰馬談二月於丑卒一月  
京於其濟遺任於次於督荀月庚子敬不乙  
毀京東師樂人汜於侯帥躁庚戌旅王成酉  
其楚南取徵閏於社氏師賈戊辛晉氏即喪王  
西辛王前右月解王於軍辛晉氏即喪王

- XXII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-second year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Keu.
- 2 Hwa Hae, Hëang Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung, fled from Nan-le of that State to Ts'oo.
- 3 We had a grand review in Ch'ang-këen.
- 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Yih-ch'ow, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.
- 5 In the sixth month, Shuh Yang went to the capital to the burial of king King.
- 6 The royal House was in confusion.
- 7 The viscounts of Lëw and Shen, having with them the king Mäng, took up their residence in Hwang.
- 8 In autumn, the viscounts of Lëw and Shen entered the royal city with the king Mäng.
- 9 In winter, in the tenth month, the king's son Mäng died.
- 10 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-yëw, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This spring, in the 2d month, on Këah-tse, Pih-kwoh K'e of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu. The viscount of Keu was going to fight, when Yuen-yang Muh-che remonstrated with him, saying, "The force of Ts'e is a poor one, and its demands are not great. Our best plan is to yield to it; a great State should not be angered." The viscount would not listen to this counsel, and defeated the troops of Ts'e at Show-yu. [On this], the marquis of Ts'e [himself] invaded Keu, when the viscount made his submission. The marshal Tsaou went to Keu to superintend a covenant, and the viscount went to Ts'e for the same purpose. The covenant was made outside the Tseih gate. In consequence of all this Keu conceived a great hatred of its ruler.'

Par. 2. Read the narrative after par. 5 of last year. The Chuen here says:—'Wei Yueh of Ts'oo sent a message to [the duke of] Sung, saying, "My ruler has heard that you have some bad officers, who are occasioning you sorrow. Had you not better [send them away], to the disgrace of their ancestral temples? My ruler begs to receive them, and execute them." [The duke] replied, "From my want of ability I was not able to love my uncles and elder brothers, thereby occasioning sorrow to your ruler. I thank you for the condescension of your message. Ruler and subjects, we are here fighting daily, and your ruler says, 'I must assist the subjects.' Still I accept his commands. But people have a saying, that one should not pass by the door of a house in confusion. If your ruler vouchsafe his kind protection to my

poor State, it is my hope that he will not give honour to the worthless, thereby encouraging men to create disorder. Let your ruler think of the case."

'The people of Ts'oo were troubled by this reply; but [the officers in charge of] the auxiliaries from different States took counsel together, saying, "If the Hwa, knowing to what straits they are reduced, should sell their lives dearly, and if Ts'oo, ashamed of not accomplishing its object, should fight with spirit, this will not be to our advantage. The better plan is to send [the rebels] away, as if it were brought about by Ts'oo; nor can they do anything after this. We came to succour Sung, and we shall remove the authors of its injury;—what more should we seek for?" They therefore begged earnestly that [the rebels] might be allowed to go away, and the people of Sung agreed. On Ke-sze, Hwa Hae, Hëang Ning, Hwa Ting, Hwa Ch'oo, Hwa Täng, Hwang Yen-shang, Sing Tsang, and Sze P'ing, went forth and fled to Ts'oo. The duke made Kung-sun Ke grand-minister of War, Pëen Yang grand-minister of Instruction, Yoh K'e minister of Works, Chung Ke master of the Left, Yoh Ta-sin master of the Right, and Yoh Wan grand minister of Crime,—in order to quiet the minds of the people.'

Par. 3. Kung-yang has 姦 for 間. Too says nothing on the situation of Ch'ang-këen, but it has been referred, with every appearance of correctness, to a place in the pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy (泗水), dep. Yen-chow. 蒐 is

to be taken here as in VIII. 6, XI. 5. See what is said on it under VIII. 6. Heu Han (許翰; Sung dyn.) says:—'In the 8th year a 蒐 appears as taking place in autumn; and one in the 11th year in summer; at both of which seasons it was inappropriate. The observance of it now in the spring was appropriate so far as the season was concerned; but all the notices of 蒐 in the time of duke Ch'au have for their principal object the condemnation of the great officers, whose power was excessive.' Most of the critics think that the duke himself took no part in any of these reviews.

Par. 4. This was king King (景王), who was now in the 25th year of his reign. The Chuen says:—'His son Chaou, and Pin K'e (Chaou's tutor) were favourites with king King, who had spoken to Pin Mäng (I. q., Pin K'e) about his wish to make Chaou his successor. Pih-fun, son by a concubine to duke Hëen of Lëw, did service to duke Muh of Shen, and, hating the character of Pin Mäng, wished to put him to death. He also disliked the words of the king's son Chaou, as likely to lead to disorder, and wished to remove him out of the way.'

'[On one occasion] Pin Mäng had gone to the suburbs, where he saw a cock plucking out its tail. He asked what could be the meaning of such a thing, and his attendants said, "It is afraid for itself lest it should be used as a victim." He hurried back, and reported the thing to the king, adding, "The cock would seem to be afraid of its being used as a victim by men. It is different with men [who like to be favoured and nourished as animals for victims are]. For such favourites you must use [good] men. To favour other men in such a way may occasion difficulties; but what injury can come from so favouring [a son of] your own?" The king made no reply.

'In summer, in the 4th month, the king hunted on the North hill, and made all the dukes and ministers follow him, intending to put to death the viscounts of Shen and Lëw. He was suffering, however, from disease of the heart, and on Yih-ch'ow he died in the house of Yung-e. On Mow-shin, Che, viscount of Lëw, died, leaving no son [by his wife], and the viscount of Shen raised Lëw Fun to his place. In the 5th month, they had an interview with the [new] king, and proceeded to attack Pin K'e, and killed him, after which they imposed a covenant on all the [other] sons of the [late or former] kings, in the house of the [viscount of] Shen.'

Par. 5. Shuh Yang, who appears here, was a son of Shuh Kung, a younger brother of Cheh, whose death was recorded last year. The burial of the king took place only 3 months after his death;—the unseemly haste was in consequence, no doubt, of the troubles referred to in the next paragraph.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Tsin and the city of Koo:—'When Tsin took Koo-yu (See on XV. 5), it sent back the viscount of that city, after presenting him [in the ancestral temple]. He afterwards revolted, and joined Sëen-yu. In the 6th month, Seun Woo was marching near Tung-yang, and made some of his soldiers,

disguised as buyers of rice, carry their armour on their backs [in bags], and rest outside the gate of Seih-yang. He then surprised Koo, and extinguished [its sacrifices], took the viscount Yuen-te, back with him, and appointed Shih T'o to guard the city.']

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'On Ting-sze, king King was buried. His son Chaou, by means of the many old officers who had lost their offices and emoluments, and of the families sprung from [the kings] Ling and King, proceeded to raise an insurrection, and led the men-at-arms of Këaou, Yaou, and Tsëen, to drive out the viscount of Lëw, who on Jin-seuh fled to Yang. The viscount of Shen then took king Taou (king King's son Mäng of par. 9), and carried him back from the Chwang palace [to his own house]; but in the night Hwan, [another] son of king [King], took him again and went to the palace; and [next day], on Kwei-hae, the viscount left [the capital]. Hwan took counsel with duke Chwang of Shaou, saying, "If we do not kill Shen K'e (The viscount), we shall not succeed. If we [propose to] make a second covenant with him, he is sure to come. There are many who have conquered by violating their covenants." His proposal was agreed to, but Fan K'ing-tze said, "Such language is wrong. The thing is sure not to succeed." They then carried the king with them, and pursued the viscount of Shen. At Ling they made a great covenant, and [all] returned, [after which] they put to death Ch'ih Hwang, by way of apology for themselves. The viscount of Lëw went to Lëw, and the viscount of Shen absconded, fleeing, on Yih-ch'ow, to P'ing-che. The body of the king's sons pursued him, when he killed Hwan, Koo, Fah, Joh, Tsung, Yen, Ting, and Chow. The king's son Chaou [on this] fled to King, which was attacked on Ping-yin, when the inhabitants fled to the hills. The viscount of Lëw entered the royal city. On Sin-we, duke Këen of Kung was shamefully defeated at King. On Yih-hae, duke P'ing of Kan was also defeated.

'When Shuh Yang arrived from the capital, he spoke of the confusion of the royal House. Min Ma-foo said, "The king's son Chaou is sure not to succeed. Those with whom he is associated are those whom Heaven has disowned."

This is the third time in the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew that the House of Chow was nearly ruined by dissensions in itself, but the classic takes no notice of the two former occasions. Its silence is difficult to account for, and the same course would probably have been pursued here but for the visit of Shuh-yang to the capital when the troubles were going on. Tae K'e (戴溪; Sung dyn.) says, 'From the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'ew till now, the royal House had thrice been in confusion, the calamity always arising from relations in it between father and sons, elder and younger brothers, through which the distinction between sons of the queen proper and of other ladies of the harem was not kept clear. King Hwuy, by his favouritism of his son Tae, had nearly endangered the position of his eldest son, when duke Hwan made the covenant in the prince's behalf at Show-che (See V. v. 4, 5), and his place was established. Then king Sëang, through again

favouring Tae, was obliged to leave the capital and reside in Ch'ing (See V. xxiv. 4), till duke Wan of Tsin restored him, and established the royal House. But for those two leaders, the confusion of the House of Chow would not have been postponed till this time. The Ch'un Ts'ew makes record of it now, through pity for the feeble condition to which the House was reduced, and regret that such leaders as Hwan and Wan were no more to be found. Alas!

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Shen wished to send notice of [the king's] distress to Tsin. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-yin, he carried the king with him to P'ing-che; thence they went to Poo-keu, and halted in Hwang.'

Hwang was a city of Chow, in the north-west of the pres. dis. of Kung (鞏), dep. Ho-nan. The Māng was a son of king King, probably by his proper queen. The death of the king's eldest son Show is mentioned in the Chuen after par. 4 of the 15th year. We may suppose that Māng was a younger brother of Show, on whom the succession to the throne now naturally devolved, and that he had been so designated. We have seen, however, that the king had wished, before his death, to divert the succession to Chaou, older in years, but the son of a concubine. Hence arose the two parties, whose struggles produced so much confusion. Lēw Ch'ang, Hoo Gan-kwoh, and others, take the 以 in the text, as condemnatory of the viscounts, but the K'ang-he editors remark correctly that 以 itself expresses neither praise nor blame, and that the supporters of Māng were in the right. Māng died before the end of the year, and therefore does not enter into the chronological line of kings, though he received the posthumous epithet of king Taou (悼王). Altogether his position was anomalous, and hence the style of the text, where he is not called 王 simply, nor 天王, but 王 with his name attached (王猛).

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Lēw went to Lēw, and the viscount of Shen made king [King's] son Ch'oo keep guard in the royal city, having bound by a covenant in the temple of [king] P'ing all the officers. On Sin-maou, Sin Heih attacked Hwang, but he suffered a great defeat; and, being taken, he was burned on Jin-shin in the market-place of the royal city. In the 8th month, on Sin-yēw, the minister of Instruction, Ch'ow, with the royal army, was shamefully defeated at Ts'een-shing, after which all the officers revolted. On Ke-sze, they attacked the palace of the viscount of Shen, and were defeated. On Kang-woo he returned their attack. On Sin-we he attacked Tung-yu.

'In winter, in the 10th month, on Ting-sze, Tseih T'an and Seun Leih, led the Jung of Kēw-chow, with the troops of Tsēau, Hēa, Wān, and Yuen, to replace the king in the royal city. On Kāng-shin, the viscount of Shen and Fun of Lēw, with the king's army, were shamefully defeated at Kēau, and the men of Ts'een-shing defeated the [Jung] of Luh-hwān at Shay.'

The 'royal city' is correctly said by Too to have been Kēah-juh (郊郛). Maou observes that to this city king Woo removed the 9 tripods, and that it is to be distinguished from Ch'ing-chow (成周) or the 'lower capital' (下都), which was built by the duke of Chow to receive the refractory people of Yin. From the time of king P'ing's removal of the seat of govt. eastwards, down to king King, all the kings of Chow had dwelt in Kēah-juh. It was not till 4 years after this, that King's successor, of whom we must also speak in English as king King (敬王), occupied Ch'ing-chow, in consequence of the present disturbances still continuing. Kung-yang says that the 'royal city' of the text is the western Chow, or western capital of Chow (西周), but it was not till after the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew that Kēah-juh came to be thus denominated.

Par. 9. The Chuen continues:—'In the 11th month (The text says the 10th), on Yih-yēw, the king's son Māng died, and the proper mourning and funeral rites could not be performed for him. On Ke-ch'ow, king King (敬王, an own brother of Māng;—his name was Kae, 匄) succeeded to the throne, and lodged in the house of Tsze-leu.

'In the 12th month, on Kāng-seuh, Tseih T'an, Seun Leih, Kēa Sin, and the marshal Tuh, of Tsin, led their forces, and encamped at Yin, at How-she, at K'e-ts'ēuen, halting at Shay; while the king's army encamped at Fan, and at Hēae, halting at Jin-jin. In the intercalary month, K'e E, Yoh Ching, and Kwei of the right column, of Tsin, crossed [the E and Loh] with their forces, and took Ts'een-shing. The king's army encamped at King-ts'oo; and on Sin-ch'ow it attacked King-ts'oo, and threw down the [wall on the] west and south.'

Too thinks that the sentence 不成喪也, in the Chuen, gives the reason why 王猛 of parr. 8, 9 is here replaced by 王子猛; but this is not necessary. Had Māng lived, his reign would have dated only from the next year. Of the sons of the dukes of Loo, who came to an untimely end before the expiry of the year in which their fathers died, the text simply says, 'Son So-and-so died (See VI. xviii. 6: IX. xxxi. 3).' Here in writing of the royal House, it was necessary to prefix the 王.

Par. 10. This eclipse took place in the afternoon, on the 18th November, B.C. 519. Too would change the Kwei-yēw into Kwei-maou (癸卯); but calculation shows the day to be correct. He was led to the conclusion that there was no Kwei-yēw day in this 12th month, by accepting the statement in the preceding Chuen about the intercalary month which is incorrect. The intercalary month this year must have been a double 4th.

Twenty-third year.

二十有三年春王正月叔孫舍如晉。  
癸丑叔鞅卒。  
晉人執我行人叔孫舍。  
晉人圍郊。  
夏六月蔡侯東國卒于楚。  
秋七月莒子庚與來奔。  
戊辰吳敗頓胡沈蔡陳許之師于雞父。  
胡子髡沈子逞滅獲陳夏齧。  
天王居于狄泉尹氏立王子朝。  
八月乙未地震。  
冬公如晉至河有疾乃復。

左傳曰：邾人城翼，還將自離姑。公孫鉏曰：魯將御我，欲自武城還，循山而南，徐鉏丘弱茅地曰：道下遇雨，將不出，是不歸也。遂自離姑。武城人震其前，斷其後之木而弗殊。邾師過之，乃推而蹶之，遂取邾師獲鉏弱地。邾人愬於晉，晉人來討，叔孫婼如晉，晉人執之。書曰：晉人執我行人叔孫婼，言使人也。晉人使與邾大夫坐，叔孫曰：列國之卿當小國之君，固周制也。邾又夷也，寡君之命介子服回在，請使當之，不敢廢周制故也。乃不果坐。韓宣子使邾人聚其衆，將以叔孫與之。叔孫聞之，去衆與兵而朝。士彌牟謂韓宣子曰：子弗良圖，而以叔孫與其讐，叔孫必死之。魯亡叔孫，必亡邾。邾君亡國，將焉歸？子雖悔之，何及？所謂盟主，討違命也。若皆相執，焉用盟主。

西閭丙寅，攻蒯、蒯潰。  
八月，丁酉，南宮極震。長弘謂劉文公曰：「君其勉之，先君之力可濟也。」周之亡也，其三川震，今西王之大臣亦震，天棄之矣。東王必大克。

○楚犬子建之母在郢，召吳人而啟之。冬，十月，甲申，吳犬子諸樊入郢，取楚夫人，與其寶器以歸。楚司馬薳越追之，不及，將死。衆曰：「請遂伐吳，以徼之。」薳越曰：「再敗君師，死且有罪。亡君夫人，不可以莫之死也。」乃縊於薳澐。

公爲叔孫故如晉，及河，有疾而復。

○楚囊瓦爲令尹，城郢。沈尹戌曰：「子常必亡郢，苟不能衛，城無益也。」古者天子守在四夷，天子卑，守在諸侯。諸侯守在四鄰，諸侯卑，守在四竟。慎其四竟，結其四援，民狎其野，三務成功，民無內憂，而又無外懼，國焉用城？今吳是懼，而城於郢，守已小矣，卑之不獲，能無亡乎？昔梁伯溝其公宮，而民潰，民棄其上，不亡何待？夫正其疆場，脩其土田，險其走集，親其民人，明其伍候，信其鄰國，慎其官守，守其交禮，不僭不貪，不懦不奢，完其守備，以待不虞，又何畏矣？詩曰：「無念爾祖，聿脩厥德，無亦監乎？」若敖蚡冒，至於武文，士不過同，慎其四竟，猶不城郢，今土數圻，而郢是城，不亦難乎？」

- XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsin.  
2 On Kwei-ch'ow, Shuh Yang died.  
3 The people of Tsin seized our internuncius, Shuh-sun Shay.  
4 The troops of Tsin laid siege to K'eaou.  
5 In summer, in the sixth month, Tung-kwoh, marquis of Ts'ae, died in Ts'oo.  
6 In autumn, in the seventh month, K'ang-yu, viscount of Keu, came a fugitive to Loo.  
7 On Mow-shin, Woo defeated the armies of Tun, Hoo, Shin, Ts'ae, Ch'in, and Heu at Ke-foo, when K'w'än, viscount of Hoo, and Ch'ing, viscount of Shin, were killed, and H'ea N'eh of Ch'in was taken.  
8 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] resided at Teih-ts'ueu, and the chief of the House of Yin raised king [King's] son Chaou to the throne.  
9 In the eighth month, on Yih-we, there was an earthquake.

乃弗與，使各居一館。士伯聽其辭，而愬諸宣子，乃皆執之。士伯御叔孫，從者四人，過邾館，以如吏。先歸邾子。士伯曰：「以芻蕘之難，從者之病，將館子於都。」叔孫旦而立期焉。乃館諸箕，舍子服昭伯於他邑。范獻子求貨於叔孫，便請冠焉，取其冠法，而與之兩冠。曰：「盡矣。」爲叔孫故，申豐以貨如晉。叔孫曰：「見我，吾告汝所行貨，見而不出。吏人之與叔孫居於箕者，請其吠狗弗與。」及將歸，殺而與之食之。叔孫所館者，雖一日，必葺其牆屋，去之如始至。

春，王正月，壬寅朔，二師圍郢。癸卯，郢潰。丁未，晉師在平陰。王師在澤邑。王使告閒。庚戌，還。

莒子庚與虐而好劍，苟鑄劍，必試諸人。國人患之。又將叛齊，烏存帥國人以逐之。庚與將出，聞烏存執父而立於道左，懼，將止死。苑羊牧之曰：「君過之，烏存以力聞可矣，何必以弑君成名？遂來奔。」齊人納郢公。

吳人伐州來，楚薳越帥師，及諸侯之師，奔命救州來。吳人禦諸鍾離，子瑕卒。楚師嬖。吳公子光曰：「諸侯從於楚者衆，而皆小國也。畏楚而不獲已，是以來。吾聞之曰：『作事威克其愛，雖小必濟。』」胡沈之君幼而狂，陳大夫鬬壯而頑，頗與許、蔡、疾、楚政。楚令尹死，其師嬖，帥賤多寵，政令不壹。七國同役而不同心，帥賤而不能整，無大威命，楚可敗也。若分師先以犯胡沈，與陳必先奔，三國敗，諸侯之師乃搖心矣。諸侯乖亂，楚必大奔，請先者去，備薄威，後者敦陳，整旅。吳子從之。戊辰晦，戰于雞父。吳子以罪人三千先犯胡沈，與陳、三國爭之。吳爲三軍以繫於後，中軍從王，光帥右掩餘帥左。吳之罪人或奔或止。三國亂，吳師擊之。三國敗，獲胡沈之君及陳大夫舍胡沈之囚，使奔許，與蔡頓曰：「吾君死矣。」師譟而從之。三國奔，楚師大奔。書曰：「胡子髡，沈子逞，滅陳，夏徵舒，君臣之辭也。」不言戰，楚未陳也。

夏四月，乙酉，單子取訾，劉子取臯人，直人。六月，壬午，王子朝入於尹。癸未，尹圉誘劉佗殺之。丙戌，單子從阪道，劉子從尹道，伐尹。單子先至而敗劉子，還。己丑，召伯奭、南宮極以成周人戍尹。庚寅，單子、劉子、樊齊以王如劉。甲午，王子朝入于王城，次於左巷。秋七月，戊申，鄒、魯納諸莊宮。尹辛敗劉師於唐。丙辰，又敗諸鄒。甲子，尹辛取。

# 10 In winter, the duke was going to Tsin; but when he arrived at the Ho, he fell ill and returned.

Parr. 1, 3. Here, as elsewhere, Tso-she has 媯 for 舍. The Chuen says:—‘A body of men from [the capital of] Choo had been walling Yih, and on their return were to go by way of Le-koo. Kung-sun Ts’oo said, “Loo will withstand us. If we want to return by Woo-shing, let us keep along the hills to the south.”’ Seu Ts’oo, K’ew Joh, and Maou Te said, “The way [there] lies low; if we meet with rain, it will be impassable, and we shall not [be able to] return.” Accordingly they determined to go by Le-koo, [first passing Woo-shing]. The men of Woo-shing had blocked up the way in front [of a pass], and cut the trees in the rear, only not quite through; but when the troops of Choo had entered, they pushed the trees down, and took the whole of them, killing Ts’oo, Jeh, and Te. The people of Choo complained of this to Tsin, which sent an officer to Loo to inquire into the matter. On this Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsin where they seized and held him. The words of the text are, “The people of Tsin seized our internuncius Shuh-sun Shay,” because he was a commissioner [from the State].

‘The people of Tsin required him to argue the matter on trial along with a great officer of Choo; but Shuh-sun said, “It is the old rule of Chow, that the minister of one of the regular States should rank with the ruler of a small State. Choo, moreover, is one of the E. Tsze-fuh Hwuy is here, commissioned by my ruler as my assistant. I beg that you will let him be confronted with [the officer of Choo], for I do not dare to disallow the rule of Chow.”’ Accordingly, he would not be put upon his trial.

‘Han S’uen-tsze made the men of Choo collect all their people, intending to deliver Shuh-sun to them. When that minister heard of it, he dispensed with the attendance of his people and his weapons, and went to court. Sze Me-niow said to Han S’uen-tsze, “Your measures are not good. If you deliver Shuh-sun to his enemies, he will die [first]. If Loo lose Shuh-sun, it is sure to destroy Choo, and where will the ruler of Choo turn to when he has lost his State? You may then repent of it, but of what use will that be? What is called the lordship of covenants implies the punishment of the disobedient. If [the princes of the States] are all to seize one another, of what use is a lordship of covenants?” After this [Shuh-sun] was not delivered [to Choo], but [he and Tsze-fuh Hwuy] were assigned, each of them, a separate lodging. Sze Pih received their statements, and accused them to Seuen-tsze, when they were both seized; and Sze Pih drove Shuh-sun, with four of his followers, past the lodging of the Choo-ites, on the way to the officer [who should take charge of him]. The viscount of Choo was then sent home first, and Sze Pih said [to Shuh-sun], “In consequence of the difficulty of getting forage, and the sickness of your followers, we will assign you a lodging in [another of our] great cities.” Shuh-sun stood from one morning [till next], waiting for his orders; and then a lodging was assigned to him in Ke, and Tsze-fuh Ch’ou-pih was placed in another city.

‘Fan H’een-tsze sought bribes from Shuh-sun, and sent to ask him for some caps. He got the

fashion of the [other’s] cap, and sent two caps to him saying, “These are all.” Shin Fung, on account of Shuh-sun, went with bribes to Tsin; but Shuh-sun sent word to him to come and see him, and he would tell him how to distribute the bribes. When Fung came to see him, he did not let him go forth. The officers in charge who lived with him at Ke begged from him his watch-dog. He refused it; but when he was about to return to Loo, he killed it, and gave it to them to eat. Wherever Shuh-sun was lodged, though it might be only for one day, he would have the walls and roof put in repair. When he left the house, it was [always] as when he first came to it.’

Par. 2. See on par. 5 of last year. Shuh Yang was succeeded, as a great officer of Loo, by his son Shuh E (叔詣).

Par. 4. The Chuen continues here the narrative of the troubles in Chow, and should be read in connection with that on par. 9 of last year:—‘This spring, in the king’s 1st month, on Jin-yin, the 1st day of the moon, the two armies (I. e., of the king and of Tsin) laid siege to K’eaou. On Kwei-maou, the people of K’eaou and Sin dispersed. On Ting-we, the army of Tsin was at P’ing-yin, and the king’s at Tsih-yih. The king sent word that he was more at ease; and on K’ang-seuh [the army of Tsin returned].’

K’eaou was a city of Chow, but its particular locality has not been ascertained. I translate 晉人 ‘the troops of Tsin.’ Woo Gan-kwoh

says that the 人 is used as if the commander had been only an inferior officer; and as we know that he was not such, he adds that he is represented so, to express the sage’s disapproval of all Tsin’s proceedings in succouring so feebly the king in his distress! According to the Chuen, the siege of K’eaou began on Jin-yin, 12 days before Kwei-ch’ow, on which Shuh-yang died. This 4th par., therefore, should precede the 2d; but we may suppose that as the official notice from Tsin to Loo of the siege could not arrive till after that officer’s death, and was given as in the text without the specification of the day, the historiographers entered the event according to the time of its communication.

Par. 5. Tung-kwoh owed his elevation to the marquise of Ts’ae to Ts’oo (See on XX. i. 6); and he was probably on a visit to the court of that State when he died.

Par. 6. About K’ang-yu and duke K’eaou, mentioned in the end of the Chuen here, see the narrative on XIV. 5. The Chuen says:—‘K’ang-yu, viscount of Keu, was oppressive and fond of swords. Whenever he had a sword cast, he would try it on people. The people felt sore under him, and he was also intending to revolt from Ts’ae, when Woo Ts’un led the people on to expel him. As he was about to leave the city, he heard that Woo Ts’un was standing with a spear on the left of the road; and, being afraid, he proposed to stop, and die [where he was]. Yuen-yang Muh-che, however, said to him, “Let your lordship pass by him. It will be sufficient for Woo Ts’un to be spoken of for his strength. Why should he seek to make himself famous by

murdering you?” On this, he came a fugitive to Loo, and the people of Ts’ae restored duke K’eaou.’

Par. 7. Kuh-l’ang has here 甫 for 父, and 盈 for 逞. Kung-yang has 櫓 for 逞. Ke-foo was in the pres. Show Chow (壽州), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. The Chuen says:—‘A body of men from Woo invaded Chow-lae, to the rescue of which hurried Wei Yueh with the army of Ts’oo and the forces of [several of] the States. The men of Woo withstood him at Chung-le, when [just at that time] Tsze-h’ea (The chief minister of Ts’oo, unable to command in this expedition) died, and the courage of the army of Ts’oo died away. The Kung-tsze Kwang of Woo said, “The States that follow with Ts’oo are numerous, but they are small. They have come through fear of Ts’oo, and because they could not help it. I have heard that, in the conduct of affairs, the party whose energy is superior to its hesitancy, though it may be the smaller, is sure to be successful (See the Shoo, III. iv. 7; but the application is very forced). The rulers of Hoo and Shin are young and reckless. N’eh, the great officer of Ch’in, is stout, but stupid. Tun, Heu, and Ts’ae hate the govt. of Ts’oo. Its chief minister is [just] dead, and the courage of its army has become chilled. The commander is of low rank, and has many favourites; no unity marks his procedures and orders. The seven States are engaged in the same service, but they have not the same heart. With this commander of low rank and incompetent, his commands cannot inspire any great awe;—Ts’oo can be defeated. If we divide our forces, and first fall on Hoo, Shin, and Ch’in, they are sure to flee. When those three States are defeated, the forces of the others will be shaken in mind. They will all get into confusion, and Ts’oo will be put to a great rout. Let our men in front put away their preparations and assume but small appearance of martial energy, while those that follow afterwards go in strong array, with ranks well ordered.”’

‘The viscount of Woo followed this counsel, and on Mow-shin, the last day of the moon, a battle was fought at Ke-foo. He sent 300 criminals in front to attack the troops of Hoo, Shin, and Ch’in, which maintained a struggle with them; but behind these criminals the army of Woo was drawn out in three divisions, that in the centre following the king, the right commanded by Kwang, and the left by Yen-yu. Some of the criminals fled, and some held their ground; but the troops of the three States were thrown into confusion by them, and being then attacked by the army of Woo, they were defeated. The rulers of Hoo and Shin were taken, and the great officer of Ch’in. The Woo-ites set free their other prisoners, and made them flee to [the men of] Heu, Ts’ae, and Tun, saying, “Our rulers are dead.” They themselves followed them with shouts, and the troops of those three States took to flight. The army [also of Ts’oo] was greatly routed. The phraseology of the text, that “The two viscounts were extinguished, and H’ea N’eh of Ch’in taken,” is varied, from its application to rulers and an officer. (This seems to mean that the capture or the death of a ruler was spoken of as his

“extinction,” while the capture of an officer might be spoken even of his “death”). The text does not say that “a battle was fought,”—because [the army of] Ts’oo had not formed in order of battle.’

These two canons, the one on the use of the terms 滅 and 獲, and the other on the silence of the text about Ts’oo, have given rise to a great deal of speculation. I should judge myself, that 滅 must imply the death of the party to whom it is applied, but then 獲 should indicate capture, and capture only.

Par. 8. Teih-ts’ueen was a neighbourhood outside the wall of the royal city, within which, we shall find, it was subsequently embraced in the 1st year of duke Ting. It was so named from the Teih spring and pool, and was on the east of the city, so that king King (敬王) was styled ‘the eastern king,’ in distinction from his rival, who occupied the city itself, and was called ‘the western king.’

I have translated 尹氏 by ‘the chief of the House of Yin (See VIII. xvi. 10),’ which must be the meaning of the terms. The viscount of Yin took the lead in supporting Ch’au, whose elevation to the throne is therefore ascribed to him;—we need not seek any other recondite meaning in the use of 氏. There were now two kings. The text decides in favour of king King by the name of 天王 applied to him.

The Chuen says:—‘In summer, in the 4th month, on Yih-y’ew, the viscount of Shen took Tsze, and the viscount of L’ew took Ts’ang-jin and Chih-jin. In the 6th month, on Jin-woo, king King’s (景王) son Ch’au entered Yin. On Kwei-y’ew, Yu, [viscount] of Yin, inveigled and killed L’ew T’o. On Ping-seuh, the viscount of Shen came by way of Fan, and the viscount of L’ew by way of Yin to attack Yin. The former arrived first and was defeated, when the other returned. On Ke-ch’ow, Hwan earl of Shaou, and Nan-kung Keih led a body of men from Ch’ing-ch’ow to garrison Yin. On K’ang-yin, the viscounts of Shen and L’ew, and Fan Ts’ae, conducted the king to L’ew. On K’eah-woo, the [late] king’s son, Ch’au, entered the royal city, and halted in Tso-h’ang. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-shin, Sin Lo placed him in the palace of Chwang. Sin of Yin defeated the army of L’ew in T’ang, and on Ping-shen it was defeated again at Sin. On K’eah-tsze, Sin of Yin took Se-wei. On Ping-yin, he attacked K’wae, the people of which dispersed.’

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—‘In the 8th month, on Ting-y’ew, Nan-kung Keih was killed by an earthquake. Chang Hwang said to duke Wan of L’ew, “Let your lordship exert yourself. By the strength of your father your enterprise will be successful. When [the kings of] Chow [formerly] perished, there were earthquakes along the three rivers (The King, Wei, and Loh; 涇, 渭, 洛). Now a great officer of the western king has perished in this earthquake;—Heaven is casting him off. The eastern king will have a great triumph.’



The earthquake in the text was felt in Loo. That in the Chuen on the 2d day after was in Chow. The words of the Chuen 南宮極震 must be translated as I have done. Too supposes that Keih was killed by the overthrow of his house.

[We have here a narrative relating to the affairs of Ts'oo and Woo:—The mother of K'een, the eldest son of [the king of] Ts'oo was in Keih, to which she invited the people of Woo, opening also its gate for them. In winter, in the 10th month, on K'eah-shin, Choo-fan, the eldest son of [the king of] Woo, entered Keih, and carried back with him from it the above lady, with her treasures and other articles. The marshal Wei Yueh of Ts'oo pursued them; but not being able to overtake them, he was about to die (*I. e.*, kill himself). All his people said, "Let us take the opportunity to attack Woo, and try the chance of our succeeding;" but he said, "If I should again be defeated with our ruler's army, I should have to die, and would be [doubly] criminal. Having lost our ruler's wife, I must die on that account." He then strangled himself in Wei-she.]

Par. 10. After 河 Kung and Kuh introduce a 公, thus making two parr. Tso says the visit was on account of Shuh-sun Shay, who was still detained in Tsin, to effect his liberation if possible. The critics are unanimous in holding that the sickness was feigned. Either the duke grew afraid, or he was warned back by Tsin, and then he caused his return to be attributed to illness in order to hide his disgrace (殺恥).

[The Chuen returns to affairs in Ts'oo:—In Ts'oo, Nang Wa became chief minister (In place of Yang Kae or Tsze-hea;—see on par. 7), and proceeded to fortify Ying. Seuh, director of Shin, said, "Tsze-chang (Nang Wa) is sure to lose Ying. If we are not able to defend it, walling it is of no use. Anciently, the defences

of the sons of Heaven were the rude tribes on every side of the kingdom; and when their authority became low, their defences were the various States. The defences of those States were their neighbours, all round them; and when their power became low, their defences were their four borders. They attended carefully to them, and formed alliances with their neighbours as helpers. Then the people quietly cultivated the country, and the important labours of the three [seasons] were successfully accomplished. The people had no cause for anxiety in the State, and there were no apprehensions from abroad; it was not thought necessary to fortify the cities. But now we are afraid of Woo, and are fortifying Ying. Small is the defence. Even that proper to a State, when its power is low, is beyond us;—how can we escape the loss [of Ying]? Formerly, the earl of L'ang dug a moat about his palace, and the people dispersed (See on V. xix. 8). When the people abandon their superiors, nothing but ruin can come. If we adjusted correctly our borders, kept our lands and fields well regulated, made our stations of refuge and assembly where they were most difficult of access, cultivated the affection of the people, arranging them clearly in companies of five, so as to be on the look out [against danger], maintained good faith with the neighbouring States, looked well after the discharge of their duties by our officers, maintained all the ceremonies of intercourse, were neither assuming nor covetous, neither weak nor violent, thus completing our defences and preparations, and awaiting whatever might occur, what should we have to fear? The ode (III. i. ode I. 6) says,

'Ever think of your ancestor,  
Cultivating his virtue.'

Have we not examples in Joh-gaou, and Fan-maou, down to Woo and W'an? Their territory did not exceed 100 *le* square. But they carefully attended to their borders, and did not fortify Ying? Now our territory is several 1000 *le* square, and we must fortify Ying! Is not our case a hard one?" ]

Twenty-fourth year.

二十有四年春王  
二月丙戌仲孫  
卒。叔孫舍至自晉。  
夏五月乙未朔日  
有食之。秋八月大雩。  
丁酉杞伯郁釐卒。  
冬吳滅巢。  
葬杞平公。

左傳曰二十四年春王正月辛丑召簡公南宮嚳以甘桓公見王子朝劉子謂襄弘曰甘氏又往矣對曰何害同德度義犬誓曰紂有億兆夷人亦有離德余有亂臣十人同心同德此周所以興也君其務德無患無人害也  
戊午王子朝入於鄆  
晉士彌牟逆叔孫於箕叔孫使梁其蹕待於門內曰余左顧而歎乃殺之右顧而笑乃止叔孫見士伯士伯曰寡君以為盟主之故是以久子不腆敝邑之禮將致諸從者使彌牟逆吾子叔孫受禮而歸二月娒至自晉尊晉也  
三月庚戌晉侯使士景伯蒞問周故士伯立於乾祭而問於介衆晉人乃辭王子朝不納其使  
夏五月乙未朔日有食之梓慎曰將水昭子曰旱也日過分而陽猶不克克必甚能無旱乎陽不克莫將積聚也  
六月壬申王子朝之師攻瑕及杏皆潰  
鄭伯如晉子犬叔相見范獻子獻子曰若王室何對曰老夫其國家不能恤敢及王室抑人亦有言曰廢不恤其緯而憂宗周之隕爲將及焉今王室實蠶蠶焉吾小國懼矣然大國之憂也吾儕何知焉吾子其早圖之詩曰緝之罄矣惟壘之恥王室之不寧晉之耻也獻子懼而與宣子圖之乃徵會於諸侯期以明年  
秋八月大雩早也  
冬十月癸酉王子朝用成周之寶珪於河甲戌津人得諸河上陰不佞以溫人南侵拘得玉者取其玉將賣之則爲石王定而獻之與之東訾  
楚子爲舟師以畧吳疆沈尹戌曰此行也楚必亡邑不撫民而勞之吳不動而速之吳踵楚而疆場無備邑能無亡乎越大夫胥犴勞王於豫章之汭越公子倉歸王乘舟倉及壽夢帥師從王王及圍陽而還吳人踵楚而邊人不備遂滅巢及鍾離而還沈尹戌曰亡郢之始於此在矣王壹動而亡二姓之帥幾如是而不及郢詩曰

乎。謂之王其梗爲今至階厲生誰

- XXIV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ping-seuh, Chung-sun K'eh died.  
2 Shuh-sun Shay arrived from Tsin.  
3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
4 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a great sacrifice for rain.  
5 On Ting-y'ew, Yuh-le, earl of K'e, died.  
6 In winter, Woo extinguished Ch'au.  
7 There was the burial of duke P'ing of K'e.

[The Chuen continues here its narrative of the troubles in Chow:—'This spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-ch'ow, duke K'een of Shaou and Nan-kung Yin introduced duke Hwan of Kan to the [late] king's son Chaou. The viscount of L'ew said to Chang Hwang, "The Kan is also gone to him." "What harm will that do?" was the reply. "It is only those who have virtue in common that can concert righteous measures (See the Shoo, V. i. Pt. i. 8, where the characters, however, have a diff. meaning). The Great Declaration says (Shoo, V. i. Pt. ii. 6), "Chow has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, but they are all divided in their ways. I have of ministers, capable of government, ten men, one in heart, and one in practice." It was through this that Chow arose. Let your lordship's care be about virtue, and do not be concerned about the want of men." On Mow-woo, the king's son Chaou entered Woo.]

Par. 1. See ix. 4; *et al.* This was M'ang He-tse. He was succeeded by his son Ho-ke (何忌), who is numbered among the disciples of Confucius.

Par. 2. Comp. XIV. 1, where the return of Ke-sun E-joo from his detention in Tsin is recorded, as that of Shuh-sun Shay is recorded here. There, however, only the name E-joo, appears in the text, without the surname, and here both Tso-she and Kuh-l'ang omit the surname, having also 娼 instead of 舍. The critics have much to say on these points, with which we need not trouble ourselves. See the K'ang-he editors *in loc.*

The Chuen says:—'Sze Me-mow of Tsin went to meet Shuh-sun in Ke (See on parr. 1, 3 of last year), [and bring him away]. Shuh-sun made L'ang K'e-hing wait inside the door, having said to him, "If I look to the left and cough, kill him; but if I look to the right and laugh, hold your hand." When Shuh-sun saw Sze Pih, the latter said, "My ruler, thinking his duty as lord of covenants required him to do so, has detained you long. There are some small gifts of our poor State, which he now presents to your followers, and he has sent me to meet you, Sir." Shuh-sun received the offerings, and returned [to Loo]. The words of the text, "In the second month, Ch'oh (娼; without the clan-name) arrived from Tsin," are intended to honour Tsin (?).

[There is appended here a short note about

the affairs in Chow:—'In the 3d month, on K'ang-seuh, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze King-pih to go and ask about affairs in Chow. He took his position by the Kan-chae [gate], and questioned great multitudes. In consequence, the people of Tsin repulsed the [late] king's son Chaou, and would not receive his messengers.']

Par. 3. This eclipse took place at sunrise, on the 1st April, B.C. 517. The Chuen says:—'On the occurrence of this eclipse, Tsze Shin said, "There will be floods." But Ch'au-tse said, "There will be drought. The sun has passed the equinox, and the yang influence has not yet predominated. When it does do so, it will be in a very great degree, and we must have drought. The yang influence, not getting vent (莫=布), will be accumulated.'

[The affairs of Chow are here resumed:—1st. 'In the 6th month, on Jin-shin, the army of the [late] king's son Chaou attacked H'ea and H'ang, the people of both of which dispersed.

2d. 'The earl of Ch'ing went to Tsin, with Tsze-t'ae-shuh in attendance on him. At an interview with Fan H'een-tse, the latter asked Tsze-t'ae-shuh what he thought about the state of the royal House. "I am an old man," was the reply, "who cannot do as he ought for his own State; how dare I think about the royal House? But people have a saying that the widow does not regard her woof, but is anxious about the fall of the honoured [House of] Chow, meaning that [she is afraid of] what will happen to herself. The royal House is now indeed shaking, and our small State is full of apprehension. But it should be matter of anxiety to your great State; what knowledge can we take of it? You, Sir, should take speedy measures in reference to it." The ode (II. v. ode VIII. 3) says:—

'When the pitcher is exhausted,  
It is to the shame of the jar.'

The disquietude of the royal House is to the shame of Tsin." H'een-tse became frightened, and consulted with Seu-en-tse, upon which they summoned a meeting of the States for the next year.']

Par. 4. This sacrifice was offered, says Tso, because of drought; and thus Shuh-sun's anticipation, mentioned under par. 3, was verified. Wang T'au observes here, 'The vaticination of P'e Tsaou was not equal to that of Tsze-ch'an, and the vaticination of Tsze Shin was not equal to that of Ch'au-tse. This may show that the

astrologers could not calculate so well by their art as the officers could on grounds of reason.'

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 鬱 for 郁. Too observes that Ting-y'ew was the 5th of the 9th month. The characters 九月, therefore, he thinks, have been inadvertently omitted.

[We have another notice about affairs in Chow:—'In winter, in the 10th month, on Kwei-y'ew, the [late] king's son Chaou offered the precious sceptre of Ch'ing-chow in sacrifice to the Ho. On K'eah-seuh, a ferryman found it [again] on the bank. Yin Puh-ning with a body of men from W'an was making an incursion southwards, caught this man, and took the jade from him. He wished [afterwards] to sell it, but it then changed into a stone. When the king was settled [on the throne], Puh-ning presented it to him, and received the city of East Tsze.']

Par. 6. Ch'au, see VI. xii. 4. It now belonged to Ts'oo. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo fitted out a naval expedition to approach the borders of Woo. Seuh, commandant of Shin, said, "In this expedition Ts'oo is sure to lose a city. Instead of soothing the people, we are toiling them. While Woo is keeping quiet, we are stimulating it to move. If Woo follow in our footsteps, as preparations

have not been made on our borders, is it possible we should not lose [one or more] cities?"

'Seu Gan, a great officer of Yueh, met the king with complimentary offerings at the bend of Yu-chang, and the Kung-tse Ts'ang of that State sent him a ship, following him also with a force, along with Show-mung. When he had got to Yu-yang, the king returned.

'The men of Woo then followed; and as the people on the borders were not prepared for them, they extinguished Ch'au and Chung-le, and returned. The commandant of Shin said, "Here is the commencement of the loss of Ying. By this one movement of the king, we have lost two commanders. How often can this be repeated without the consequences reaching Ying? Might not the words of the ode (III. iii. ode III. 3),

'Who laid the steps of the evil,  
Which has reached the present distress?

be spoken of the king?"

Too says here that Ch'au was a city of Ts'oo to which L'ew Ch'ang objects that in that case the term 'extinguished' (滅) could not be applied to it. The truth, no doubt, is that Ch'au had once been independent, but had been reduced by Ts'oo to the State of a *foo-yung*, or attached territory.

Twenty-fifth year.

二十五年春，叔孫舍如宋。夏，叔詣會晉趙鞅、宋樂大心、衛北宮喜、鄭游吉、曹人、邾人、滕人、薛人。小邾人于黃父。有鸛鵒來巢。秋，七月上辛，大雩。季辛，又雩。九月，己亥，公孫于齊，次于陽州。齊侯唁公于野井。冬，十月，戊辰，叔孫舍卒。十一月，己亥，宋公佐卒于曲棘。十有二月，齊侯取鄆。

命以會大事，而宋魯盟，無乃不可乎？右師不敢對，受牒而退。士伯告簡子曰：「宋右師必亡，奉君命以使，而欲脅盟，以干盟主，無不祥大焉。」

有鸛鵒來巢，書所無也。師已曰：「異哉！吾聞文成之世，童謠有之，曰：『鸛鵒之鵒，公出辱之。』」鸛鵒之羽，公在外野，往饋之馬。鸛鵒跌蹶，公在乾侯，徵寡與，翟鸛鵒之巢，遠哉遙遙，禍父喪勞，宋父以鸛鵒鸛鵒往歌來哭，童謠有是，今鸛鵒來巢，其將及乎？」

秋，書再雩，旱甚也。

初，季公鳥娶妻於齊鮑文子，生申。公鳥死，季公亥與公思展與公鳥之臣申夜姑相其室。及季嬖與嬖人檀通，而懼，乃使其妾扶己以示秦遄之妻，曰：「公若欲使余，余不可，而扶余，又訴於公甫。曰：『展與夜姑將要余。』」秦姬以告公之，公之與公甫告平子，平子拘展於卡，而執夜姑將殺之。公若泣而哀之，曰：「殺是，是殺余也。將爲之請，平子使暨勿內，日中不得請，有司逆命，公之使速殺之，故公若怨平子。季、邱之雞鬪，季氏介其雞，邱氏爲之金距，平子怒，益宮於邱氏，且讓之，故邱昭伯亦怨平子。臧昭伯之從弟會，爲讒於臧氏，而逃於季氏，臧氏執施，平子怒，拘臧氏老，將禘於襄公，萬者二八，其衆萬於季氏，臧孫曰：『此之謂不能庸先君之廟。』大夫遂怨平子。公若獻弓於公爲，且與之出射於外，而謀去季氏。公爲告公果，公賁，公賁使侍人僚相告公，公寢將以戈擊之，乃走。公曰：「執之，亦無命也。」懼而不出，數月不見，公不怒，又使言公執戈以懼之，乃走。又使言公曰：「非小人之所及也。」公果自言，公以告臧孫，臧孫以難告邱孫，邱孫以可勸告子家懿伯，懿伯曰：「讒人以君微幸，事若不克，君受其名，不可爲也。」舍民數世，以求克事，不可必也。且政在焉，其難圖也。公退之，辭曰：「臣與聞命矣。」言若洩，臣不獲死，乃館於公。叔孫昭子如闕，公居於長府，九月戊戌，伐季氏，殺公之於門，遂入之。平子登臺而請曰：「君不察臣之罪，使有司討臣以干戈，臣請待於沂上，以察罪，弗許。請囚於費，弗許。請以五乘亡，弗許。子家子曰：『君其許之。』」

左傳曰：二十五年春，叔孫婁聘於宋，桐門右師見之，語卑宋大夫，而賤司城氏。昭子告其人曰：「右師其亡乎？君子貴其身，而後能及人，是以有禮。今夫子卑其大夫，而賤其宗，是賤其身也，能有禮乎？無禮必亡。」宋公享昭子，賦新宮，昭子賦車轄。明日宴，飲酒樂，宋公使昭子右坐，語相泣也。樂祁佐退而告人曰：「今茲君與叔孫，其皆死乎？吾聞之，哀樂而樂哀，皆喪心也。心之精爽，是謂魂魄，魂魄去之，何以能久？」季公若之姊爲小邾夫人，生宋元夫人，生子以妻季平子，昭子如宋聘，且逆之。公若從謂曹氏勿與，魯將逐之。曹氏告公，公告樂祁樂祁曰：「與之如是，魯君必出，政在季氏三世矣。魯君喪政四公矣，無民而能逞其志者，未之有也。國君是以鎮撫其民，詩曰：『人之云亡，心之憂矣。』」魯君失民矣，焉得逞其志，靖以待命，猶可動必憂。

夏，會于黃父，謀王室也。趙簡子令諸侯之大夫輸王粟，具戍人，曰：「明年將納王。」子犬叔見趙簡子，簡子問揖讓周旋之禮焉。對曰：「是儀也，非禮也。」簡子曰：「敢問何謂禮？」對曰：「吉也。聞諸先大夫子產，曰：『夫禮，天之經也，地之義也，民之行也。』」天地之經，而民實則之，則天之明，因地之性，生其六氣，用其五行，氣爲五味，發爲五色，章爲五聲，淫則昏亂，民失其性，是故爲禮以奉之。爲六畜五牲三犧以奉五味，爲九文六采五章以奉五色，爲九歌八風七音六律以奉五聲，爲君臣上下以則地義，爲夫婦外內以經二物，爲父子兄弟姑姊甥舅昏媾姻亞以象天明，爲政事庸力行務以從四時，爲刑罰威獄使民畏忌，以類其震曜殺戮，爲溫慈惠和以效天之生殖長育，民有好惡喜怒哀樂，生於六氣，是故審則宜類，以制六志，哀有哭泣，樂有歌舞，喜有施舍，怒有戰鬪，喜生於好，怒生於惡，是故審行信令，禍福賞罰，以制死生，生好物也，死惡物也，好物樂也，惡物哀也，哀樂不失，乃能協於天地之性，是以長久。簡子曰：「甚哉禮之大也。」對曰：「禮，上下之紀，天地之經緯也。民之所以生也，是以先王尚之，故人之能自曲直以赴禮者，謂之成人，大不亦宜乎？」簡子曰：「鞅也，請終身守此言也。」宋樂大心曰：「我不輸粟，我於周爲客，若之何使客？」晉士伯曰：「自踐土以來，宋何役之不會，而何盟之不同？曰：『同恤王室。』」子焉得辟之？子奉君

十一月，宋元公將爲公故如晉，夢大子欒卽位於廟，已與平公服而相之。旦，召六卿曰：「寡人不佞，不能事父兄，以爲二三子憂，寡人之罪也。若以羣子之靈，獲保首領以歿，唯是編柩所以藉幹者，請無及先君。」仲幾對曰：「君若以社稷之故，私降昵宴，羣臣弗敢知。若夫宋國之法，死生之度，先君有命矣。羣臣以死守之，弗敢失隊。臣之失職，常刑不赦，臣不忍其死，君命祇辱。」宋公遂行，己亥，卒于曲棘。

十二月，庚辰，齊侯圍鄆。

○初，臧昭伯如晉，臧會竊其寶龜，僂句以下爲信與僭。僭吉，臧氏老將如晉，問會請往。昭伯問家故，盡對。及內子與母弟叔孫，則不對。再三問，不對。歸及郊，會逆問，又如初。至，次於外，而察之，皆無之。執而戮之，逸奔邱。邱魴假使爲賈正焉。計於季氏，臧氏使五人以戈楯伏桐汝之間，會出逐之，反奔。執諸季氏中門之外。平子怒曰：「何故以兵入吾門？」拘臧氏老，季臧有惡。及昭伯從公，平子立臧會，會曰：「僂句不余欺也。」

○楚子使遷射城州屈，復蒞人焉。城丘皇，遷訾人焉。使熊相謀郭巢，季然郭卷，子大叔聞之曰：「楚王將死矣，使民不安其土，民必憂憂，將及王，弗能久矣。」

- XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, Shuh-sun Shay went to Sung.
- 2 In summer, Shuh E had a meeting with Chaou Yang of Tsin, Yoh Ta-sin of Sung, Pih-kung He of Wei, Yëw Keih of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'au, Choo, T'ang, Sëeh, and Little Choo, in Hwang-foo.
- 3 Grackles came to Loo and built nests in trees.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on the first Sin day there was a great sacrifice for rain. On the last Sin day, we sacrificed for rain again.
- 5 In the ninth month, on Ke-hae, the duke retired to Ts'e. He halted at Yang-chow.
- 6 The marquis of Ts'e came to condole with the duke in Yay-tsing.
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Mow-shin, Shuh-sun Shay died.
- 8 In the eleventh month, on Ke-hae, Tso, duke of Sung, died in K'ëuh-keih.
- 9 In the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts'e took Yun.

政自之出久矣，隱民多取食焉，爲之徒者衆矣。日入慝作，弗可知也。衆怒不可蓄也，蓄而弗治，將蕞蕞，民將生心。生心同求，將合，君必悔之。弗聽。邱孫曰：「必殺之。」公使邱孫逆孟懿子。叔孫氏之司馬驪戾言於其衆曰：「若之何？莫對。」又曰：「我家臣也，不敢知國。凡有季氏與無，於我孰利？」皆曰：「無季氏，是無叔孫氏也。」驪戾曰：「然則救諸帥，徒以往，陷西北隅以入，公徒釋甲執冰而踞，遂逐之。」孟氏使登西北隅以望季氏，見叔孫氏之旌，以告。孟氏執邱昭伯，殺之於南門之西，遂伐公。公曰：「余不忍也。」與臧孫如墓謀，遂行。己亥，公孫于齊，次于陽州。齊侯將唁公于平陰，公先至于野井。齊侯曰：「寡人之罪也，使有司待於平陰，爲近故也。」書曰：「公孫于齊，次于陽州。」齊侯唁公于野井，禮也。將求於人，則先下之，禮之善物也。齊侯曰：「自莒疆以西，請致千社，以待君命。」寡人將帥，敝賦以從執事，唯命是聽。君之憂寡人之憂也。公喜。子家子曰：「天祿不再，天若胙君，不過周公以魯足矣。失魯而以千社爲臣，誰與之立？且齊君無信，不如早之晉。」弗從。臧昭伯率從者將盟，載書曰：「戮力壹心，好惡同之，信罪之有無，繾綣從公，無通外內。」以公命示子家子。子家子曰：「如此，吾不可以盟。」羈也不佞，不能與二三子同心，而以爲皆有罪，或欲通外內，且欲去君，二三子好亡而惡定，焉可同也。陷君於難，罪孰大焉？通外內而去君，君將速入，弗通何爲？而何守焉？乃不與盟。

昭子自闕歸，見平子。平子稽顙曰：「子若我何？」昭子曰：「人誰不死？子以逐君成名，子孫不忘，不亦傷乎？將若子何？」平子曰：「苟使意如得改事君，所謂生死而肉骨也。」昭子從公於齊，與公言。子家子命適公館者執之，公與昭子言於幄內，曰：「將安衆而納公。」公徒將殺昭子，伏諸道。左師展告公，公使昭子自鑄歸。平子有異志，冬，十月，辛酉，昭子齊於其寢，使祝宗祈死。戊辰，卒。左師展將以公乘馬而歸，公徒執之。

○壬申，尹文公涉於鞏，焚東訾，弗克。



Par. 1. The Chuen, which Maou K'e-ling says that he cannot understand, as introduced here, says:—"This spring, Shuh-sun Ch'oh having gone to Sung on a complimentary mission, the master of the Right, who lived near the T'ung gate, visited him, and spoke meanly of the great officers of the State, and especially so of the minister of Works. Ch'au-tse told his people about the conversation, saying, "The master of the Right will, probably, have to flee from the State. The superior man tries to dignify his own person, and then goes on to dignify others; he thereby observes the rules of propriety. But the master vilifies the great officers [of his State], and speaks contemptuously of the Head of his own surname. He is thereby treating his own person with contempt; and can he have any rules of propriety? But without those rules, he is sure to come to ruin."

"The duke of Sung gave Ch'au-tse a public reception, and sang the Sin kung (A lost ode), to which Ch'au-tse responded with the Keu hëah (II. vii. ode IV.). Next day, at the feast, when they were merry with drinking, the duke made him sit on his right, when they wept as they talked together. Yoh K'e was assisting [at the ceremonies], and reported this to others, when he had retired, saying, "This year both our ruler and Shuh-sun are likely to die. I have heard that joy in the midst of grief and grief in the midst of joy are signs of a loss of mind. The essential vigour and brightness of the mind is what we call the *hwän* and the *pih*. When these leave it, how can the man continue long?"

"The sister of Ke Kung-joh (An uncle of Ke P'ing-tse) was the wife of [the viscount of] Little Choo, and the mother of the wife of [duke] Yuen of Sung. [She, again,] bore a daughter, who was now being given as wife to Ke P'ing-tse. Ch'au-tse, having come to Sung on his complimentary mission, was also to receive her, [and conduct her to Loo]. Kung-joh was in his suite, and said to the lady Ts'au (The duchess) that she should not give [her daughter to P'ing-tse] for that Loo was going to expel him. She reported this to the duke, who stated it to Yoh K'e. "You will do right," was that officer's reply, "in giving her to him. The ruler of Loo will have to quit his State. The government of it has been for three generations in the hands of the Ke (Wän-tse Häng-foo; Woo-tse Suh; and now P'ing-tse E-joo). Four rulers of [the House of] Loo have now lost the control of the government (Seuen, Ch'ing, Sëang, and Ch'au). There has not been a case when [the ruler] could carry out his will without the people. The ruler of a State should on this account be the protector and comforter of his people. The ode (III. iii. ode X. 6) says,

"The men are not;—  
It is the sorrow of my heart."

The ruler of Loo has lost the people; how can he get his will? If he keep quiet, and wait the issue of events, he may get on; any movement will be to his sorrow."

Par. 2. Here and afterwards Kung and Kuh have 叔倪 for 叔詣. In the same way, Kung-yang has 世心 for 大心. Shuh E was the son of Shuh Yang;—see on XXIII. 2. Hwang-foo was another name for the Hih-jang

of VII. vii. 5. This meeting here was that given notice of in the previous year;—see the 2d narrative there after par. 3.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, a meeting was held at Hwang-foo, to consult about the royal House. Ch'au Këen-tse [of Tsin] (Ch'au Yang) gave orders to the great officers of the various States to contribute grain to the king, and to provide men to guard his territory, saying, "Next year we will in-state him."

Ts'ze-t'ae-shuh had an interview with Ch'au Këen-tse, and was asked by him about the ceremonies of bowing, yielding precedence, and moving from one position to another. "These," said Ts'ze-t'ae-shuh "are matters of deportment, and not of ceremony." "Allow me to ask," said Këen-tse, "what we are to understand by ceremonies." The reply was, "I have heard our late great officer Ts'ze-ch'än say, 'Ceremonies [are founded in] the regular procedure of Heaven, the right phenomena of earth, and the actions of men.' Heaven and earth have their regular ways, and men take these for their pattern, imitating the brilliant bodies of Heaven, and according with the natural diversities of the Earth. [Heaven and Earth] produce the six atmospheric conditions, and make use of the five material elements. Those conditions [and elements] become the five tastes, are manifested in the five colours, and displayed in the five notes. When these are in excess, there ensue obscurity and confusion, and the people lose their [proper] nature. The rules of ceremony were therefore framed to support [that nature]. There were the six domestic animals, the five beasts [of the chase], and the three [classes of] victims, to maintain the tastes. There were the nine [emblematic] ornaments [of robes] (See the Shoo, II. iv. 4), with their six colours and five methods of display, to maintain the five colours. There were the nine songs, the eight winds, the seven sounds, and the six pitch-pipes, to maintain the five notes. There were ruler and minister, high and low, in imitation of the distinctive characteristics of the earth. There were husband and wife, with the home and the world abroad, the spheres of their respective duties. There were father and son, elder and younger brother, aunt and sister, maternal uncles and aunts, father-in-law and connexions of one's children with other members of their mother's family, and brothers-in-law,—to resemble the bright luminaries of heaven. There were duties of govt. and administration, services specially for the people, [legislative] vigour, the force of conduct, and attention to what was required by the times,—in accordance with the phenomena of the four seasons. There were punishments and penalties, and the terrors of legal proceedings, making the people stand in awe, resembling the destructive forces of thunder and lightning. There were mildness and gentleness, kindness and harmony, in imitation of the producing and nourishing action of Heaven. There were love and hatred, pleasure and anger, grief and joy, produced by the six atmospheric conditions. Therefore [the sage kings] carefully imitated these relations and analogies [in forming ceremonies], to regulate those six impulses. To grief there belong crying and tears; to joy, songs and dancing; to pleasure, beneficence; to anger, fighting and struggling. Pleasure is born of love, and anger of hatred. Therefore

of VII. vii. 5. This meeting here was that given notice of in the previous year;—see the 2d narrative there after par. 3.

[the sage kings] were careful judges of their conduct, and sincere in their orders, appointing misery and happiness, rewards and punishments, to regulate the death and life [of the people]. Life is a good thing; death is an evil thing. The good thing brings joy; the evil thing gives grief. When there is no failure in the joy and grief, we have a state in harmony with the nature of Heaven and Earth, which consequently can endure long."

"Këen-tse said, "Extreme is the greatness of ceremonies!" "Ceremonies," replied Ts'ze-t'ae-shuh, "determine the relations of high and low; they are the warp and woof of Heaven and Earth; they are the life of the people. Hence it was that the ancient kings valued them, and hence it is that the man who can now bend, now straighten, himself so as to accord with ceremony is called a complete man. Right is it that ceremonies should be called great!" Këen-tse said, "I would wish all my life to keep these words in mind, [and observe them]."

"Yoh Ta-sin of Sung said, "We shall not contribute grain; our [dukes] are guests of Chow:—how can such a thing be required of guests?" Sze Pih said, "Since [the covenant of] Ts'een-t'oo, what service has there been in which Sung has not shared? what covenant in which it has not taken part? It was then said that the States should together support the royal House. How can you evade this condition? You are here by the command of your ruler to join in the great business in hand:—would it not be improper for Sung to violate the covenant?" The master of the Right did not dare to reply, but received the schedule, and retired.

"Sze Pih reported the incident to Këen-tse, saying, "The master of the Right of Sung is sure to become an exile. Bearing his ruler's orders as a commissioner here, he wished to break the covenant, and thereby come into collision with the lord of covenants. There could be nothing more inauspicious than this."

Par. 3. Kung-yang has 鵲 instead of 鵲. K'eu-yuh was the ancient name for the mino grackle, which is now commonly called the *pah-ko* (八哥). Tso-she says the record is of a thing previously unknown, and Yen Sze-koo observes that while the mino is found in many places in China, it does not cross the Tse river, and was therefore not found in Loo. Too further lays stress on the 巢 as meaning to build a nest in a tree, which is contrary to the habits of the mino, which breeds in holes in walls and banks; so that there were in the phenomenon of the text two prodigies. The Chuen gives a ridiculous narrative:—"Sze Ke said, "How strange! I have heard that in the times of [the dukes] Wän and Ch'ing the boys had a ditty, which said,

"Here are grackles apace!  
The duke flies in disgrace.  
Look at the grackles' wings!  
To the wilds the duke flings,  
A horse one to him brings.  
Look how the grackles go!  
In Kan-how he is low,  
Wants coat and trousers now.  
Behold the grackles' nest!

Far off the duke doth rest.  
Chow-foo has lost his state,  
Sung-foo comes proud and great.  
O the grackles so strange!  
The songs to weeping change."

So ran the ditty, and now the grackles are here, and building their nests. Is the [other thing] about to happen?"

The flight of duke Ch'au from Loo was near at hand. We may be sure it had taken place before the above ditty was composed and the appearance of the grackles received its interpretation.

Par. 4. On the sacrifice for rain see the Chuen on II. v. 7. The 6th month of Chow, or the 4th of Hëa, was the season for it; but there is no difficulty in conceiving of its occurrence shortly after, in the 7th month of Chow. As there are three *sin* days in every month, the 1st must have been near the beginning of the 7th month;—Ying-tah makes it out to have been, this year, the 3d day of it. The repetition of the sacrifice indicates, as Tso says, the greatness of the drought (旱甚). Kung-yang's idea, that the second sacrifice was a feint to bring the people together, with the intention of attacking and expelling Ke-sun, is inadmissible.

Par. 5. For 己亥 Kuh-liang has 乙亥. On the euphemism of 孫 (= 遜) for 奔, see on III. i. 2. Kung-yang has 楊 for 陽. Yang-chow was in the north-east of the present Tung-p'ing Chow (東平州), dep. of T'ae-gan. It had originally belonged to Loo, but was taken by Ts'e, we may presume in the 21st year of duke Sëang. It was therefore a kind of border city, and here the duke stayed his flight for a time, until he could ascertain the mind of the marquis of Ts'e regarding him.

The Chuen says:—"Before this, Ke Kung-nëaou (An uncle of Ke-sun P'ing-tse, by a concubine of his grandfather) had married a daughter of Paou Wän-tse of Ts'e, who bore to him [a son] Shin; and on Kung-nëaou's death, [his brother] Kung-hae, with his steward Shin Yih-koo, and Kung-sze Chen (Also a Ke), undertook the management of his house. By and by, [his widow] Ke Sze had an intrigue with her cook Shen; and becoming afraid, she made a concubine beat her, and then showed the marks to the wife of Ts'in Ch'uen (A great officer of Loo whose wife was a sister of Kung-nëaou), saying, "Kung-joh (Kung-hae) wanted to use me, and when I refused, he [thus] beat me." She also complained to Kung-foo (A brother of P'ing-tse), that Chen and Yih-koo had tried to force her. Ts'in Ke (the wife of Ts'in Ch'uen) reported what she had heard to Kung-che (Another brother of P'ing-tse), who, along with Kung-foo, laid it before P'ing-tse. On this, the minister made Chen a prisoner in P'ëen, and seized [also] Yih-koo, intending to put him to death. Kung-joh wept and bewailed the case, saying, "To kill these is to kill me. I will make intercession for them." P'ing-tse, however, made his waiting boy refuse him admittance, and up to midday he had no opportunity of presenting his request. [In the meantime], the officer in charge of [Yih-koo] came to ask for his orders, and Kung-che made him dispatch his prisoner

without delay. In consequence of this Kung-joh had a grudge against P'ing-tsze.

The cocks of Ke [-sun] and the [Head of the] How [family] were in the habit of fighting. Ke-sun sheathed the head of his cock, on which How-she put metal spurs on his. In consequence P'ing-tsze was enraged, and increased his own mansion at the expense of that of the other, reproving him besides; and this made How Ch'au-pih also have a grudge at P'ing-tsze.

Hwuy, a cousin of Tsang Ch'au-pih, had circulated slanders against Tsang-she, and then fled to Ke-she. Tsang-she [attempted to] seize him, but P'ing-tsze was enraged, and made a prisoner of Tsang-she's steward. [About this time] it had been arranged to offer the *te* sacrifice in the temple of duke S'ang, but only sixteen dancers were forth-coming, all the rest being employed at Ke-she's. On this Tsang-sun said, "This may make us say that we cannot use [the proper ceremonies] in the temple of our late ruler;" and this made the great officers have a grudge at P'ing-tsze.

Kung-joh presented a bow to Kung-wei (a son of the duke), and went with him to shoot outside the city, when they consulted about doing away with Ke-she. Kung-wei informed [his brothers] Kung-kwo and Kung-fun of the design, and they made the attendant Léaouts'oo communicate it to the duke. The duke had been sleeping, and seized a spear to strike the attendant, who ran off. The duke said he would seize [the plotters]; and though he gave no orders to that effect, they were afraid, and did not come forth, nor see the duke for some months. [Finding at the end of that time that] he was not angry with them, they made the attendant speak to him again. The duke used a spear to frighten him, when he again ran off. A third time they made him speak of the matter, and the duke said, "This is a thing beyond a small man like you." Kung-kwo then spoke himself, and the duke consulted Tsang-sun, who saw the difficulty of the attempt. He then communicated it to How-sun, who thought it feasible, and encouraged it. He next told it to Tsze-kea E-pih, who said, "They are slanderers who urge your lordship on to such a hazardous thing. If it do not succeed, you will receive the name (=blame) of it. It is not to be done. You and several of your predecessors have lost your hold of the people. If you would now seek by means of them to accomplish this object, you cannot be sure of success. The government, moreover, is in his hands, and it will be difficult to take measures against him." The duke would have dismissed him, but he declined to go, saying, "I have now been a party to your wishes in this thing. If word of it should leak out, I should not be allowed to die a natural death." So he took up his lodging with the duke.

Shuh-sun Ch'au-tsze was gone to K'an, and the duke was residing in the Long treasury (See Ana. XI. xiii.). In the 9th month, on Mow-seuh, he attacked Ke-she, and having killed Kung-che in the gate, entered the house. P'ing-tsze ascended a tower, and made a request, saying, "Your lordship, without examining into my offences, has sent your officers to punish me with shield and spear. Allow me to wait near the E, till my offences are investigated." This

was refused, and he requested that he might be imprisoned in Pe. This also was refused, and he then asked to be allowed to leave the country with five chariots; but neither was this granted. Tsze-kea-tsze said, "Your lordship should grant his request. The government has long been in his hands. Many of the suffering people get their food from him. His followers are many. If traitors rise when the sun has gone down, we cannot know what the result may be. The anger of his many [adherents] should not be nourished. Nourished and not dealt with, it will accumulate. When it is so nourished and accumulated, the people will begin to have new purposes, and they will then unite with those who seek the same objects as he. Your lordship will repent of it." The duke did not listen to this counsel, and How-sun strongly urged that P'ing-tsze should be put to death. The duke sent him to meet M'ang E-tsze (Chung-sun Ho-ke), [and bring him to him].

[In the meantime], Tsung Le, Shuh-sun's master of the Horse, said to all his people, "What do you think of matters?" No one giving any reply, he said, "I am but an officer of a family, and do not pretend to know about the [business of the] State; but whether will it be better for us that Ke-she be, or that there be no Ke-she?" All replied, "No Ke-she is no Shuh-sun-she. Le then said, "Then let us go, and rescue him?" And with this he led his followers off to Ke-she's, burst through the leaguer at the north-west corner, and entered the house. The duke's men had put off their buff-coats, and were squatting about, with their quiver lids in their hands, so that they were [easily] driven away. M'ang-she made a soldier get up at the north-west corner to see what Ke-she was doing, and when he told him that he saw Shuh-sun's flag, M'ang-she seized How Ch'au-pih and killed him on the west of the south gate, after which he attacked the duke's men. Tsze-kea-tsze said, "All we officers who have on false pretences forced the duke to this will leave the State with our offences upon our heads. Let your lordship remain. E-joo will now feel himself compelled to change his conduct in the service of your lordship." The duke said, "I cannot bear to do it." He then went with Tsang-sun to the tombs, and took counsel with him, after which he took his departure. On Ke-hae he withdrew to Ts'e, halting in Yang-chow.

This flight of duke Ch'au was mainly the result of his own weakness and incapacity. During all his rule, he had enjoyed only the name of marquis. The power of the State had been in the hands of the three clans, and principally in those of the Ke-sun; and in this condition things might have gone on. P'ing-tsze was not prepared to seize the State for himself, and Ch'au precipitated his own fate.

Par. 6. Yay-tsing was a city of Ts'e, in the east of the pres. dia. of Ts'e-ho (齊河), dep. Tse-nan. The marquis of Ts'e, we shall see, proposed to meet the duke in P'ing-yin, but Ch'au went as far as Yay-tsing, to shorten his host's journey. 唁 means to condole with the living, and so is distinguished from 弔, to con-

dole on occasion of a death (唁者弔也, 生事曰唁, 死事曰弔).

The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Ts'e having proposed to condole with the duke in P'ing-yin, the duke advanced beyond that place to Yay-tsing. The marquis said, "This is my fault. I ordered my officers to wait [for you] in P'ing-yin, because it was near [to Yang-chow]." What the text says about the duke's halting in Yang-chow, and the marquis's condoling with him in Yay-tsing, describes what was proper. When one has anything to seek from another, it is a good thing in propriety to take the initiative in being humble to him.

"The marquis said, "From the borders of Ken to the west, I will surrender to you the territory of 25,000 families, and await your lordship's further commands. I will then lead my poor levies, and follow your officers, obedient to whatever you command. Your grief is my grief." The duke was glad; but Tsze-kea-tsze said to him, "Heaven's bounties are not repeated. The gift of Heaven to your lordship should not exceed that to the duke of Chow. Loo is sufficient. If you lose Loo, and with this territory become a subject of Ts'e, who will stand along with you? And moreover, the ruler of Ts'e is devoid of good faith;—you had better soon go to Tsin." This counsel the duke would not follow. Tsang Ch'au-pih, at the head of the [other] followers, proposed to make a covenant. The words of it were, "With our utmost strength, and with one heart, we shall cherish the same likings and dislikes, making it clear who are criminals and who are not. We will follow the duke and not separate ourselves from him, nor will we allow any communication between us here abroad and those who are in Loo." By the duke's orders, he showed this to Tsze-kea-tsze, who said, "On these terms I cannot take the covenant. In my want of ability, I cannot be of the same mind with you all, and must think that all are criminals. Perhaps I may wish to communicate from abroad with those in Loo, and may wish to leave our ruler. You all love your exile, and dislike any settlement;—how can we be of one mind? What could be a greater crime than to have brought our ruler into his difficulties? If we open a communication with Loo, and leave our ruler, he will soon enter Loo [again]. If we do not open such communication, what shall we do? And what shall we guard?" Accordingly he did not take part in the covenant.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Ch'au-tsze returned from K'au (See the narrative on par. 5), and went to see P'ing-tsze, who bowed his forehead before him to the ground, and said, "What do you think of me?" Ch'au-tsze said, "What man is there but must die? You have given the finishing touch to your name by expelling our ruler. Your descendants will not forget it:—is it not a sore subject?" P'ing-tsze went on, "If you can bring it about that I have an opportunity to serve our ruler in a different manner from the past, you will be giving, as we say, life to the dead, and flesh to the [bare] bones."

[After this], Ch'au-tsze followed the duke to Ts'e, and conferred with him, Tsze-kea-tsze causing all who went to the duke's lodging to be seized, [lest they should discover what was

going on]. They spoke together inside a tent, and Ch'au-tsze proposed to dispose [somehow] of all [his followers], and to restore the duke [alone]. The followers wished to kill Ch'au-tsze, and placed men in ambush for the purpose in the way [by which he must return to Loo]; but Chen, the master of the Left, told the duke of their plan, who made Ch'au-tsze return by way of Choo. [Notwithstanding this], P'ing-tsze was [now] of a different mind; and in winter, in the 10th month, on Sin-y'ew, Ch'au-tsze fasted in his chamber, and made his priest and the keeper of his ancestral temple pray that he might die. On Mow-shin (The 7th day after) he died. Chen, the master of the Left, was going to return with the duke on horseback to Loo; but the other followers seized and held him.

[The Chuen gives here a short note about the progress of the struggle in Chow:—"On Jin-shin, duke Wan of Yin crossed [the Loh] itto Kung, and [attempted to] set fire to Tung-tsze; but his attempt was unsuccessful."]

Par. 8. K'eh-keih, was a city of Sung,—in the pres. dia. of K'e (杞), dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—"In the 11th month, the duke of Sung was preparing to go to Tsin on the duke's account, when he dreamt that his eldest son, Lwan, was succeeding to the dukedom in the temple, and that he himself and [his father], duke P'ing were attending on him in their full robes. In the morning, he called the six ministers together, and said to them, "In my want of ability, I was not able to serve my uncles and elder brothers, [as I ought to do] (Referring to the events in XX. 4, *et al.*), to the grief of yourselves;—this was my fault. If by your powerful help I preserve my head and neck till I die a natural death, then let the board in my coffin on which my limbs are stretched not equal that used for my predecessors." Chung-ke replied, "If your grace, for the sake of the altars, should privately diminish any of the accompaniments of your feasts, we, your servants, should not presume to take any knowledge of it. But as to the laws of the State of Sung, and the rules for life and death, there are the ordinances of our former rulers. Your servants must keep to them to the death; we dare not fail in observing them. There are regular punishments for such failure as an unpardonable offence. Your servants dare not incur such a death; your order would only disgrace us."

After this the duke went on his journey; but on Ke-hae, he died in K'eh-keih.

Par. 9. Yun,—see VI. xii. 8, *et al.* Tso says the marquis of Ts'e laid siege to Yun. We must understand that he did so in the interest of duke Ch'au, so that the people yielded the city at once, and the text simply says he took it.

[The Chuen gives here two narratives. 1st, about the Tsang-sun family. "At an earlier period, Tsang Ch'au-pih had gone to Tsin, when Tsang Hwuy stole his valued tortoise-shell of Leu-ken, and consulted it as to whether a course of good faith or its opposite would be better for him. The answer was in favour of a deceitful course. The steward of Tsang-she wanted to go to Tsin to ask him [about some matters], and Hwuy begged to go instead. Ch'au-pih asked him about [other] affairs of his family, and he told him everything; but when he asked him about

his wife, and his full brother Shuh-sun, he gave him no reply. Thrice he asked in this way; and when on his return Hwuy met him in the suburbs, he asked him again, and got no answer. On his arrival he halted outside [his house], and made inquiries, to find that there was nothing the matter with those parties, on which he seized and disgraced Hwuy who fled to How. Fang K'ea of How made him superintendent of the market there. When he had carried his accounts to Ke-she, Tsang-she made five men, with spear and shield, lie in wait for him in the T'ung-joo street. When he came forth, they pursued him, on which he turned, and fled, but was seized outside the central gate of Ke-she's mansion. "Why do ye enter my gate with arms," said P'ing-tsze, enraged,

and he [seized and] confined Tsang-she's steward. This produced ill will between the two officers; and when Ch'au-pih followed the duke, P'ing-tsze gave his place to Hwuy, who then said, "The Leu-keu did not deceive me!"

2d, about Ts'oo:—"The viscount of Ts'oo made Wei Shay wall Chow-k'eh, and bring back the people of K'ea to it, and wall K'ew-hwang, and remove the people of Tsze to it. He also made Heung S'ang-mei wall round the suburbs of Ch'au, and Ke Jen do the same with those of Keuen. When Tsze-t'ae-shuh heard of these things, he said, "The king of Ts'oo will [soon] die. He is not allowing the people to rest in their settlements, which must make them sad and distressed. The distress will reach the king;—he cannot continue long."

Twenty-sixth year.

二十有六年春王正月葬宋元公。三月公至自齊居于鄆。夏公圍成。秋公會齊侯莒子邾子杞伯盟于鄆陵。公至自會居于鄆。九月庚申楚子居卒。冬十月天王入于成周。尹氏召伯毛伯以王子朝奔楚。

左傳曰二十六年春王正月葬宋元公如先君禮也。庚申齊侯取鄆于鄆言魯地也。夏齊侯將納公命無受魯貨申豐從女賈以幣錦二兩縛一如瑱適齊師謂子猶之人高齧能貨子猶為高氏後粟五千庾高齧以錦示子猶子猶欲之齧曰魯人買之百兩一布以道之不通先入幣財子猶受之言於齊

侯曰羣臣不盡力於魯君者非不能事君也然據有異焉宋元公為魯君如晉卒於曲棘叔孫昭子求納其君無疾而死不知天之棄魯耶抑魯君有罪於鬼神故及此也君若待於曲棘使羣臣從魯君以卜焉若可師有濟也君而繼之茲無敵矣若其無成君無辱焉齊侯從之使公子鉏帥師從公成大夫公孫朝謂平子曰有都以衛國也請我受師許之請納質弗許曰信安足矣告於齊師曰孟氏魯之敝室也用成已甚弗能忍也請息肩於齊齊師圍成成人伐齊師之飲馬於淄者曰將以厭眾魯成備而後告曰不勝眾師及齊師戰於炊鼻齊子淵捷從洩聲子射之中楯瓦繚胸汰轉七入者三寸聲子射其馬斬軼瘡改駕人以爲驪戾也而助之子車私怒報乃私也將亢子又叱之亦叱之再暨射陳武子中手失弓而罵以告平子曰有君子白皙鬢鬚眉甚口平子曰必子彊也無乃亢諸對曰謂之君子何敢亢之林雍羞爲顏鳴右下苑何忌取其耳顏鳴去之苑子之御曰視下顧苑子刺林雍斷其足鑿而乘於他車以歸顏鳴三入齊師呼曰林雍乘。

○四月單子如晉告急五月戊午劉人敗王城之師於尸氏戊辰王城人劉人戰於施谷劉師敗績。

秋盟于鄆陵謀納公也。

○七月己巳劉子以王出庚午次於渠王城人焚劉丙子王宿於褚氏丁丑王次於萑谷庚辰王入於胥靡辛巳王次於滑晉知躒趙鞅帥師納王使女寬守闕塞。

九月楚平王卒令尹子常欲立子西曰太子王弱其母非適也王子建實聘之子西長而好善立長則順建善則治王順國治可不務乎子西怒曰是亂國而惡君王也國有外援不可潰也王有適嗣不可亂也敗親速讐亂嗣不祥我受其名賂吾以天下吾滋不從也楚國何爲必殺令尹令尹懼乃立昭王。

冬十月丙申王起師於滑辛丑在郊遂次於尸十一月辛酉晉師克鞏召伯盈逐王子朝王子朝及召氏之族



爲無能補也。公說乃止。

⑤齊侯與晏子坐於路寢。公歎曰：美哉室，其誰有此乎？晏子曰：敢問何謂也？公曰：吾以爲在德。對曰：如君之言，其陳氏乎？陳氏雖無大德，而有施於民，豆區釜鍾之數，其取之公也薄，其施之民也厚，公厚斂焉，陳氏厚施焉，民歸之矣。詩曰：雖無德與女，式歌且舞。陳氏之施，民歌舞之矣。後世若少惰，陳氏而不亡，則國其國也已。公曰：善哉，是可若何？對曰：唯禮可以己之，在禮，家施不及國，民不遷，農不移，工賈不變，士不濫，官不滔，大夫不收公利。公曰：善哉，我不能矣。吾今而後知禮之可以爲國也。對曰：禮之可以爲國也久矣，與天地並，君令臣共，父慈子孝，兄愛弟敬，夫和妻柔，姑慈婦聽，禮也。君令而不違，臣共而不貳，父慈而教，子孝而箴，兄愛而友，弟敬而順，夫和而義，妻柔而正，姑慈而從，婦聽而婉，禮之善物也。公曰：善哉，寡人今而後聞此禮之上也。對曰：先王所稟於天地，以爲其民也，是以先王上之。

- XXVI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of duke Yuen of Sung.
- 2 In the third month, the duke arrived from Ts'e, and resided in Yun.
- 3 In summer, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing.
- 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, and the earl of K'e, when they made a covenant in Chuen-ling.
- 5 The duke arrived from the meeting, and resided in Yun.
- 6 In the ninth month, on Käng-shin, Keu, viscount of Ts'oo, died.
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] entered Ch'ing chow.
- 8 The chief of the House of Yin, and the earls of Shaou and Maou, fled to Ts'oo, having with them the [late] king's son Chaou.

Par. 1. Tso observes that duke Yuen was now buried with the same ceremonies as the former rulers of Sung. His request as related under par. 8 of last year was thus not attended to.

[Tso-she here introduces the statement that on Käng-shin of the 1st month the marquis of Ts'e took Yun. But the concluding par. of last year records the taking of Yun; and Tso thinks it is mentioned here in the Chuen, to explain

the fact of the duke's residing in Yun, as stated in the next par. Fuh K'ên, however, is probably correct in holding that in the 12th month of last year the marquis of Ts'e commenced the siege of Yun, as stated by Tso-she, and that the place was not captured till the time now given. This, of course, leaves XXV. 9 open to the charge of inaccuracy, but we have often met in the text with much greater divergences from fact.]

毛伯得尹氏固，南宮嚳奉周之典籍以奔楚，陰忌奔莒以叛。召伯逆王於尸及劉子盟，遂軍圍澤，次於隄上。癸酉，王入於成周，甲戌，盟於襄宮。晉師使成公般戍周而還。十二月，癸未，王入於莊宮。王子朝使告於諸侯，曰：昔武王克殷，成王靖四方，康王息民，竝建母弟，以蕃屏周。亦曰：吾無專享文武之功，且爲後人之迷敗傾覆，而溺入於難，則振救之。至於夷王，王愆於厥身，諸侯莫不竝走其望，以祈王身。至於厲王，王心戾虐，萬民弗忍，居王於彘。諸侯釋位，以閒王政。宣王有志，而後效官。至於幽王，天不弔周，王昏不若，用愆厥位，攜王奸命，諸侯替之。而建王嗣，用遷郟鄏，則是兄弟之能用力於王室也。至於惠王，天不靖周，生頹禍心，施於叔帶，惠襄辟難，越去王都，則有晉鄭咸黜不端，以綏定王家，則是兄弟之能率先王之命也。在定王六年，秦人降妖，曰：周其有頽王，亦克能修其職，諸侯服享，二世共職。王室其有間王位，諸侯不圖，而受其亂災，至於靈王，生而有頽，王甚神聖，無惡於諸侯，靈王景王，克終其世。今王室亂，單旗劉狄，剝亂天下，壹行不若，謂先王何常之有，唯余心所命，其誰敢討之？帥羣不弔之人，以行亂於王室，侵欲無厭，規求無度，貫瀆鬼神，慢棄刑法，倍奸齊盟，傲狠威儀，矯誣先王，晉爲不道，是攝是贊，思肆其罔極。茲不穀震蕩播越，竄在荆蠻，未有攸底。若我一二兄弟甥舅，獎順天法，無助狡猾，以從先王之命，毋速天罰，赦圖不穀，則所願也。敢盡布其腹心，及先王之經，而諸侯實深圖之。昔先王之命曰：王后無適，則擇立長，年鈞以德，德鈞以卜。王不立愛，公卿無私，古之制也。穆后及犬子壽早夭，卽世，單劉贊私，立少，以閒先王，亦唯伯仲叔季圖之。閔馬父聞子朝之辭，曰：文辭以行禮也，子朝干景之命，遠晉之大，以專其志，無禮甚矣，文辭何爲？

⑥齊有彗星，齊侯使禳之。晏子曰：無益也，祇取誣焉。天道不謬，不貳其命，若之何禳之？且天之有彗也，以除穢也，君無穢德，又何禳焉？若德之穢，禳之何損？詩曰：惟此文王，小心翼翼，昭事上帝，聿懷多福，厥德不回，以受方國。君無違德，方國將至，何患於彗？詩曰：我無所監，夏后及商，用亂之故，民卒流亡。祝史之



Par. 2. Tso repeats this par. with the variation of 處 for 居, adding that it is composed as from the point of view of Loo (言魯地); on which Tso remarks that, the duke having now entered within the boundaries of Loo, we have the term 至, 'arrived,' but as he was still not in his capital, we have the name of the place given. The 至自齊, according to the analogy of other passages, would imply that the duke had been to the capital of Ts'e, and announced his return in the ancestral temple in his own capital. He had not been to the capital of Ts'e, but as he had had an interview with the ruler of that State, the 齊 is held to be justified. There is more difficulty with the use of the 至. K'ea K'wei inferred from the term that Ke P'ing-tsze, while keeping the duke in a State of exile, yet made the usual sacrifice and announcement in the temple for him, as if he had been present! This is not at all likely. We may suppose, with Maou, that the duke went through the usual ceremonies, after a fashion, in Yun.

Par. 3. Ch'ing,—the city of the M'ang-sun clan; see on IX. xv. 3, 4. The poor duke was not able to besiege Ch'ing himself; the real assailants were the troops of Ts'e. Because the marquis of Ts'e, however, took no part in the operations in person, and the attempt came to nothing, the text, it is supposed, ignores the action of Ts'e in the matter.

The Chuen says:—In summer, the marquis of Ts'e, intending to restore the duke, gave orders that [his officers] should not receive any bribes from Loo. Shin Fung, however, followed Joo K'ea to the army of Ts'e, carrying with him two pieces of flowered silk, rolled up tight like an ear-stopper, and said to Kaou E, an officer of Tsze-y'ew (Ken of L'ang-k'ew, a great officer of Ts'e), that, if he could bribe him, he should be made successor to the present Head of the Kaou family, and should receive 5000 *yu* of grain. [In consequence of this], Kaou E showed the silk to Tsze-y'ew, who desired to have it, and then E said to him that the people of Loo had bought such silks, made up in 1000 pieces, but that the roads not being open, they had first sent him these as a specimen. Tsze-y'ew accepted the silks, and said to the marquis, "That your officers do not do their utmost for the ruler of Loo is not because they are unable to serve you, but because of the strange things which have occurred. Duke Yuen of Sung was going on his account to Tsin, and died in K'ueh-keih. Shuh-sun Ch'au-tsze was seeking to restore his ruler, when he died without any illness. I do not know whether Heaven has abandoned Loo, or whether the ruler of it has somehow offended the Spirits, in consequence of which these things have happened. If your lordship wait in K'ueh-keih, you can send us to follow the ruler of Loo, and form an opinion in the case. If the enterprise be feasible, let the force be increased, and you can then follow;—there will be no opposition. If it should not be successful, your lordship need not take the trouble to follow."

The marquis adopted this advice, and sent the Kung-tze Ts'oo with a force to follow the

duke. The commandant of Ch'ing, Kung-sun Ch'au had said to Ping-tsze, "I am charged with this great city to defend the State. I beg to be allowed to cope with the enemy." His request was granted; but when he wished to give hostages for his fidelity, Ping-tsze refused, saying, "I believe you, and that is enough." The commandant then sent word to the army of Ts'e, saying, "The M'ang is a worn-out House of Loo. Its calls upon Ch'ing have been excessive, and we cannot endure them. We ask to be allowed to rest our shoulders [now] on Ts'e." The army of Ts'e then laid siege to Ch'ing, the people of which attacked the soldiers who were watering their horses at the Tze; but [the commandant] said that was done to satisfy the minds of the multitude. But when Loo had completed its preparations, he then sent word that he could not overcome the [reluctance of the] multitude [to surrender].

The armies of Loo and Ts'e fought at Ch'uy-pe. Tsze-yuen Ts'eh of Ts'e pursued S'eh Shing-tze, and discharged an arrow, which hit the ridge of his shield. Passing the yoke, it glanced on the pole, and its point entered [the shield] to the depth of 3 inches. Shing-tze sent back an arrow, which cut the martingale of one of his [pursuer's] horses, and killed it. Ts'eh was putting another horse to his chariot, and some of the men [of Loo], thinking he was Tsung Le, helped him, on which he (子車 is understood to be the same as Ts'eh. It would seem to be so; but we have thus two designations of him,—Tsze-yuen and Tsze-keu) said that he was a man of Ts'e. They were then going to strike at him, but he shot one of them dead. His charioteer cried to him to shoot another, but he said, "The multitude may be frightened, but they should not be enraged." Tsze-nang Tae continued the pursuit of Yay S'eh, shouting out insulting language. S'eh said, "Battle is not the place for such expressions of private anger; in return for such personal conduct, I will fight with you." The other repeated his insults, and S'eh then also answered him in the same way.

Jen Shoo sent an arrow at Ch'in Woo-tsze, which hit him in the hand so that he let fall his bow, and began reviling. Shoo told this to Ping-tsze saying, "There is a superior man, with a white face, with thick beard and eyebrows, and an awful mouth." Ping-tsze said, "It must be Tsze-k'ang. Were you not fighting with him?" "I called him," replied the other, "a superior man;—how should I dare to fight with him?"

Lin Yung was ashamed to remain as spear-man on the right of Yen Ming, and descended from the chariot. [When he was on the ground], Yuen Ho-ke cut off one of his ears, on which Yen Ming abandoned him. Yuen-tsze's charioteer said to him, "Look firmly at his feet;" and he struck Lin Yung, and cut off one of his feet, after which he got on one leg into another chariot, and went back [to the army of Loo]. Yen Ming thrice entered the army of Ts'e, crying out to Lin Yung to get into his chariot.

It does not appear from the Chuen what was the issue of the battle of Ch'uy-pe; but we may conclude that the siege of Ch'ing was fruitless.

[The Chuen resumes the narrative of the distractions in Chow:—In the 4th month, the

viscount of Shen went to Tsin, to report the urgency [of the king's affairs]. In the 5th month, on Mow-woo, an officer of L'ew defeated an army from the royal city at She-she. On Mow-shin an officer of the royal city and one of L'ew fought in She-kuh, when the forces of L'ew suffered a severe defeat.]

Par. 4, 5. We may presume that Chuen-ling was in Ts'e; but its position has not been determined. The covenant there, says Tso, had reference to the plans to restore the duke. It came to nothing, however. The duke returned to his residence in Yun. On the 至 in par. 5, see on par. 2.

[The Chuen continues the narrative about Chow:—In the 7th month, on Ke-sze, the viscount of L'ew went forth [from his city] with the king. On K'ang-woo, they halted in K'eu, and a body of men from the royal city burned L'ew. On Ping-tsze the king passed the night in Choo-she, and on Ting-ch'ow they halted at Hwan-kuh. On K'ang-shin the king entered Sequ-me, and on Sin-sze he halted at Hwah. Che Leih and Ch'au Yang of Tsin led a force to re-establish the king's authority, and made Joo K'wan guard the difficult pass of K'ueh.]

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—In the 9th month, on the death of king P'ing of Ts'oo, Tsze-chang, the chief minister, wanted to appoint Tsze, in his place.

"The heir-son Jin," said he, "is young, nor was his mother the [king's] proper wife, for she had really been contracted to his son K'een. Tsze-se is old and a lover of what is good. To give the appointment to him as the eldest will be in the order of nature, and when we elect him for his goodness the State will be well governed. Ought we not to make these things of primary regard,—a king in the order of nature, and the good government of the State?" Tsze-se was angry, and said, "This is to throw the State into confusion, and show hatred of our [late] ruler and king. There is the State which is our support abroad;—it ought not to be insulted. There is the legitimate heir of the king;—he ought not to be disowned. If we set aside the relative [of Tsin], we shall accelerate its enmity. To disown the heir will be inauspicious, and I shall receive the name of the deed. Though you gave me all under heaven, I would still not agree to such a proposal; why should I do it for the State of Ts'oo? The chief minister must be put to death." On this the minister was afraid, and raised king Ch'au in the place [of his father].

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—In winter, in the 10th month, on Ping-shin, the king set out with his troops from Hwah. On Sin-ch'ow, he was in K'eaou, after which he halted in She. In the 11th month, on Sin-y'ew, the army of Tsin reduced Kung, [on which] Ying, earl of Shaou, drove out the late [king's] son Ch'au, who fled to Ts'oo, along with members of the House of Shaou, Tih earl of Maou, Koo Head of the House of Yin, and Nan-kung Yin, carrying with them the archives of Chow. Yin Ke fled to Keu, and held it in revolt. The earl of Shaou met the king at She, and made a covenant with the viscounts of L'ew and Shen, and they then proceeded to attack Yu-tsih, and halted at T'eshang. On Kwei-y'ew the king entered Ch'ing-chow. On K'eah-s'eh a covenant was made in

the temple of [king] S'ang. The army of Tsin [then] returned, Ch'ing-kung Pan being left with troops to guard [the territory of] Chow. In the 12th month, on Kwei-we, the king entered the Chwang palace.

"The [late] king's son Ch'au sent an announcement to the various States, saying, "King Woo subdued Yin; king Ch'ing secured tranquillity throughout the kingdom, and king K'ang gave the people rest. They all invested their full brothers with the rule of States, which might serve as defences and screens for Chow. They also felt that they would not enjoy themselves alone the result of the achievements of Wan and Woo, and [reasoned] that if any of their descendants went astray or were overthrown, getting plunged into calamity, [the princes, their relatives] would succour and save them. By-and-by, king E suffered from an evil disease, and the princes all hurried to sacrifice to their hills and rivers, praying for the king's person. The mind of king Le proved stubborn and tyrannical, but the myriads of the people could not bear [to hurt him], and made him take up his residence in Che. [Two of the] princes gave up their own places, that they might attend to the king's government, and when king S'eu showed that he had [firm and wise] purpose, they surrendered all their offices to him. After him, in the days of king Y'ew, Heaven had not pity upon Chow. The king blindly pursued an improper course, and lost his throne. Then came king E in violation of the statutes, so that the princes set him aside, and raised king [Y'ew's] proper heir to the throne, who removed [the capital] to K'eah-juh:—thus were the brothers [of the king] able to employ their strength in support of the royal House.

"In the time of king Hwuy, Heaven did not grant tranquillity to Chow, and allowed T'uy (See the Chuen after III. xix. 4) to be born, with his calamitous propensities, which extended subsequently to Shuh-tae (See on V. xxiv. 4), so that both Hwuy and [king] S'ang had to escape from danger, and leave the royal capital. Then Tsin and Ch'ing took off those evil parties, and gave comfort and settlement to the royal House:—thus were our brothers able to fulfil the commands of the former kings.

"In the 6th year of king Ting (The 8th year of duke Seuen) there came down among the people in Ts'in these ominous utterances:—"Chow shall have a king with moustaches, who will be able to discharge well the duties of his office. The States will be submissive, and present their offerings, for two reigns attentive to their duties. Then in the royal House will be an intruder on the throne, and the princes, not taking the [necessary] measures, shall experience disorder and calamity in consequence." When king Ling was born, he had a moustache, but he was a king of very spirit-like and sage qualities, and had no bad relations with the States. Both he and king King happily finished their reigns. But now the royal House is in confusion. K'ue of Shen and Tih of L'ew have torn all under heaven into disorder, violating with an imperious conduct all rules, and saying, "The former kings received the throne on no regular law. Let us give out our commands, according to our own minds; who will dare to call us to account?" They thus led on their

merciless partizans, and threw the royal House into disorder, insatiable in their encroaching desires, covetous beyond all measure, and guilty of disrespect to the Spirits. They insolently cast aside all penal laws, violated the covenants which they had taken, were haughty and violent in their demeanour, and falsified the orders of the former king, while Tsin, against all principle, supported and assisted them, with the intention of allowing them to carry out their illimitable designs.

"[Thus] my unworthy self, in terror and agitation, am driven abroad, and am skulking here in King-man (Ts'oo), not knowing what things will come to. If you, my brothers, and relatives of other surnames, will vindicate and obey the laws of Heaven, and not assist those cunning knaves, thus following the rules of the former kings, and not accelerating the approach of Heaven's judgments, but pardoning my unworthy self, and taking measures about me:—this is what I desire. I venture to set forth all that is in my heart, and the regular rules of the former kings, that the States may deeply consider it. The instructions of the former kings were to this effect:—When the queen has no son, another, the eldest son of the king, should be selected. Where years are equal, the choice must fall on the most virtuous. Where the virtue is equal, the choice must be decided by the tortoise-shell. The king must not appoint a son [merely] because he loves him; the *kung* and other ministers must not be influenced by their private leanings:—these were the ancient rules. The queen Muh and the [late] king's eldest son Show died prematurely, and left the world (See the Chuen after XV. 4). Shen and Lëw selfishly aided and appointed a younger son, in violation of the rule of the former kings; which is matter for all you princes, old and young, to take action upon."

"When Min Ma-foo heard this notification of Chaou the [late] king's son, he said "It is right that such notifications should be circulated. But Chaou violated the charge of [king] King, and kept aloof from the great Tsin, seeking his own exclusive aim;—he has been guilty of the greatest impropriety. What can this composition do?"

[There follow here two narratives, having reference to Ts'e:—There appeared a comet in Ts'e, and the marquis gave orders for a deprecatory sacrifice. Gan-tze said to him, "It is of no use; you will only practise a delusion. There is no uncertainty in the ways of Heaven; it does not waver in its purposes:—why should you offer a deprecatory sacrifice? Moreover, there is a broom-star in the sky;—it is for the removal of dirt. If your lordship have nothing about your conduct that can be so described, what have you to deprecate? If you have, what will it be diminished by your deprecation? The ode (She, III. I. ode II. 3), says,

'Then this king Wän,  
Watchfully and reverently,  
Did bright service to God.  
So did he secure great blessing.  
His virtue was without defection,  
And he received the allegiance of the  
States from all quarters.'

Let your lordship do nothing contrary to virtue, and from all quarters the States will come to

you;—why should you be troubled about a comet? The ode (A lost ode) says,

'I have no beacon to look at,  
[But] the sovereigns of Hëa and Shang.  
It was because of their disorders  
That the people fell away from them.'

If the conduct be evil and disorderly, the people are sure to fall away, and nothing that priests and historiographers can do will mend the evil."

The marquis was pleased, and stopped the sacrifice.'

2d. 'The marquis of Ts'e was sitting with Gan-tze in his State-chamber, and said, "How beautiful is this chamber! Who will have it [hereafter]?" "Allow me to ask," said Gan-tze, "what you mean." "I suppose," the marquis replied, "the possession of this will depend on [men's] virtue." The minister said, "According to what your lordship says, the possessor will perhaps be Head of the Ch'in family. Although that family has not great virtue, it dispenses bounties to the people. The *tow*, the *gow*, the *foo*, and the *chung*, with which it receives [its payments] from the State are small (See the 1st narrative after III. 1), but those with which it gives out to the people are large. Your exactions are great, and the benefactions of the Ch'in are great; so that the people are giving their affections to that family. The ode (II. vii. ode IV. 3) says,

'Though I have no virtue to impart to you,  
We will sing and dance.'

The bounties of the Ch'in family to the people are making them sing and dance. Hereafter, should any of your descendants be somewhat remiss, and the Ch'in family not have disappeared, the State will belong to it." "Good!" said the duke; "what then ought to be done?" Gan-tze replied, "It is only an attention to rules of propriety which can stop [the progress of events]. By those rules, the bounties of a family cannot extend to all the State. Sons must not change the business of their fathers,—husbandry, some mechanical art, or trade; inferiors must not be negligent; higher officers must not be insolent; great officers must not take to themselves the privileges of the ruler." "Good!" said the marquis. "I am not able to attain to this; but henceforth I know how a State can be governed by the rules of propriety." "Long have those rules possessed such a virtue," was the reply. "Their rise was contemporaneous with that of Heaven and Earth. That the ruler order and the subject obey, the father be kind and the son dutiful, the elder brother loving and the younger respectful, the husband be harmonious and the wife gentle, the mother-in-law be kind and the daughter-in-law obedient;—these are things in propriety. That the ruler in ordering order nothing against the right, and the subject obey without any duplicity; that the father be kind and at the same time reverent, and the son be dutiful and at the same time able to remonstrate; that the elder brother, while loving, be friendly, and the younger docile, while respectful; that the husband be righteous, while harmonious, and the wife correct, while gentle; that the mother-in-law be condescending, while kind, and the daughter-in-law be

winning, while obedient;—these are excellent things in propriety." "Good!" said the duke, [again]; "henceforth I have heard the highest style of propriety." Gan-tze replied, "It was what the ancient kings received from Heaven and Earth for the government of their people, and therefore they ranked it in the highest place.]"

### Twenty-seventh year.

二十有七年春，公如齊。公至自齊，居于鄆。夏四月，吳弑其君僚。楚殺其大夫卻宛。秋，晉士鞅、宋樂祁犁、衛北宮喜、曹人邾人、滕人會于扈。冬十月，曹伯午卒。邾快來奔。公如齊。公至自齊，居于鄆。

左傳曰：二十七年春，公如齊，公至自齊，處于鄆，言在外也。吳子欲因楚喪而伐之，使公子掩餘、公子燭庸、師圍潛，使延州來季子聘於上國，遂聘於晉，以觀諸侯。楚莠尹然、玉尹麇、帥師救潛，左司馬沈尹戌帥都君子與王馬之屬以濟師，與吳師遇於窮令，尹子常以舟師及沙汭而還。左尹卻宛、工尹壽、帥師至於潛，吳師不能退。吳公子光曰：「此時也，弗可失也。」告鱣設諸曰：「上國有言曰：『不索何獲？』我王嗣也，吾欲求之事若克季子，雖至，不吾廢也。」鱣設諸曰：「王可弑也，母老子弱，是無若我何。」光曰：「我爾身也。」夏四月，光伐甲於堀室而享王，王使甲坐於道，及其門、門、階、戶、席皆王親也，夾之以鉞，羞者獻體，改服於門外，執羞者坐行而入，執鉞者夾承之，及體以相授也。光僞足疾，入於堀室，鱣設諸賓劍於魚中以進，抽劍刺王，鉞交於胸，遂弑王。闔廬以其子爲卿，季子至曰：「苟先君無廢祀，民人無廢主，社稷有奉，國家無傾，乃吾君也。吾誰敢怨？哀死事生，以待天命，非我生亂，立者從之。」先人之道也，復命哭，復位而待吳公子掩餘奔徐。

公子燭庸奔鍾吾。楚師聞吳亂而還。卻宛直而和。國人說之。鄢將師爲右領。與費無極比而惡之。令尹子常賄而信讒。無極譖卻宛焉。謂子常曰。子惡欲飲子酒。又謂子惡。令尹欲飲酒於子氏。子惡曰。我賤人也。不足以辱令尹。令尹將必來辱。爲惠已甚。吾無以酬之。若何。無極曰。令尹好甲兵。子出之。吾擇焉。取五甲五兵。曰。賓諸門。令尹至。必觀之。而從以酬之。及饗日。帷諸門左。無極謂令尹曰。吾幾禍子。子惡將爲子不利。甲在門矣。子必無往。且此役也。吳可以得志。子惡取賂焉。而遂。又誤羣帥。使退其師。曰。乘亂不祥。吳乘我喪。我乘其亂。不亦可乎。令尹使視卻氏。則有甲焉。不往。召鄢將師而告之。將師退。遂令攻卻氏。且蕪之子惡聞之。遂自殺也。國人弗蕪。令尹曰。不蕪卻氏。與之同罪。或取一編管焉。或取一秉秆焉。國人投之。遂弗蕪也。令尹炮之。盡滅卻氏之族黨。殺陽令終。與其弟完。及佗。與晉陳。及其子弟。晉陳之族。呼於國曰。鄢氏。費氏。自以爲王。專禍楚國。弱寡王室。蒙王與令尹。以自利也。令尹盡信之矣。國將如何。令尹病之。

秋。會于扈。令戍周。且謀納公也。宋衛皆利納公。固請之。范獻子取貨於季孫。謂司城子梁。與北宮貞子曰。季孫未知其罪。而君伐之。請囚請亡。於是乎不獲。君又弗克。而自出也。夫豈無備。而能出君乎。季氏之復。天救之也。休公徒之怒。而敢叔孫氏之心。不然。豈其伐人而說甲執冰以游。叔孫氏懼禍之濫。而自同於季氏。天之道也。魯君守齊。三年而無成。季氏甚得其民。淮夷與之。有十年之備。有齊楚之援。有天之贊。有民之助。有堅守之心。有列國之權。而弗敢宣也。事君如在國。故鞅以爲難。二子皆圖國者也。而欲納魯君。鞅之願也。請從二子以圍魯。無成死之。二子懼。皆辭。乃辭小國。而以難復。

○孟懿子陽虎伐鄆。鄆人將戰。子家子曰。天命不怙久矣。使君亡者。必此衆也。天既禍之。而自福也。不亦難乎。猶有鬼神。此必敗也。嗚呼。爲無望也。夫其死於此乎。公使子家子如晉。公徒敗於且知。

○楚卻宛之難。國言未已。進胙者。莫不謗令尹。沈尹戌言於子常曰。夫左尹與中廢尹。莫知其罪。而子殺之。以興謗讒。至於今不已。戌也惑之。仁者殺人以掩謗。猶弗爲也。今吾子殺人以興謗。而弗圖。不亦異乎。夫無極。楚之讒人也。民莫不知。去朝吳。出蔡侯。朱喪。犬子建。殺連尹奢。屏王之耳目。使不聰明。不然。平王之溫惠共儉。有過成莊。無不及焉。所以不獲諸侯。邇無極也。今又殺三不辜。以興大謗。幾及子矣。子而不圖。將焉用之。夫鄢將師矯子之命。以滅三族。國之良也。而不愆位。吳新有君。疆場日駭。楚國若有大事。子其危哉。知者除讒。以自安也。今子愛讒。以自危也。甚矣其惑也。子常曰。是瓦之罪。敢不長圖。九月己未。子常殺費無極。與鄢將師。盡滅其族。以詭於國。謗言乃止。

冬。公如齊。齊侯請饗之。子家子曰。朝夕立於其朝。又何饗焉。其飲酒也。乃飲酒。使宰獻而請安。子仲之子曰重。爲齊侯夫人。曰。請使重見。子家子乃以君出。

○十二月。晉籍秦致諸侯之戍於周。魯人辭以難。

- XXVII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, he went to Ts'e. He arrived from Ts'e. and resided in Yun.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, Woo murdered its ruler, Lëaou.
- 3 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, Këoh Yuen.
- 4 In autumn, Sze Yang of Tsin, Yoh K'e-le of Sung, Pih-kung He of Wei, and officers of Ts'aou, Choo, and T'ang, had a meeting in Hoo.
- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, Woo, earl of Ts'aou, died.
- 6 K'wae of Choo came a fugitive to Loo.
- 7 The duke went to Ts'e.
- 8 The duke arrived from Ts'e, and resided in Yun.

Par. 1. A second time the duke had been to the marquis of Ts'e without accomplishing anything, and he returns to his quarters in Yun. That city is always specified, because 至自齊 alone would indicate that he returned to the capital of Loo. As Tso says, the mention of Yun tells how the duke was kept from his capital (言在外地).

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Woo, wishing on occasion of the death of [the king of] Ts'oo to invade that State, sent the two Kung-tszes Yen-yu and Chuh-yung with a force to lay siege to Ts'een, and sent Ke-tsze of Yen and Chow-lae on a mission to the upper

States, and to go on to Tsin, to observe how it was going on with the different princes. The Yëw-director Jen, and Keun director of Yuh, (The 莠 and 王 or 玉 or 工, are of doubtful meaning) proceeded with a force from Ts'oo to relieve Ts'een, and were reinforced by the marshal of the Left, Seuh, director of Shin, at the head of the gentry of the capital and the men belonging to the king's Horse. They met with the army of Woo at K'ëung; and in the meantime, the chief minister Tsze-chang proceeded with a naval force to the bend of the Sha, and then returned. Këoh Yuen, director of the Left, and Show director of Works, proceeded to Ts'een with another force, so that the army of Woo could not retreat.



'The Kung-tse Kwang'of Woo thought, "This is my time; it must not be lost;" and he said to Chuen Sheh-choo, (See at the end of the 2d narrative after XX. 1), "The upper States have a saying that if you do not seek for a thing you will not get it. I am the [former] king's heir. I wish to seek the kingdom. If the thing succeed, although Ke-tse come [back], he will not displace me." Sheh-choo said, "The king may be killed; but my mother is old and my son is young; what can I do in this matter?" Kwang replied, "I will be as you [to them]."

'In summer, in the 4th month, Kwang concealed some men-at-arms in an underground chamber, and invited the king to a feast. The king made his men-at-arms line the road, [from his palace] to [Kwang's] gate. At the gate, the steps, the [inner] doors, and the mats, were the king's friends, on either side of them, with swords. They stripped the bodies of the attendants who brought in the viands, and made them change their clothes outside the door; and those attendants then crawled in on their knees, [other] sword-bearers going with them on either side, close to their persons; and thus the viands were handed [to the king]. Kwang pretending that he was suffering in his feet, entered the underground chamber, and Chuen Sheh-choo came in with a fish in which he had placed a dagger. Seizing the weapon, he stabbed the king, and at the same time [two] swords met in his breast. Thus he killed the king;—and Hoh-leu made his son a minister.

'When Ke-tse arrived, he said, "If the sacrifices to our former rulers be not neglected, nor the people be without a [proper] master; if the offerings be presented at our altars, and the State be not allowed to fall;—he shall be my ruler. Against whom should I cherish resentment? I will mourn the dead and serve the living, while I await the decree of Heaven;—I will not create disorder. Him who is on the throne I will follow;—according to the way of our former kings." He then reported the execution of his mission and wept, at the grave [of Léaou], after which he resumed his position, and awaited the orders [of the new king].

'The Kung-tse Yen-yu fled to Seu, and Chuh-yung fled to Chung-woo. The army of Ts'oo withdrew, on hearing of the confusion in Woo.'

The critics have exercised their ingenuity, and that with little success, to find out the ground on which the murder of Léaou is ascribed to Woo. The K'ang-he editors say, 'It was Kwang who murdered his ruler, and yet the text assigns the deed to Woo, and not to Kwang. Hoo Gan-kwch holds that the guilt is thereby ascribed to the great ministers;—which is one view. Ch'an Joh-shwuy (湛若

水, Ming dyn.) says that the style of the text is intended to make people investigate the matter, when they will discover the true criminal;—which view is preferable. Too Yu held that guilt is thereby fixed on Léaou himself, and K'ung Ying-tah and Léw Ch'ang argue that all the people wished the death of Léaou; but this view cannot be sustained. See our remarks at length under VI. xvi. 7.'

Par. 3. K'ung-l'ang has 郤 for 郤. The Chuen says:—'K'eh Yuen was a man upright

and peaceable, but he was hated by Fei Woo-keih, and Yen Ts'ang-sze commander of the Left, who was a partizan of Woo-keih. The chief minister, Tsze-chang, was fond of gifts and lent an ear to slander. [Accordingly], Woo-keih, to calumniate K'eh Yuen, said to Tsze-chang, "Tsze-goh (Yuen's designation) wishes to invite you to drink with him;" and then he said to Tsze-goh that the chief minister wished to come and drink with him in his house. That officer said, "I am of low rank, and unworthy of a visit from the chief minister. If he insist on paying me a visit, the kindness is extreme; wherewith shall I recompense him?" Woo-keih replied, "The chief minister is fond of buff-coats and sharp weapons. Bring forth what you have of these, and I will make a selection from them." In this way he took five of each, and said, "Place these at your gate. When he comes, he is sure to see them, and you can then present them to him."

'On the day for the feast, [Yuen] erected a tent on the left of his gate, [with those things in it]; on which Woo-keih said to the minister, "I had nearly brought misfortune on you. Tsze-goh is intending evil to you, and has got men-at-arms at his gate. You must not go. Moreover, in the recent expedition, we should have got our will upon Woo, but for Tsze-goh who took bribes and returned. He also imposed on the other commanders, and made them retire, saying that it would be inauspicious to take advantage of the disorders [in Woo]. As Woo had taken advantage of our mourning, would it not have been proper to take advantage of its confusion?" The minister sent a messenger to look at K'eh's house, and there were the buff-coats. He did not go [to the feast] therefore, but called for Yen Ts'ang-sze, and told him the circumstances. When Ts'ang-sze retired, he gave orders to attack K'eh's house, and to burn it. When Tsze-goh heard of it, he killed himself. [Meantime], the people would not burn the house, and an order was issued that all who would not burn it should be held as equally guilty with K'eh. On this some took a rush rope, and some took a handful of straw, but they threw them down [again], and would not burn the house. The chief minister then caused it to be done, and extinguished all the branches of the K'eh family and its partizans, putting to death Yang Ling-chung with his younger brothers Hwan and T'io, and Tsin Ch'in, with his sons and younger brothers. The kindred of Tsin Ch'in cried out in the city, "Yen and Fei are making themselves kings, and by their own authority working calamity to the State of Ts'oo; weakening and thinning the royal House, and deceiving the king and the chief minister for their own gain. The chief minister believes them entirely;—what is to become of the State?" This distressed the chief minister.'

On this paragraph again we have much speculation, to explain the ascription of the death of Yuen to Ts'oo.

Par. 4. Hoo,—see III. xxiii. 10, *et al.* On III. xxiii. 10, Too says that Hoo was in Ch'ing, to which the K'ang-he editors assent, nor do they make mention of any other Hoo there or in other places. But if there were only the one Hoo of Ch'ing, why was no minister of that State present at this meeting? On VII. ix. 2, Kung-

yang says that Hoo was a city of Tsin. There were probably two places of the name.

The Chuen says:—'The meeting at Hoo in the autumn was to give orders about guarding Chow, and to consult about restoring the duke [of Loo]. Sung and Wei were eager for his restoration, and strongly urged it. Fan H'ien-tse, however, had taken bribes from Ke-sun, and said to Tsze-l'ang (Yoh K'le), the minister of Works [of Sung], and Pih-kung Ch'ing-tse (He), "Ke-sun knew not what offence he had committed, when his ruler attacked him. He offered to submit to imprisonment, or to go into exile, but both these things were refused to him. The ruler also left the State himself, when his attempt proved unsuccessful. How should Ke-sun have been able, without any preparations, to expel his ruler? His recovery [of his position] must have been by the help of Heaven, hushing the rage of the duke's followers, and guiding the minds of [the adherents of] Shuh-sun. If it were not so, how should those followers, when engaged in an attack, have thrown off their armour and sauntered about with their quiver lids in their hands? Then for the adherents of Shuh-sun, afraid of the overflow of calamity, to join themselves to those of Ke-she, was from Providence. The ruler of Loo has been keeping himself in Ts'e for 3 years, and has accomplished nothing. Ke-sun has greatly won the hearts of the people, and the E tribes of the Hwae are joined to him. He has ten years' preparations, the support of Ts'e and Ts'oo, the assistance of Heaven, the help of men, the mind to maintain himself firmly, and the power of various States, and yet he does not presume to use [those resources], but serves his ruler as if he were in the capital:—it is for these reasons that I think it difficult to deal with him. You both are versed in the councils of States, and you wish to restore the ruler of Loo. This also is my desire. I will ask to follow you, and lay siege to [the capital of] Loo. If we do not succeed, you shall die for it." The two ministers were afraid, and declined the undertaking; and [H'ien-tse] then dismissed the [representatives of the] smaller States, and reported [to his ruler] the difficulty [of restoring the duke].'

Par. 6. This K'wae must have been a great officer of Choo, but what were the particulars of his flight to Loo, we do not know. The critics are severe in condemning Loo for receiving such fugitives. Five officers from Choo thus found shelter in it at different times.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives:—1st, about the affairs of Loo. 'M'ang E-tse and Yang Hoo attacked Yun, the men of which proposed to fight. Tsze-k'ea-tse, however, said, "There has been no doubt about the will of Heaven for long. The multitude of these will surely cause our ruler to be ruined. Is it not a difficult thing for a man to make himself happy when Heaven is sending down calamity on him? Even if there were Spirits [to help him], he must be defeated here. Alas! there is no hope. He is likely to die here!" The duke then sent Tsze-k'ea-tse on a mission to Tsin, after which his followers were defeated at T'eu-che.'

2d, about affairs in Ts'oo. 'Throughout Ts'oo the language of the people about the fate of K'eh Yuen (See on par. 3) never ceased, and

all, when presenting their sacrifices, reviled the chief minister. Seu, director of Shin, spoke to Tsze-chang, saying, "No one knows what were the offences of the director of the Left (K'eh Yuen), and of the director of the middle stables, (Yang Ling-chung) and yet you put them to death, thereby producing those revilings and murmurings, which to this day have not ceased. I am myself in doubts about it. A virtuous man would not kill another even to stop revilings;—is it not strange that you should kill men to excite them, and take no measures in the matter? Now Woo-keih is the slanderer of Ts'oo, as all the people know. He removed Chaoou Woo (See on XV. 3); caused the expulsion of Choo the marquis of Ts'ae (See on XXI. 6); ruined our late king's eldest son K'een, and caused the death of the L'een Yin, Ch'ay (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of this 20th year). He has stood like a screen before the king's ears and eyes, so that he should neither hear nor see. But for this, the gentle mildness, the humility and economy, of king P'ing, who excelled both Ch'ing and Chwang, would have been universally acknowledged. That he did not gain to himself all the States was simply owing to Woo-keih. Now he has further put to death three innocent men, so as to excite great revilings, which have almost affected yourself. And yet you are taking no measures in regard to him;—what can you expect from such a course? Then Yen Ts'ang-sze, by falsifying an order from you, utterly destroyed the families of three officers, among the best men of the State, who had committed no failure of duty in their offices. Woo has got a new ruler, and the borders are daily in a state of terror. If any great affair occur in our State, you will be in peril. Wise men take off slanderers, to secure their own repose, but you love slanderers to put yourself in peril. Extreme is your delusion!" Tsze-chang said, "I am guilty in this, and shall now take good measures in the case." In the 9th month, on Ke-we, Tsze-chang put to death Fei Woo-keih and Yen Ts'ang-sze, utterly destroying all the branches of their families. Thus he satisfied the people, and the revilings ceased.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says, "In winter, the duke went to Ts'e, when the marquis begged to offer him an entertainment. Tsze-k'ea-tse said, "Morning and evening you stand in his court;—how should he invite you to [the ceremony of] an entertainment. It is to a drinking [feast only]." Accordingly there was a drinking feast, and [the marquis] made the assistant-administrator offer the cup, and asked leave to take his own ease [elsewhere].

'A daughter of Tsze-chung (the Kung-tse Yin, who fled to Ts'e in the duke's 12th year. See on XII. 8) who was called Ch'ung was in the harem of the marquis, and intimated that she wished the duke to call her to see him. On this Tsze-k'ea-tse left the feast, carrying the duke with him.'

Par. 8. [The Ch'uen appends here a brief note:—'In the 12th month, Tseih Ts'in of Tsin required the guards from the different States to go to Chow. The people of Loo declined the service on account of the troubles in their State.']



Twenty-eighth year.

二十有八年春，  
王三月葬曹悼公。  
公如晉次。  
于乾侯。  
夏四月丙戌，鄭伯寧卒。  
六月葬鄭定公。  
秋七月癸巳，滕子寧卒。  
冬葬滕悼公。

左傳曰：二十八年春，公如晉，將如乾侯。子家子曰：有求於人，而即其安，人孰矜之？其造於竟，弗聽。使請逆於晉。晉人曰：天禍魯國，君淹恤在外，君亦不使一个辱在寡人，而即安於甥舅，其亦使逆君，使公復於竟，而後逆之。晉祁勝與鄆臧通室，祁盈將執之，訪司馬叔游。叔游曰：鄭書有之，惡直醜正，實蕃有徒，無道立矣。子懼不免。詩曰：民之多辟，無自立辟。姑已，若何？盈曰：祁氏私有討，國何有焉？遂執之。祁勝賂荀躒，荀躒爲之言於晉侯。晉侯執祁盈，祁盈之臣曰：鈞將皆死，愁使吾君聞勝與臧之死也，以爲快。乃殺之。夏六月，晉殺祁盈及楊食我，食我，祁盈之黨也，而助亂，故殺之。遂滅祁氏、羊舌氏。初，叔向欲娶於申公巫臣氏，其母欲娶其黨，叔向曰：吾母多而庶鮮，吾懲舅氏矣。其母曰：子靈之妻，殺三夫，一君，一子，而亡一國，兩卿矣，可無懲乎？吾聞之，甚美必有甚惡，是鄭穆少妃姚子之子，子貉之妹也。子貉早死無後，而天鍾美於是，將必以是大有敗也。昔有仍氏生女，黠黑而甚美，光可以鑑，名曰玄妻，樂正后夔取之，生伯封，實有豕心，貪惓無餍，忿類無期，謂之封豕，有窮后羿滅之，夔是以不祀。且三代之亡，共子之廢，皆是物也。汝何以爲哉？夫有尤物，足以移人，苟非德義，則必有禍。叔向懼，不敢取。平公強使取之，生伯石。伯石始生子容之母，走謁諸姑，曰：長叔姒生男，姑視之。及堂，聞其聲而還，曰：是豺狼之聲也。狼子野心，非是莫喪羊舌氏矣。遂弗視。

○秋，晉韓宣子卒，魏獻子爲政，分祁氏之田，以爲七縣，分羊舌氏之田，以爲三縣。司馬彌牟爲鄆大夫，賈辛爲祁大夫，司馬烏爲平陵大夫，魏戊爲梗陽大夫，知徐吾爲塗水大夫，韓固爲馬首大夫，孟丙爲孟大夫，樂霄爲銅鞮大夫，趙朝爲平陽大夫，僚安爲楊氏大夫，謂賈辛、司馬烏爲有力於王室，故舉之。謂知徐吾、趙朝、韓固、魏戊，餘子之不失職，能守業者也。其四人者，皆受縣而後見於魏子，以賢舉也。魏子謂成鯨：吾與戊也，縣人其以我爲黨乎？對曰：何也？戊之爲人也，遠不忘君，近不偪同，居利思義，在約思純，有守心而無淫行，雖與之縣，不亦可乎？昔武王克商，光有天下，其兄弟之國者，十有五人，姬姓之國者，四十人，皆舉親也。夫舉無他，唯善所在，親疏一也。詩曰：唯此文王，帝度其心，莫其德音，其德克明，克明克類，克長克君，王此大國，克順克比。比于文王，其德靡悔，既受帝祉，施於孫子。心能制義曰度，德正應和曰莫，照臨四方曰明，勤施無私曰類，教誨不倦曰長，賞慶刑威曰君，慈和徧服曰順，擇善而從之曰比，經緯天地曰文，九德不愆，作事無悔，故襲天祿，子孫賴之。主之舉也，近文德矣，所及其遠哉。賈辛將適其縣，見於魏子，魏子曰：辛來，昔叔向適鄭，驪蔑惡，欲觀叔向，從使之收器者而往，立於堂下，一言而善，叔向將飲酒，聞之曰：必驪明也。下執其手以土，曰：昔賈大夫惡娶妻而美，三年不言，不笑，御以如皇，射雉獲之，其妻始笑而言，賈大夫曰：才之不可以已，我不能射，女遂不言不笑，夫今子少不颺，子若無言，吾幾失子矣。言之不可以已也如是，遂如故知。今汝有力於王室，吾是以舉汝，行乎？敬之哉。毋墮乃力。仲尼聞魏子之舉也，以爲義，曰：近不失親，遠不失舉，可謂義矣。又聞其命賈辛也，以爲忠。詩曰：永言配命，自求多福，忠也。魏子之舉也，義其命也，忠其長有後於晉國乎。

○冬，梗陽人有獄，魏戊不能斷，以獄土，其大宗賂以女樂，魏子將受之。魏戊謂閭沒：女寬曰：主以不賄聞於諸侯，若受梗陽人賄，莫甚焉。吾子必諫，皆許諾，退朝待於庭，饋入，召之，比置三歎。既食，使坐。魏子曰：吾聞諸伯叔諺曰：唯食忘憂，吾子置食之間，三歎何也？同辭而對曰：或賜二小人酒，不夕食，饋之始至，恐其不足，是以歎中。

梗獻厭之爲人願饋再足而軍曰置  
陽子而心君之以之歎是有食豈自  
人辭已屬子腹小畢及以不之將咎

- XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke Taou of Ts'au.
- 2 The duke went to Tsin. He halted in Kan-how.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-seuh, Ning, earl of Ch'ing, died.
- 4 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Ting of Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, Ning, viscount of T'ang, died.
- 6 In winter, there was the burial of duke Taou of T'ang.

Par. 1. This was the 6th month since his death. The burial was late.

Par. 2. Kan-how was a city of Tsin, in the south-east of the pres. dis. of Ch'ing-gan (成安), dep. Kwang-p'ing (廣平), Chih-le. The duke found that Ts'e was tired of him, and now threw himself on the protection of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—"This spring, the duke was going to Tsin, and wanted to proceed to Kan-how. Tsze-k'ea-tsze said to him, "When one has to request a refuge from another, and at once proceeds to where he would be at ease, who will have any pity for him? You should go [only] to the borders [at first]." The duke would not listen to this suggestion, [and proceeded to Kan-how], and sent word [from it] to the capital of Tsin, begging that he might be met there. The marquis, however, said, "Heaven is afflicting the State of Loo, and its ruler has long endured his sorrow abroad. Without sending a single messenger to me, however, he threw himself upon one merely related to him by affinity. It should suffice for him to have got [the marquis of Ts'e] to meet him." The duke was made to return to the borders, and then he was met."

The critics think that all these notices of the movements of the duke, where he went, where he halted, &c., are from the pencil of Confucius himself;—to show that the ruler of Loo was still in existence, and indicate his condemnation of the usurpation of Ke-sun. See the note by the K'ang-he editors on this par.

Parr. 3, 4. Kung-yang has 甯 for 寧. The burial of the earl of Ch'ing in the 3d month after his death must have been so hastened on for some extraordinary reason.

[The Chuen introduces here a narrative of affairs in Tsin:—"K'e Shing and Woo Tsang of Tsin exchanged wives, in consequence of which K'e Ying (Head of the K'e family, and son of K'e Woo mentioned in the Chuen appended to IX. iii. 4), purposed to seize them. Consulting, however, the marshal Shuh Y'ew on the subject, that officer said, "We read in a book of Ch'ing that those who hate what is right and dislike what is correct are very many. The sway of what is

unprincipled is established. I am afraid you will not escape evil consequences, [if you do it]. The ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 6) says,

"The people have many perversities;  
Do not you set up your perversity before them."

Suppose you let them alone for the present." Ying said, "If our K'e family privately punish them, what is it to the State?" Accordingly he seized the criminals. [In the meantime] K'e Shing bribed S'ün Leih, who spoke for him to the marquis; and K'e Ying was seized. One of his officers said, "He is sure in any case to die; but let my master hear of the death of Shing and Tsang, and it will be a satisfaction to him." On this he put both those men to death. In summer, in the 6th month, Tsin put K'e Ying to death, and Sze-wo of Yang, who was a partizan of his and had aided his lawlessness. On this account he [also] was put to death, and the families of K'e and Yang-sheh were extinguished.

Formerly Shuh-h'ang had wished to marry a daughter of Woo-shin, duke of Shin; but his mother wanted him to take one of her kindred rather. He said to her, "My mothers (*i.e.* the inmates of his father's harem) are many, but my father has few children by them. I must keep aloof from your kindred." She replied, "The wife of Tsze-ling (Woo-shin). His wife was Hea Ke. See on VII. x. 8, *et al.*) proved the death of three husbands, one ruler, and her son, and ruined a State, and two of its ministers. Ought you not to keep aloof from her? I have heard that, where there is extreme beauty, there is sure to be extreme wickedness. She was the daughter of Yaou Tsze, a younger wife of [duke Muh] of Ch'ing, and the younger sister of Tsze-mih. The brother died early, leaving no offspring; and since Heaven accumulated so much beauty in her, there must [still] be great ruin to be accomplished by her."

"In ancient times the prince of Jing had a daughter, with splendid black hair and very beautiful, so that her brightness cast a light around her, and she was named 'the dark Lady.' The prince K'wei, [Shun's] minister of Music, married her, and she bore to him Pih-fung, who

in truth had the heart of a pig, insatiably covetous and gluttonous, quarrelsome and perverse without measure, so that men called him 'the great Pig.' E, the prince of K'ung, extinguished him [and his House], and so K'wei had none to maintain his sacrifices. Moreover, the ruin of the three dynasties and the setting aside of [our prince] Kung-tsze (See the Chuen appended to III. xxviii. 1, *et al.*) were brought about by such creatures. Why are you going to do such a thing? Those strange Beings are sufficient to move men [from their principles]; and if virtue and righteousness are not maintained, calamity is sure to come."

"Shuh-h'ang was afraid, and did not dare to take the lady, but duke P'ing forced him to do so. She bore to him Pih-shih (Sze-wo of Yang above). At the time of his birth, the mother of Tsze-yung ran to tell her mother-in-law, saying, "My sister-in-law has a boy." The mother-in-law was going to see the child, but when she got to the hall, she heard his voice, and returned, saying, "It is the voice of a wolf. A wolfish child will have a wild heart. None but he will destroy the clan of Yang-sheh." So she would not look at him."

Par. 5. Here again Kung-yang has 甯 for 寧.

[The Chuen has here another long narrative about affairs in Tsin:—"In autumn, Han Seu-tsze of Tsin died, and the government passed into the hands of Wei H'een-tsze (Mentioned before in the Chuen on IX. xxiii. 7). He divided the lands of the K'e and Yang-sheh families, the former into 7, and the latter into 3 districts; and made Sze-ma Me-mow great officer of Woo; K'ea Sin, of K'e; Sze-ma Woo, of P'ing-ling; Wei Mow, of Kang-yang; Che Seu-woo, of T'oo-shuwy; Han Koo, of Ma-show; Mang Ping, of Yu; Yoh S'auou, of T'ung-te; Ch'auou Ch'auou, of P'ing-yang; L'auou Gan, of Yang-she. He gave their appointments to K'ea Sin and Sze-ma Woo because of their services to the royal House; and theirs to Che Seu-woo, Ch'auou Ch'auou, Han Koo, and Wei Mow, because he considered that, though they were the sons of concubines, they would not fail in their offices and could maintain the inheritance of their fathers. The [other] four all received their districts, and then appeared before Wei-tsze, showing that they were appointed because of their worthiness. He said to Ch'ing Chuen, "As I have given Mow (His own son by a concubine) a district, will men say that I am acting partially?" "Why should they do so?" was the reply. Mow is of such a character that, though kept at a distance, he does not forget his ruler, and, though kept as a near favourite, he will not assume anything over his associates. In presence of gain he thinks of righteousness; in the midst of difficulties, he seeks to maintain his purity. He can keep his heart, and abstain from all licentious conduct. You have given him a district, but was it not proper to do so? Formerly, when king Woo subdued Shang, and obtained grand possession of all the land, 15 of his brothers received States, and 40 other princes of the surname of Ke did the same;—these were all appointments of kindred. They were made because of the virtue of their subjects, whether nearly or distantly related. The ode (She, III. i. ode VII. 4) says,

"Now this king Wan  
Was gifted by God with the power of judgment,  
So that the fame of his virtue silently grew.  
His virtue was highly intelligent,  
Highly intelligent and of rare discrimination;  
Capable of leading, capable of ruling,—  
To rule over this great nation,  
Rendering a cordial submission, able to produce cordial union.  
When the sway came to king Wan,  
His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with.  
He received the blessing of God,  
And it was extended to his descendants."

To have a mind able to determine what is right is called 'the power of judgment.' When virtue through its correctness is responded to with harmony, we have its 'silent exertion.' Extending a bright influence over all quarters is called 'illumination.' Earnest beneficence without selfish partiality is called 'discrimination.' Teaching without being weary is called 'leading.' 'The ruler' is he who makes happy by his rewards and awes by his punishments. 'Submission' is when there is a universal subjection to gentleness and harmony. 'Cordial union' is the effect of the choice of what is good, and following it. Character of which heaven and earth are the warp and woof is called 'accomplished.' When these nine virtues are found without error, there is nothing in the conduct to occasion dissatisfaction. Thus it was that king Wan received his dignity from Heaven, and his descendants were blessed through him. In your promotions you have approximated to the virtue of Wan. Far-extending will be the effect!"

"When K'ea Sin was about to proceed to his district, he appeared before Wei-tsze, who said to him, "Come here, Sin. Formerly, when Shuh-h'ang went to Ch'ing, Tsung M'eh of that State, who was an ugly man, wished to see him, and followed for that purpose the servants who were removing the dishes [of the feast]. As he stood below the hall, he uttered one sentence so excellent, that when Shuh-h'ang, who was about to drink, heard it, he said, 'That must be Tsung Ming;' and with this he descended the steps, took him by the hand, and ascended with him, saying, 'Formerly, a great officer of K'ea, who was ugly, married a wife who was beautiful; but for 3 years she neither laughed nor spoke. He drove with her to [the marsh of] Kaou, and there shot at a pheasant and hit it, upon which she laughed for the first time and spoke, so that the officer said, 'One's ability should not be unexercised. If I had not been able to shoot, you would not have laughed nor spoken.' Now Sir, your features are rather undistinguished, and if you had not spoken, I should probably have remained unacquainted with you. Your [ability of] speech must not be unexercised." In this way they became like old acquaintances. Now you have done good service to the royal House, and therefore I have given you your appointment. Go and be reverently attentive to your duty. Minish not aught in the energy of your services."

"When Chung-ne heard of the appointments made by Wei-tsze, he considered them to be just, and said, "He has not failed in his duty

to those near him of his own House, nor has he erred in his promotion of others more remote. His conduct may be pronounced just." When he heard of his charge to K'ia Sin, he considered it to be loyal. The ode (III. i. ode I. 6) says,

'Ever strive to be in accordance with the will [of Heaven],  
And you will be seeking for yourselves much happiness.'

This is loyalty. Wei-tsze's appointments were just, and his charge was loyal;—was it not likely that his posterity would continue long in the State of Tsin?

Par. 6. Though the duke was in exile, we see that Ke-sun kept up the reciprocities of Loo with foreign States, as if there had been nothing the matter with itself.

[The Chuen gives a narrative here, illustrating the faithfulness of Wei Mow above:—In winter, a man of K'ang-yang had a lawsuit, which Wei Mow was not able to determine, and he referred it [to the capital]. The principal member of the man's family offered a bribe of some female musicians, which Wei-tsze was going to receive. Mow said to Yen Muh and Joo K'wan, "Our lord is noted through the States for not receiving

bribes, but there could be no greater case of such acceptance, if he receive [what is offered by] this man of K'ang-yang. You must remonstrate with him." They agreed to do so; and when [Wei-tsze] retired from the audience of the marquis, they were waiting in his court-yard. When his meal was brought in, he called them [to join in it]; and during its course, they sighed three times. When it was over, he made them sit down [with him], and said, "I have heard my uncles repeat the common saying that 'Meat makes a man forget his sorrow';—what was the reason that while the food was being served up, you gave [those] three sighs." They answered both together, saying, "We were drinking with a friend, and ate nothing [last] evening. When the first course came in, we were afraid there might not be sufficient, and therefore we sighed. When the second course came, we condemned ourselves, and thought, 'How could we be feasted by the general, and not get enough?' This was the reason of the second sigh. And when the last course was ended, [we thought], 'Would that it were with minds of superior men as it is with the bellies of small men like us!—that they were satisfied when they had enough!'" On this Wei-tsze refused [the bribe of] the man of K'ang-yang.]

Twenty-ninth year.

二十有九年春，公至自乾侯。張來唁公。公如晉，次于乾侯。夏四月，庚子，叔詣卒。秋七月。冬十月，鄆潰。

左傳曰：二十九年春，公至自乾侯，處于鄆，齊侯使高張來唁公，稱主君。子家子曰：齊卑君矣，君祇辱焉。公如乾侯。三月己卯，京師殺召伯盈，尹氏固及原伯魯之子尹固之復也。有婦人遇之周郊，尤之曰：處則勸人爲禍，行則數日而反，是夫也。其過三歲乎？夏五月庚寅，王子趙車入於鄆以叛，陰不佞敗之。平子每歲賈馬，具從者之衣屨，而歸之于乾侯。公執歸馬者賣之，乃不歸馬。衛侯來獻其乘馬，曰：啟服，塹而死。公將爲之櫝，子家子曰：從者病矣，請以食之。乃以帷裏之。公賜公衍羔裘，使獻龍輔於齊侯，遂入羔裘。齊侯喜。

與之陽穀。公衍，公爲之生也。其母偕出，公衍先生，公爲之母曰：相與偕出，請相與偕告。三日，公爲生，其母先以告。公爲爲兄。公私喜於陽穀，而思於魯。曰：務人爲此禍也，且後生而爲兄，其誣也久矣。乃黜之，而以公衍爲太子。

秋，龍見於絳郊。魏獻子問於蔡墨曰：吾聞之，蟲莫知於龍，以其不生得也，謂之知，信乎？對曰：人實不知，非龍實知。古者畜龍，故國有豢龍氏，有御龍氏。獻子曰：是二氏者，吾亦聞之，而不知其故，是何謂也？對曰：昔有鬻叔安，有裔子曰董父，實甚好龍，能求其嗜欲，以飲食之，龍多歸之，乃擾畜龍，以服事帝舜。賜之姓曰董，氏曰豢龍。封諸騶川，騶夷氏，其後也。故帝舜氏世有畜龍，及有夏孔甲，擾於有帝，帝賜之乘龍，河漢各二，各有雌雄。孔甲不能食，而未獲豢龍氏，有陶唐氏既衰，其後有劉累，學擾龍於豢龍氏，以事孔甲，能飲食之，夏后嘉之，賜氏曰御龍，以夏承韋之後，龍一雌死，潛醢以食夏后，夏后饗之，既而使求之，懼而遷於魯縣，范氏其後也。獻子曰：今何故無之？對曰：夫物，物有其官，官修其方，朝夕思之，一日失職，則死及之，失官不食，官宿其業，其物乃至，若泯棄之物，乃坻伏，鬱湮不育，故有五行之官，是謂五官，實列受氏姓，封爲上公，祀爲貴神，社稷五祀，是尊是奉，木正曰句芒，火正曰祝融，金正曰蓐收，水正曰玄冥，土正曰后土，龍，水物也，水官棄矣，故龍不生得。不然，周易有之，在乾之姤曰：潛龍勿用，其同人曰：見龍在田，其大有曰：飛龍在天，其夬曰：亢龍有悔，其坤曰：見羣龍無首，吉。坤之剝曰：龍戰于野，若不朝夕見，誰能物之？獻子曰：社稷五祀，誰氏之五官也？對曰：少皞氏有四叔，曰重，曰該，曰修，曰熙，實能金木及水，使重爲句芒，該爲蓐收，修及熙爲玄冥，世不失職，遂濟窮桑，此其三祀也。顓頊氏有子曰犁，爲祝融，共工氏有子曰句龍，爲后土，此其二祀也。后土爲社，稷，田正也，有烈山氏之子曰柱，爲稷，自夏以土祀之，周棄亦爲稷，自商以來祀之。

冬，晉趙鞅荀寅帥師城汝墳，遂賦晉國一鼓鐵，以鑄刑鼎，著范宣子所爲刑書焉。仲尼曰：晉其亡乎！失其度。

矣夫晉國將守唐叔之所  
受法度以經緯其民卿大  
夫以序守之民是以能尊  
其貴貴是以能守其業貴  
賤不怨所謂度也文公是  
以作執秩之官為被廬之  
法以為盟主今棄是度也  
而為刑鼎民在鼎矣何以  
尊貴貴何業之守貴賤無  
序何以為國且夫宣子之  
刑夷之蒐也晉國之亂制  
也若之何以為法蔡史墨  
曰范氏中行氏其亡乎中  
行寅為下卿而干上令檀  
作刑器以為國法是法姦  
也又加范氏焉易之亡也  
其及趙氏趙孟與焉然不  
得已若德可以免

- XXIX. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, he came from Kan-how, and resided in Yun. The marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Chang there to condole with him.
- 2 The duke went to Tsin, and halted in Kan-how.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Käng-tsze, Shuh E died.
- 4 It was autumn, the ninth month.
- 5 In winter, in the tenth month, [the people] of Yun dispersed.

Par. 1. In XXVI. 2, it is said that the duke came from Ts'e (至自齊) and resided in Yun. Though he had not been to the capital of Ts'e, he had had a meeting with the marquis, which was held sufficient to authorize the record that he came from Ts'e. But though he had entered Tsin, and been met perhaps on its borders (See the Chuen on XXVIII. 2) by officers from its court, he had not had a meeting with the marquis; and therefore it could only be said here that 'he arrived from Kan-how.'

The Chuen says:—'When the duke came from Kan-how, and [again] resided in Yun, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Chang to condole with him, and that officer merely addressed him by the title of "Sir," on which Tsze-k'ea-tsze said, "The ruler of Ts'e is humbling you. You are only being disgraced." The duke then went [back] to Kan-how.' The duke had left Ts'e and gone to Tsin, hoping that he would receive better treatment, and substantial help. On the contrary he found himself worse off, and on his return to Yun, the marquis of Ts'e only treated him with contempt. The style of the messenger in calling him 'Sir (主君)' was the mode of addressing a great officer. The message of condolence was really a message of mockery.

[There is a narrative here about affairs in Chow:—'In the 3d month, on Ke-maou, Ying earl of Shaou, Koo chief of the House of Yin, and the son of Loo earl of Yuen (See the Chuen on XVIII. 4) were put to death in the capital. On the return of Koo of Yin (See on XXVI. 8), a woman met him in the suburbs of Chow, and condemned his conduct, saying, "When in Chow, he encouraged others to do evil; when he left it, he numbered the days till his return:—

this fellow is not likely to last beyond 3 years." In summer, in the 5th month, on Käng-yin, the [late] king's son Chaou-keu entered L'een, and held it in revolt. Yin Puh-ning defeated him.]

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'Every year P'ing-tsze bought horses, and provided clothes and shoes for the [duke's] followers, and sent them to Kan-how. The duke seized those who brought the horses and sold them, on which the horses were not again sent.

'The marquis of Wei sent him a horse of his own chariot, which was called K'e-fuh. It fell into a ditch and died, and the duke was going to have a coffin made for it, but Tsze-k'ea-tsze said to him, "Your followers are in distress. Please give [the value] to them to get food." On this he had it wrapped up in a curtain, [and buried it].

'The duke gave Kung-yen a robe of lamb's fur, and sent him to present a Lung-foo [piece of jade] to the marquis of Ts'e. Kung-yen took the opportunity to present [also] the robe, and the marquis was pleased, and gave him [the city of] Yang-kuh.

'The mothers of Kung-yen and Kung-wei (Both, the duke's sons. See the Chuen on XXV. 5) were both withdrawn to the birth-chamber, when their sons were born. Kung-yen was born first, but Kung-wei's mother said, "We retired here together. Let us announce the births of our children [also] together." Three days after, Kung-wei was born, and his mother gave the announcement of his birth first, so that the duke considered him the elder of the two. Now, however, the duke was selfishly glad because of [the gift of] Yang-kuh; and thinking [also] of what had happened in Loo, he said, "It was Woo-jin (Kung-wei) who wrought this misery, and though the last-born he is considered the elder;—his falsity is of long standing." Ac-

cordingly he degraded him, and appointed Kung-yen to be his eldest son and heir.'

Par. 3. Kuh-l'ang says here:—'Ke-sun E-joo, said, "Shuh has died without any illness. This is [another proof of] why we are without the duke. It is by the will of Heaven, and not from any offence of mine." His glossarist Fan Ning observes that Shuh E had wished to bring the duke back. Of this Tso-she says nothing, nor of E's dying without any apparent cause.

Par. 4. [The Chuen appends here a long narrative on the subject of dragons:—'In autumn, a dragon appeared in the suburbs of K'ang, on which Wei H'een-tsze asked Ts'ae Mih [the grand historiographer], saying, "I have heard that of all the scaly tribes the dragon in the most knowing, because it cannot be got alive. Is it true to say that it is thus knowing?" Mih replied, "This is only men's want of knowledge; it is not that the dragon is really knowing. Anciently they kept dragons, and hence there were in the kingdom the families of Hwan-lung, (Dragon-rearer) and Yu-lung (Dragon-ruler)." H'een-tsze said, "I have heard myself of those two families, but do not know their history;—what is the meaning of their names?" [The historiographer] replied, "Formerly, there was Shuh-gan of L'ew, who had a distant descendant called Tung-foo, very fond of dragons, and able to find out their tastes and likings, so as to supply them with meat and drink. Many dragons came to him, and he, according to their nature, reared them in the service of the emperor Shun, who gave him the surname of Tung, and the clan-name of Hwan-lung. He was [also] invested with [the principality of] Tsung-ch'uen, and the family of Tsung-e is of his posterity. Thus in the time of the emperor Shun, and for generations after, dragons were reared.

"We come [then] to K'ung-k'eah of the H'ea dynasty, who was [so] obedient and acceptable to God, that God gave him teams of dragons; two from the Ho and two from the Han.—in pairs, male and female. K'ung-k'eah could not feed them, and no members of the Hwan-lung family were to be found. But amid the remains of the family of Ts'au-t'ang (Yaou) was a descendant called L'ew Luy, who had learned the art of rearing dragons from the family of Hwan-lung. With this he undertook to serve K'ung-k'eah, and was able to feed the dragons. The sovereign esteemed his service, gave him the clan-name of Yu-lung, and appointed him to the place of the descendants of Ch'e-wei (See on IX. xxiv. 1). One of the female dragons died, and he secretly preserved it as minced meat in brine, supplying with it the table of the sovereign of H'ea, who enjoyed it, and required him to find others [for the same use]. On this L'ew Luy was afraid, and removed to Loo-h'een. The family of Fan is descended from him."

H'een-tsze said, "What is the reason that there are none now?" Mih replied, "Every kind of creatures must have its own officers, who carefully attend to the laws of its nature, morning and evening thinking of them, and who, if for a single day they fail in their duties, should be liable to death, lose their offices, and have no support. When the officers rest in the performance of their appointed duties, the creatures come to them [abundantly]. If they neglect and abandon those duties, the creatures cease to appear, and lie concealed;—their pro-

duction is restrained and stopped. In this way there were the officers of the five elementary principles, who were called the five officers, received their several clan-names and surnames, and were appointed dukes of the highest rank. They were sacrificed to, [after death], as Spirits, and received honour and offerings, at the altars of the land and grain, and at the five [regular] sacrifices. The chief officer of wood was called Kow-mang; of fire, Chuh-yung; of metal, Juh-show; of water, Heuen-ming; of earth, How-t'oo. The dragon is a creature of the water; there is no longer an officer of the water; and therefore it is not got alive. If this be denied, [consider] what we have in the Yih of Chow. In the case of the diagram K'een (☵), on the line which appears

changed in K'ow (☵), we have, 'The dragon lies hid in the water; it is not the time for active employment;' on that which is changed in T'ung-jin (☲), 'The dragon appears in the fields;' on that which is changed in Ta-y'ew (☳), 'Flies the dragon in the heavens;' and on that which is changed in K'wae (☴), 'The dragon goes too far. There will be reason for repentance;' and where all its lines would be as in K'w'än (☶), 'There appear all the dragons without a Head. It is fortunate.' Then in the case of K'w'än, on that line which is changed in Poh (☷), we have, 'The dragons fight in the wilderness.' If the dragon had not constantly—morning and evening—appeared, who could have thus described it?" H'een-tsze asked, "What were the families of the five officers, sacrificed to at the altars of the land and grain, and of the five Spirits of the elementary substances?" Mih again replied, "In the time of Shaou-hau, there were four men, called Ch'ung, Kae, S'ew, and He, able to regulate [the kingdoms of] metal, wood, and water. Ch'ung was made Kow-mang; Kae, Juh-show; and S'ew and He, Heuen-ming. For ages those families did not fail in their duties, but completed the merit of K'ung-sang (Shaou-hau). These shared in three of the sacrifices. Chuen-h'eh had a son called Le, who became the Chuh-yung. Kung-kung had a son called Kow-lung, who became the How-t'oo. These shared in two of the sacrifices. How-t'oo was sacrificed to at the altar of the land; at that of the Spirit of the grain, the director of Agriculture. A son of L'een-shan was called Ch'oo, and he shared in this sacrifice. During the H'ea dynasty and previously they sacrificed to him. K'e, the ancestor of Chow, was also director of Agriculture. From the Shang dynasty downwards, they have sacrificed to him."

Par. 5. This event put the climax to the duke's misery and destitution. Henceforth he had no foot-hold in Loo. 潰,—see on VI. iii. 1. The people, no doubt, found the residence of the duke and his followers in the city to be both troublesome and burdensome. They dispersed, therefore, and left his followers the sole occupants of it. The duke himself was at this time in Kan-how.



[We have here another narrative about affairs in Tsin:—In winter, Chaou Yang and Seuen Yin of Tsin led a force, and walled Joo-pin, after which they laid upon the [districts of the] State a contribution of a *koo* (=480 catties) of iron; in order to cast penal tripods, on which they inscribed the penal laws prepared by Fan Seuen-tsze.]

‘Chung-ne said, “Tsin is going to ruin! It has lost its [proper] rules [of administration]. Tsin ought to keep the laws and rules which T'ang-shuh received for the regulation of his people. If the ministers and great officers would keep them in their several positions, the people would be able to honour their higher classes, and those higher classes would be able to preserve their inheritances. There would be nothing wrong with the noble or the mean. We should have what might be called the [proper] rules. For this purpose duke Wan made his officers of different degrees, and formed the laws of P'e-leu (See on V. xxvii. 5), thus becoming lord of covenants. When those rules are now abandoned, and tripods with the penal

laws on them are formed instead, the people will study the tripods, and not care to honour their men of rank. But when there is no distinction of noble and mean, how can a State continue to exist? Moreover, the penal laws of Seuen-tsze are those adopted at the review in E (See the Chuen at the beginning of VI. vi.),—the enactments which led to the disorder of Tsin; how can they be made its laws?” The historiographer Ts'ae Mii said, “The families of Fan and Chung-hang are in danger of perishing. Chung-hang Yin (*i. q.* Seun Yin) is an inferior minister, and yet he intrudes into the duties of a higher rank, presuming to make these articles with the penal statutes, to form the laws of the State. This is giving an example of lawlessness; and moreover he involves the Fan family, and will ruin it by the change he is making. Wherein the Chaou family is concerned, Chaou-mang indeed has been a party to this, but he could not help it. If he cultivate his virtue, he may escape [the fate of Yin].”

Compare with the remarks attributed here to Confucius the narrative appended to VI. 2.]

### Thirtieth year.

三十年春王正月公在乾侯。夏六月庚辰，晉侯去疾卒。秋八月，葬晉頃公。冬十有二月，吳滅徐。徐子章禹奔楚。

左傳曰：三十年春，王正月，公在乾侯。不先書郕與乾侯，非公且微過也。夏六月，晉頃公卒。秋八月，葬游吉。且送葬，魏獻子使士景伯詰之曰：悼公之喪，子西弔，子蟠送葬，今吾子無貳，何故對曰：諸侯所以歸晉君禮也。禮也者，小事大，大字小之謂事大。在共其時命，字小在恤其所無，以敝邑居大國之間，共其職貢，與其備御不虞之患，豈忘其命先王之制，諸侯之喪，士弔，大夫送葬，唯嘉好聘享三軍之事，於是乎使卿，晉之喪事，敝邑之閒，先君有所助執紼矣，若其不閒雖士大夫，有所不獲數矣，大國之惠，亦慶其加，而不討其乏，明底其情，取備而已，以為禮也。靈王之喪，我先君簡公在楚，我先大夫印段實往，敝邑之少卿也，王吏不討恤所無也，今大夫曰：安盍從舊，舊有豐有省，不知所從，從

其豐，則寡君幼弱，是以不共，從其省，則吉在此矣，唯大夫圖之。晉人不能詰。吳子使徐人執掩餘，使鍾吾人執燭庸。二公子奔楚。楚子大封而定其徙，使監馬尹大心、逆吳公子，使居養。莠尹然、左司馬沈尹戌、城之，取於城父與胡田，以與之，將以害吳也。子西諫曰：吳光新得國，而親其民，視民如子，辛苦同之，將用之也。若好吾邊疆，使柔服焉，猶懼其至，吾又彊其讐，以重怒之，無乃不可乎？吳、周之冑裔也，而棄在海濱，不與姬通，今而始大，比於諸華，光又甚文，將自同於先王，不知天將以為虐乎？使翦喪吳國，而封大異姓乎？其抑亦將卒以祚吳乎？其終不遠矣。我盍姑億吾鬼神，而寧吾族姓，以待其歸，將焉用自播揚焉？王弗聽。吳子怒，冬十二月，吳子執鍾吾子，遂伐徐，防山以水之。己卯，滅徐。徐子章禹斷其髮，攜其夫人，以逆吳子。吳子唁而送之，使其邇臣從之，遂奔楚。楚沈尹戌帥師救徐，弗及，遂城夷，使徐子處之。吳子問於伍員曰：初而言伐楚，余知其可也，而恐其使余往也，又惡人之有余之功也。今余將自有之矣，伐楚何如？對曰：楚執政衆而乖，莫適任患，若為三師以肆焉，一師至，彼必皆出，彼出則歸，彼歸則出，楚必道敝，亟肄以罷之，多方以誤之，既罷而後以三軍繼之，必大克之。闔廬從之，楚於是乎始病。

- XXX. 1 In his thirtieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how.  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, K'eu-tsih, marquis of Tsin, died.  
3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke K'ing of Tsin.  
4 In winter, in the twelfth month, Woo extinguished Seu, and Chang-yu, viscount of Seu, fled to Ts'oo.

Par. 1 The duke had gone, the previous spring, to Kan-how, and, we may suppose, had remained there. It was of no use for him to think now of returning to Yun, as that city had been abandoned by the inhabitants. The 在 in the text, instead of the 居 in XXVII. 1 *et al.*, is accounted for by the fact that Yun was in Loo, a city belonging to the duke, in which circumstances obliged him for a time to take up his residence, whereas he could only be described as 'being in K'an-how,' which belonged to another State. But is there anything more,

any judgment of Confucius, indicated by the record, 公在乾侯, repeated as it is at the commencement of the two next years? Dukes of Loo had more than once, on previous occasions during the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew, been absent from their capitals at the beginning of the year, but once only does the text record the fact, in the 公在楚 of IX. xxix. 1. See the notes there. The critics are divided on the question. Too Yu (Trying to explain Ts'o's language here, which the K'ang-he editors do not give, and which I have tried in vain to under-

stand) finds in the language the expression of condemnation,—indicating that the duke was an exile, through his own misconduct, and obstinacy in rejecting the counsels of Tsze-k'ea; and this view is strongly advocated by Maou Se-ho. L'ew Ch'ang and others see in the language the expression of the sage's sympathy with the duke. Loo had cast him out, but the sage would thus keep Loo in mind of him (所以存公), and show his own opinion that the duke was still the only ruler of the State. It is sufficient for the student to be content with the fact as it is recorded.

Par. 2, 3. The funeral of the marquis took place earlier than it should have done, according to the rule prescribed for such a ceremony. That the duke, though in Ts'in, took no action on the occasion, shows that his residence in that State was barely permitted.

The Chuen says:—“Y'ew Keih of Ch'ing went to Ts'in to offer the condolences of his State, and to accompany the funeral. Wei H'een-tze sent Sze King-pih to question him, saying, “On the death of duke Taou, Tsze-se came with condolences, and Tsze-k'eaou attended the funeral (See the 1st narrative of the Chuen after IX. xv. 7); what is the reason that you, Sir, have no second commissioner with you?” Keih replied, “The reason why the States acknowledge the supremacy of the ruler of Ts'in lies in the rules of propriety, by which are [here] to be understood the service of a great State by a small one, and the cherishing of the small State by the great one. The service appears in obedience to the commands which are given from time to time; the cherishing, in the great State's compassion for the other's wants or inabilities. In consequence of the situation of our poor State between great States, we perform our duties and render our contributions. If we have unhappily not been able [at any time] to present our contribution against unforeseen evils, it was not because we presumed to forget your commands.”

The rule of the ancient kings was, that, on the death of the prince of a State, a simple officer should be sent from other States to express their condolences, and a great officer to attend the funeral. Only on occasions of marriage, friendly alliances, complimentary missions, and offerings, was a minister to be sent. On occasions of death among the rulers of Ts'in, when there was leisure in our poor State, our former rulers have at times assisted, and held the traces of the bier. If there was no leisure [from existing affairs], even an officer and great officer have not been sent as the letter of the rule required. Your great State approved, in its kindness, where our observances exceeded, and did not condemn where they were deficient, entering intelligently into the circumstances of our condition, and accepting what we were able to do, as a compliance with propriety. On the death of king Ling (In the 29th year of duke S'ang), our ruler was in Ts'oo, and our great officer Yin T'wan went to the capital. He was but a junior minister of our State, but the king's officers threatened no punishment;—they pitied our not having the means to do otherwise. Now, Sir great officer, you ask why we have not followed the old fashion. The old fashion went sometimes beyond the rule, and sometimes fell short of it. I do not know which old fashion we ought to have followed. If you say that

which went beyond the rule, our ruler is too young to have observed it. If you say that which fell short of the rule, then I am here. Do you consider the matter?”

“The people of Ts'in could not question him any further.”

Par. 4. Kung-yang has 禹 for 羽. The Chuen says:—“The viscount of Woo required the people of Seu to seize Yen-yu, and the people of Chung-woo to seize Chuh-yung (See the Chuen on XXVII. 1), on which those two Kung-tszes fled to Ts'oo. The viscount of that State made them a large grant of land, and determined where they should remove to, making Ta-sin, the inspector of [the king's] horses, meet them and conduct them to Yang as their residence. Jen the Y'ew-director, and Seuh commandant of Shin, the marshal of the Left, walled that city, and annexed to it part of the lands of Shing-foo and Hoo. This was done with the intention of injuring Woo; but Tsze-se remonstrated, saying, “Kwang of Woo has lately got that State, and is showing affection to his people. He regards them as his sons, and shares in all their sufferings;—it must be with the intention of using them. If we were to cultivate good relations with the borders of Woo, and make them submit to our gentleness, we should have reason to fear that State's attacking us; but we go and give territory to its enemies, and thereby increase its anger;—this surely is improper. Woo is connected by a long descent with the House of Chow; but lying apart along the sea, it has not had intercourse with the other Ke States. Now, however, it has begun to be great, and may be compared with one of the States of the kingdom. Kwang also is very accomplished, and will wish to pursue a similar course to the former kings. We do not know whether Heaven will make him the object of its wrath, causing him to clip and ruin the State of Woo, and aggrandize with it some other surname, or whether it will in the end make him the instrument of blessing Woo. The result will not be distant; why should we not meanwhile allow our Spirits to be quiet, and our people to rest in peace, till we see how the scale turns? Why should we ourselves commence a toilsome struggle?” The king would not listen to this advice; and the viscount of Woo, enraged [with the course of Ts'oo], in the 12th month seized the viscount of Chung-woo, and then went on to invade Seu. He raised embankments on the hills so as to lay the capital under water, and on Ke-maou he extinguished the State. Chang-yu, the viscount of Seu, cut off his hair, and went forth, with his wife, to meet his enemy, who consoled with him and sent him away, making his most intimate officers follow him; on which he fled to Ts'oo. Seuh, commandant of Shin, was leading a force to relieve Seu, but he did not arrive in time; so he walled E and assigned it to the viscount of Seu for a residence. The viscount of Woo asked Woo Yun, saying, “When you spoke formerly of invading Ts'oo, I knew the advisableness of such a measure (See XX. the 2d narr. at the beginning). But I was afraid the king would send myself, and I disliked another man's receiving the merit of my exploits. Now it will be my own;—what do you say to attacking Ts'oo?” Yun replied, “The govt. of Ts'oo is in the hands of many, who are

at variance among themselves, and not one of them could bear the burden of calamity. If we form three armies to harass it, when one of them approaches, all the forces of Ts'oo will turn out. Let it then retire; and when they retire let us advance again. Ts'oo will thus be weary with

marching; and when we have thus repeatedly harassed and worn it out, leading it wrong also in many ways, if we follow up our plan with all our three armies, we are sure to make a great conquest.” Hoh-leu followed this counsel, and Ts'oo thus began to be distressed.

Thirty-first year.

三十有一年春王正月公在乾侯。季孫意如會晉荀躒于適。夏四月丁巳薛伯穀卒。晉侯使荀躒唁公于乾侯。秋葬薛獻公。冬黑肱以濫來奔。十有二月辛亥朔日有食之。

左傳曰三十一年春王正月公在乾侯言不能外內也。晉侯將以師納公范獻子曰若召季孫而前來則信不臣矣然後伐之若何晉人召季孫獻子使私焉曰子來我受其無咎季孫意如會晉荀躒于適歷荀躒曰寡君使躒謂吾子何故出君有君不事周有常刑子其圖之季孫練冠麻衣跣行伏而對曰事君臣之所不得也敢逃刑命君若以臣爲有罪請囚於費以待君之察也亦唯君若以先臣之故不絕季氏而賜之死若弗殺弗亡君之惠也死且不朽若得從君而歸則固臣之願也敢有異心。薛伯穀卒同盟故書。夏四月季孫從知伯如乾侯子家子曰君與之歸一慙之不忍而終身慙乎公曰諾衆曰在一言矣君必逐之荀躒以晉侯之命唁公且曰寡君使躒以君命討於意如意如不敢

逃死。君其入也。公曰：君惠顧先君之好，施及亡人，將使歸葬，除宗祧以事君，則不能見夫人。己所能見夫人者，有如河荀躒掩耳而走曰：寡君其罪之恐，敢與知魯國之難，臣請復於寡君。退而謂季孫，君怒未怠，子姑歸祭。子家子曰：君以一乘入於魯師，季孫必與君歸。公欲從之，衆從者脅公不得歸。

○秋，吳人侵楚，伐夷，侵潛，六。楚沈尹戌帥師救潛，吳師還。楚師遷潛於南岡，而還。吳師圍弦，左司馬戌，右司馬稽，帥師救弦。及豫章，吳師還。始用子胥之謀也。冬，邾黑肱以濫來奔。賤而書名，重地故也。君子曰：名之不可不慎也。如是夫。有所有名，而不如其已，以地叛，雖賤必書。地以名其人，終爲不義，弗可滅已。是故君子動則思禮，行則思義，不爲利回，不爲義疚，或求名而不得，或欲蓋而名章，懲不義也。齊豹爲衛司寇，守嗣大夫，作而不義，其書爲盜，邾庶其，莒牟夷，邾黑肱，以土地出，求食而已，不求其名，賤而必書。此二物者，所以懲肆而去貪也。若艱難其身，以險危大人，而有名章，徹攻難之士，將奔走之。若竊邑叛君，以微大利而無名，貪冒之民，將實力焉。是以春秋書齊豹曰盜，三叛人名，以懲不義，數惡無禮，其善志也。故曰：春秋之稱，微而顯，婉而辨，上之人能使昭明，善人勸焉，淫人懼焉。是以君子貴之。

十二月，辛亥朔，日有食之。是夜也，趙簡子夢童子羸而轉以歌。旦，占諸史墨，曰：吾夢如是，今而日食，何也？對曰：六年及此月也，吳其入郢乎？終亦弗克。入郢必以庚辰，日月在辰尾。庚午之日，日始有謫，火勝金，故弗克。

- XXXI. 1 In his thirty-first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how.
- 2 Kē-sun E-joo, had a meeting with Sēun Leih of Tsin in Teih-leih.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-sze, Kuh, earl of Sēeh, died.
- 4 The marquis of Tsin sent Sēun Leih to condole with the duke in Kan-how.
- 5 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hēen of Sēeh.
- 6 In winter Hih-kwāng came a fugitive to Loo with [the city of] Lan.
- 7 In the twelfth month, on Sin-hac, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

Par. 1. See on the 1st par. of last year. Tso-she observes here that the record 'indicates the duke's incompetency both in Loo and abroad.' His own subjects would not have him in Loo, and neither Ts'e nor Tsin would afford him effectual succour.

Par. 2. We have here and in par. 4 an account of negotiations which might have ended in the restoration of the duke to Loo, but for the obstinacy of him and his followers. Duke King of Tsin had been succeeded by his son Woo (午),—duke Ting,—who was anxious to signalize his accession by such an exercise of his influence. Kung-yang, here and afterwards, has 櫟 for 歷. Teih-leih was a city of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Tsin proposed sending an army to restore the duke, but Fan Hēen-tsze said to him, "If you summon Ke-sun and he do not come, it will be evident that he is a traitor to his ruler. What do you say to attacking him after [he has refused to come]?"' [Accordingly], the people of Tsin summoned Ke-sun to their State, and Hēen-tsze privately sent word to him to be sure to come, saying that he would undertake that he should not suffer anything. When they met as described in the text, Seun Leih said, "My ruler has charged me to say to you, 'Why have you expelled your ruler?' Chow has a regular punishment for him who has a ruler and does not serve him.' Do you consider the case." Ke-sun, who had on a cap of white silk, wore clothes of sackcloth, and was barefoot, prostrated himself, and replied, "I have not found it in my power to serve my ruler, and I will not presume to flee from the punishment which he may order. If he considers that I am chargeable with guilt, let me be confined in Pe to await the result of his investigation; and then let it be with me as he shall determine. If out of regard to my fathers, he do not entirely cut off the family of Ke, but appoint [only] me to die, or if he do not put me to death, or send me into exile, it will be his kindness, which till death even I will not forget. But if I am allowed to follow him, and return to Loo, this is what I desire. Should I dare to have any other thought?"'

Par. 3. Tso-she observes here that we have this record, because the earl of Sēeh and the duke had covenanted together; and to illustrate his meaning, Too says that this is the first time that the name of an earl of Sēeh has appeared in the text, and Tso-she thought it necessary to assign the reason for it. Other canons, however, account for the occurrence of the name here differently.

Par. 4. This is the sequel of par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 4th month, Ke-sun followed Che Pih (Sēun Leih) to Kan-how, when Tsze-kē-tsze said [to the duke], "Let your lordship return with him. If you cannot bear the shame of [a day], how can you bear that of your whole life?"' The duke assented, but all [the rest of his followers] said, "It all lies in a single word. You must [get Tsin to] expel him."

'Seun Leih expressed to the duke the condolences of the marquis of Tsin, and said, "My ruler charged me, in accordance with your lordship's orders, to reprove E-joo. He does not presume to flee from [a sentence of] death. You can [now] enter Loo." The duke said,

"Through the kindness of your ruler, having regard to the friendship between our predecessors, and extended to me a fugitive, I will return, and cleanse and set in order my ancestral temple to do service to him, but I cannot see that man. I swear by the Ho that I will not see him." Seun Leih covered his ears, and ran away, saying, "My ruler feared that this would be his offence. He dare not take any further knowledge of the troubles of Loo. I will report to him what has occurred." He then retired, and said to Ke-sun, "Your ruler's anger is not yet abated. Do you return for the present, and offer the sacrifices." Tsze-kē-tsze urged the duke to enter among the troops of Loo with a single chariot, assuring him that Ke-sun would in that case return to Loo with him; and he wished to do so, but all the [other] followers put such a constraint upon him that he could not return."

Kuh-lēang gives a different account of this affair. Acc. to Tso-she's account, there is a difficulty with the 言. If the way was now open for the duke's return to Loo, there was occasion for congratulation rather than condolence. Acc. to Kuh-lēang, Seun Leih was sent to condole with the duke that he could not enter Loo, and to say, 'I have spoken about it in your behalf, but E-joo refused.' The K'ang-he editors seem to admit both accounts, or to think at least that Kuh-lēang gives the truth, which is veiled under the speeches in Tso-she.

Par. 5. [The Chuen here continues the narrative at the end of last year:—'In autumn, a body of men from Woo made a stealthy inroad into Ts'oo, attacked E, and overran the country about Ts'een and Luh. Sēuh, commandant of Shin, led a force to relieve Ts'een, on which the troops of Woo retired. Those of Ts'oo did the same, after removing the people of Ts'een to Nan-kang.

'A force from Woo [then] laid siege to Hēen; and Sēuh and K'e, marshals of the Left and the Right, led troops to relieve it; and when they had got to Yu-chang, the Woo-ites retired. In this way Woo began to use the plan of Tsze-seu (Woo Yun).']

Par. 6. Kung-yang has 弓 for 肱. There should be a 朱 before 黑, but it was inadvertently omitted by the historiographers, or, which is more likely, has dropped out of the text. Lan was a city of Choo,—in the south-east of the pres. dis. of T'ang (滕), dep. Yen-chow.

The Chuen says:—'The fugitive was of low rank, but his name is given, importance being attached to the [fact of his surrendering] territory (See on V. 4). The superior man will say, "The care which is to be exercised in the case of the name appears here. [Hih-kwāng] had this territory, and so he has his name [recorded], though it would have been better for him that it had not been so. Revolving with the territory, although he was of low rank, it was necessary to mention the territory, and thence to name the man, so that in the end his doing what was not righteous could not be obliterated; therefore the superior man is anxious that his movements should be in accordance with propriety, and his conduct with righteousness. He does not take a crooked course for gain, nor does he

think the doing of righteousness a distress. Some seek to have their name [famous], and cannot get it; some wish to have their name concealed, and it is displayed [instead];—it is a warning against unrighteousness. Ts'e P'au was Wei's minister of Crime, a great officer by inheritance, but he did what was unrighteous, and is recorded as 'a ruffian' (See XX. 3). Shoo-k'e of Choo (IX. xxi. 2), Mow-e of Keu (V. 4), and Hih-kwang of Choo, left their States, carrying their lands with them. Their object was simply to seek for their support, not to have their names famous; but though their rank was low, it was necessary to give their names. These two cases serve as a warning against an unbridled temper, and a stigma upon covetousness. As to those who in their own persons attempt difficult enterprises to imperil great men, if their names were distinguished, men who are fond of hazardous undertakings would hurry to follow them. As to those who filch cities and revolt from their rulers, thinking they may, perchance, get great gain, if they were left unnamed, covetous and audacious men would more strongly attempt the same thing. Thence it is that the Ch'un Ts'ew mentions Ts'e P'au simply as 'a ruffian,' and gives the names of those three revolters, as

a warning to unrighteousness;—the excellent design of its style is [thus] to point out wickedness and the want of propriety. Hence it is said, 'The style of the Ch'un-Ts'ew, in speaking of men, is quiet but perspicuous, gentle but discriminating.' Men of high rank can make themselves illustrious; good men are encouraged, and bad men are made afraid. Therefore the superior man highly esteems it."

Par. 7. This eclipse occurred in the forenoon of Nov. 7th, B.C. 510.

The Chuen says:—"The night [before this eclipse], Chaou K'een-tsze dreamt that there was a boy naked, and singing in a prolonged tone of voice. In the morning, he asked the historiographer Mih to divine about it, saying, 'I had this dream, and now the sun is eclipsed; what can the meaning be?' Mih replied, 'Six years from this, in this month, Woo will enter Ying. But in the end it will not be successful. The day of its entering Ying will be K'ang-shin. The sun and moon are in Wei of [Ta-] shin (See on XVII. 5), but K'ang-woo was that in which the change in the sun's appearance appeared. Fire overcomes metal; therefore Woo will not succeed.'"

Thirty-second year.

三十有二年春王正月公  
在乾侯取闕  
夏吳伐越  
秋七月  
冬仲孫何忌會晉韓不信  
齊高張宋仲幾衛世叔申  
鄭國參曹人莒人薛人杞  
人小邾人城成周  
十有二月己未公薨于乾  
侯

左傳曰三十  
二年春王正  
月公在乾侯  
言不能外內  
又不能用其  
人也  
夏吳伐越始  
用師於越也  
史墨曰不及  
四十年越其  
有吳乎越得  
歲而吳伐之  
必受其凶  
秋八月王使  
富辛與石張  
如晉請城成  
周天子曰天  
降禍於周俾

我兄弟竝有亂心，以爲伯父憂，我一二親昵甥舅，不皇啟處，於今十年，勤成五年，余一人無日忘之，閱閱焉如農夫之望歲，懼以待時，伯父若肆大惠，復二文之業，弛周室之憂，徵文武之福，以固盟主，宣昭令名，則余一人有大願矣。昔成王合諸侯城成周，以爲東都，崇文德焉。今我欲徵福假靈於成王，修成周之城，俾成人無勤，諸侯用寧，發賊遠屏，晉之力也。其委諸伯父，使伯父實重圖之。俾我一人無徵怨於百姓，而伯父有榮施，先王庸之。范獻子謂魏獻子曰：與其成周，不如城之。天子實云：雖有後事，晉勿與知可也。從王命以紓諸侯，晉國無憂，是之不務，而又焉從事？魏獻子曰：善。使伯音對曰：天子有命，敢不奉承，以奔告於諸侯。遲速衰序，於是焉在。冬十一月，晉魏舒、韓不信、如京師，合諸侯之大夫於狄泉，尋盟，且令城成周。魏子南面，衛彪傒曰：魏子必有大咎，千位以令大事，非其任也。詩曰：敬天之怒，不敢戲豫。敬天之渝，不敢馳驅。況敢千位以作大事乎？己丑，士彌牟營成周，計丈數，揣高卑，度厚薄，仞溝洫，物土方，議遠邇，量事期，計徒庸，慮財用，書餼糧，以令役於諸侯，屬役賦丈，書以授帥，而效諸劉子。韓簡子臨之，以爲成命。十二月，公疾，偏賜大夫，大夫不受，賜子家子雙琥一環，一璧，輕服，受之。大夫皆受其賜。己未，公薨。子家子反賜於府人曰：吾不敢逆君命也。大夫皆反其賜。書曰：公薨于乾侯，言失其所也。趙簡子問於史墨曰：季氏出其君，而民服焉，諸侯與之，君死於外，而莫之或罪也。對曰：物生有兩，有三有五，有陪貳，故天有三辰，地有五行，體有左右，各有妃耦。王有公，諸侯有卿，皆有貳也。天生季氏，以貳魯侯，爲日久矣。民之服焉，不亦宜乎？魯君世從其失，季氏世修其勤，民忘君矣，雖死於外，其誰矜之？社稷無常奉，君臣無常位，自古以然。故詩曰：高岸爲谷，深谷爲陵。三后之姓，於今爲庶，主所知也。在易卦，雷乘乾曰大壯，天之道也。昔成季友，桓之季也，文姜之愛子也，始震而卜，卜人謁之曰：生有嘉聞，其名曰友，爲公室輔。及生，如卜人之言，有文在其手曰友，遂以名之。既而有大功於魯，受費以爲上卿，至於文子、武子，世增其業，不廢舊績。魯文公薨，而東門遂殺適立庶魯君，於是乎失國。



假人。不可以器爲國。何以不知公君氏。政在季。

- XXXII. 1 In his thirty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how. He took K'an.  
 2 In summer, Woo invaded Yueh.  
 3 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
 4 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke joined Han Puh-sin of Tsin, Kaou Chang of Ts'e, Chung Ke of Sung, She-shuh Shin of Wei, Kwoh Ts'an of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aou, Keu, Sëeh, K'e, and Little Choo, in walling Ch'ing-chow.  
 5 In the twelfth month, on Ke-we, the duke died in Kan-how.

Par. 1. K'an,—see II. xi. 9. Tso repeats on this par. his remark on the first of last year, with the addition that it shows also how the duke could not use his friends,—referring to his repeated neglect of the counsels of Tsze-këa. He says nothing of the duke's capture of K'an. Kung-yang erroneously says it was a city of Choo, but this is inconsistent with what we read of it in the Chuen on XI. i. 4. The questions of how and why the duke took it must be left unanswered.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—“This was the first instance of a [regular] expedition on the part of Woo against Yueh. The historiographer Mih said, “In less than 40 years Yueh is likely to have possession of Woo! The year-star is now in Yueh's quarter of the heavens, and Woo, invading that State, is sure to experience an evil influence from it.”

Par. 4. Kuh-lëang has 太叔 for 世叔, and after 莒人 he has 邾人, where Kung-yang also has 邾婁人.

The Chuen says:—“In autumn, in the 8th month, the king sent Foo Sin and Shih Chang to Tsin, to ask that Ch'ing-chow might be walled. The son of Heaven said, “Heaven sent down calamity on Chow, and made my brothers all have a feeling of insubordination, to the grief of you my uncle. You princes of my own surname, and those of other surnames, have not dwelt in quiet, [because of my troubles], now for ten years, and for five you have had the labour of guarding my territory. There is not a day in which I, the one man, forget your service. My grief is like that of the husbandman, who is looking for a good year [after one of scarcity], and trembling waits for the [coming] season. If you, my uncle, will extend your great kindness, and repeat the service of [your ancestors], the two Wän, by removing the sorrow of the House of Chow, thereby getting the blessing of Wän and Woo, to establish your position as lord of covenants, and publish abroad your good name, then I, the one man, will have got what I greatly wish. Formerly king Ch'ing assembled the princes, and fortified Ch'ing-chow, that it might be the eastern capital [of the

kingdom];—thus honouring the virtue of [king] Wän. Now I wish, by the blessing and powerful influence of king Ch'ing, to repair the walls of Ch'ing-chow, that my guards may be relieved of their toil, that the States may be able to rest, that the evils which prey on us like insects may be removed far away;—and this is to be done by the strength of Tsin. I lay it upon you, my uncle, that you may take it into serious consideration, and thus I, the one man, will not excite [any longer] the dissatisfaction of the people, and you will have the glory of the beneficence, which [the Spirits of] my predecessors will reckon to be your merit.

Fan Hëen-tsze said to Wei Hëen-tsze, “It is better to wall the city than to keep on guarding Chow,—as the son of Heaven has said. If there be any future troubles, Tsin need not take any knowledge of them. By following the king's orders, we shall give relief to the States, and Tsin will be freed from a cause of anxiety;—if we do not earnestly address ourselves to this, in what other thing should we engage?” Wei Hëen-tsze approved, and sent Pih-yin to reply, “We dare not but receive with reverence the orders of the son of Heaven, and will at once send instructions to the various States. How early or how late and in what order [the work is to be done], shall be as you prescribe.”

“In winter, in the 11th month, Wei Shoo and Han Puh-sin went to the capital, and assembled the great officers of the [various] States in Teih-ts'euén, where they renewed the [existing] covenant, and gave orders for the walling of Ch'ing-chow. [On this occasion] Wei-tsze took a position with his face to the south (As if he had been a ruler giving audience), which made Pëw He of Wei say, “Wei-tsze is sure to meet with [some] great calamity. To arrogate such a place, and there give orders for our great undertaking, does not belong to his office. The ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 8) says:—

‘Revere the anger of Heaven,  
 And presume not to be mocking and self-complacent.  
 Revere the changing moods of Heaven,  
 And presume not to be gadding about;’

how much less should one arrogate a place [that is not his], to carry out a great undertaking.”

“On Ke-ch'ow, Sze Me-mow surveyed Ch'ing-chow, and calculated the height and thickness of the wall [that had to be built], measured the depth of the moats and ditches, determined the situation of the ground, estimated the distance of the parts [from one another], reckoned the time for the work and the number of the workmen, made provision for the materials, and wrote down the amount of provisions, in order to assign their services to the different States, with the quantity of work to be done by their men. He gave his specifications to the officers [of the different States], and submitted the whole to the viscount of Lëw. Han Këen-tsze undertook the superintendence of the work; and thus the [king's] command was executed.”

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—“In the 12th month, the duke was ill, and gave gifts to his great officers all round, which they would not receive. Tsze-këa-tsze, however, received what were presented to him,—a piece of jade with two tigers cut upon it, a ring, and a *peih*; on which all the others accepted their gifts. On Ke-we, the duke died, and Tsze-këa-tsze returned the gifts to the treasurer, saying, “[I took them because] I did not dare to oppose the ruler's order.” All the others did the same. The style of the text, that “the duke died in Kan-how,” shows how he was not in the proper place for such an event.

“Chaou Këen-tsze asked the historiographer Mih, saying, “Ke-she expelled his ruler, and the people submitted to him, and the States assented to his act. His ruler has died out of Loo, and no one incriminates him.” Mih replied, “Things are produced in twos, in threes in fives,—in pairs. Hence in the heavens there are the three *Shin*; in earth there are the five elementary substances; the body has the left [side] and the right, and every one has his mate or double. Kings have their dukes, and princes have their ministers who are their doubles. Heaven produced the Ke family to be the double of the marquis of Loo, as has been the case for long. Is it not right that the people should submit in this case? The rulers of Loo have, one after another, lost their power, and the Heads of the Ke family have, one after another, diligently improved their position. The people have forgotten their ruler, and, though he has [now] died abroad, who pities him? The

[same] altars are not always maintained in a State; rulers and ministers do not always retain their [different] positions; from of old it has been so. Hence the ode (II. iv. ode IX. 3) says,

‘High banks become valleys,  
 Deep valleys become heights.’

The surnames of the sovereigns of the three [previous dynasties] are now borne by men among the people,—as you know. Among the diagrams of the Yih there is Ta-chw'ang (大壯, ䷡), where we have the [trigram of] thunder mounted upon that of heaven;—thus showing the way of Heaven. Ch'ing Ke-yëw was the youngest son of duke Hwan, the beloved son of Wän Këang. When she first felt that she was pregnant, she consulted the tortoise-shell, and the diviner told her that she would have a son of admirable character and famous, that his name would be Yëw, and that he would be a help to the ducal House (Comp. the narrative appended to IV. ii. 5). When the child was born, as the diviner had said, there was the character Yëw (友) on his hand, by which he was named. Afterwards, he did great and good service to Loo, received Pe, and was made minister of the highest rank. His descendants Wän-tsze and Woo-tsze successively increased their patrimony, and did nothing contrary to the old services of their family. On the death of duke Wän of Loo, when Tung-mun (the Kung-tsze Suy of VI. xviii. 5, *et al.*; called also Sëang-chung) killed his proper heir, and raised the son of a concubine to the marquise, the rulers of Loo from that time lost their power, and the government was in the hands of the Ke family. The deceased was the fourth of them. When the people have ceased to know the ruler as such, how should he possess the State? Hence it appears that rulers of States should be careful of the insignia and names of rank, and should not let them be in the hands of others.”

The last eight years of duke Ch'au's life were thus spent by him as a fugitive from Loo in Ts'e and Tsin. He was evidently a man of little character or capacity; and the wonder is that Ke-sun E-joo did not take the title of marquis of Loo to himself.

## BOOK XI. DUKE TING.

First year.

## 定公

元年春王三月晉人執宋

仲幾于京師。

夏六月癸亥公之喪至自

乾侯戊辰公即位。

秋七月癸巳葬我君昭公。

九月大雩。

立煬宮。

冬十月隕霜殺菽。

左傳曰：元年春，王正月辛巳，晉魏舒合諸侯之大夫於狄泉，將以城成周。魏子泄政、衛彪偃曰：「將建天子而易位以令，非義也。」大事奸義，必有大咎。晉不失諸侯，魏子其不免乎？是行也，魏獻子屬役於韓簡子，及原壽過而田於大陸，焚焉。還卒於甯，范獻子去其柏櫛，以其未復命而田也。孟懿子會城成周，庚寅，裁宋仲幾不受功。曰：「滕、薛，則吾役也。」薛宰曰：「宋爲無道，絕我小國於周，以我適楚，故我常從宋。晉文公爲踐土之盟，曰：『凡我同盟，各復舊職。』若從踐土，若從宋，亦唯命。」仲幾曰：「踐土固然。」薛宰曰：「薛之皇祖奚仲居薛，以爲夏車正。奚仲遷於邳，仲虺居薛，以爲湯左相。若復舊職，將承王官，何故以役諸侯？」仲幾曰：「三代各異物，薛焉得有舊爲宋役，亦其職也。」士彌牟曰：「晉之從政者，新子姑受功，歸，吾視諸。」

故府仲幾曰：「縱子忘之，山川鬼神，其忘諸乎？」士伯怒，謂韓簡子曰：「薛徵於人，宋徵於鬼，宋罪大矣，且已無辭，而抑我以神，誣我也。」啟寵納侮，其此之謂矣。必以仲幾爲戮，乃執仲幾以歸。三月，歸諸京師。城三旬而畢，乃歸諸侯之戍。齊高張後，不從諸侯，晉汝叔寬曰：「周襄弘、齊高張皆將不免。」長叔違天，高子違人，天之所壞，不可支也。衆之所爲，不可奸也。

夏，叔孫成子逆公之喪於乾侯。季孫曰：「子家子亟言於我，未嘗不中吾志也。吾欲與之從政，子必止之，且聽命焉。」子家子不見叔孫，易幾而哭。叔孫請見子家子，子家子辭曰：「羈未得見，而從君以出，君不命而薨，羈不敢見。」叔孫使告之曰：「公衍，公爲，實使羈臣不得事君。若公子宋主社稷，則羈臣之願也。凡從君出，而可以入者，將唯子是聽。」子家氏未有後，季孫願與子從政，此皆季孫之願也，使不敢以告。對曰：「若立君，則有卿士大夫，與守龜在，羈弗敢知。若從君者，則貌而出者，入可也；寇而出者，行可也。若羈也，則君知其出也，而未知其入也。」羈將逃也，喪及壞隤，公子宋先入，從公者皆自壞隤反。六月癸亥，公之喪至自乾侯。戊辰，公即位。

季孫使役如闕，公氏將溝焉。榮駕鸞曰：「生不能事，死又離之，以自旌也，縱子忍之，後必或耻之。」乃止。季孫問於榮駕鸞曰：「吾欲爲君諡，使子孫知之。」對曰：「生弗能事，死又惡之，以自信也，將焉用之？」乃止。秋七月癸巳，葬昭公於墓道南。孔子之爲司寇也，溝而合諸墓。

昭公出，故季平子禱於煬公。九月，立煬宮。

周鞏簡公棄其子弟，而好用遠人。

- I. 1 In the [duke's] first year, in spring, in the king's third month, the people of Tsin seized Chung Ke of Sung in the capital.
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Kwei-hae, the coffin of duke [Ch'au] arrived from Kan-how. On Mow-shin the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, we buried our ruler, duke Ch'au.
- 4 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

- 5 We set up a temple to duke Yang.  
6 In winter, in the tenth month, there fell hoarfrost, which killed the pulse.

# TITLE OF THE BOOK.—定公, 'Duke Ting.'

As duke Ch'au's sons had been the instigators of the attack on Ke P'ing-tsze which had led to their father's expulsion from the State and his death in exile, it was not to be supposed that one of them would now be called to the marquise. P'ing-tsze was not prepared to seize the State for himself; and as some action was now necessary, in consequence of duke Ch'au's death, he agreed to the appointment of Sung (宋), a son of duke S'ang, and a younger brother of Ch'au, who had been among his followers in Ts'e and Tsin. We are not told who the mother of Sung was, but he must at this time, we may conclude, have been over 40 years of age. His honorary title denotes 'Giving rest to the people, and greatly anxious (安民大慮) 日定.'

Ting's 1st year synchronized with the 11th of king King (敬王); the 3d of Ting of Tsin (定); the 39th of King of Ts'e; the 26th of Ling of Wei (靈公); the 10th of Ch'au of Ts'ae (昭); the 5th of H'een of Ch'ing (獻公); the 1st of T'ung, duke Yin, of Ts'au (隱公通); the 21st of Hwuy of Ch'in (惠公); the 9th of Taou of K'e (悼); the 8th of King of Sung (景公); the 28th of Gae of Ts'ao (哀公); the 7th of Ch'au of Ts'oo (昭); and the 6th of Hoh-leu (閭廬) of Woo.

Par. 1. The three Chuen all make two paragraphs of this, taking the 4 characters 元年春王 as the 1st, and 三月, 云云, as the other; and the K'ang-he editors follow their example. But 元年春王 do not make sense by themselves; and to suppose that 正月 was purposely suppressed by Confucius, to mark his condemnation of all the circumstances of the time, appears to me quite unreasonable. The K'ang-he editors say:—'On the omission of 正月 after 元年, Too Yu observes that it is owing to the fact that duke Ting's accession only took place in the 6th month. Many of the critics have followed him, holding further that the suppression shows the impropriety of Ke-she's exercising the ducal prerogative of giving out the times of new moon;—and this view is altogether in accordance with the facts and reason of the case. Shao P'ao, Ch'au H'ang, and Yu Kwang, however, think the omission is owing simply to there having been nothing to record under the 1st and 2d months of this year.' I cannot hesi-

tate to accept this latter explanation; unless, indeed, as it may be, 正月 have dropped out of the text. On the whole of the paragraph, as I have printed it, the Chuen narrates:—'In spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-sze, Wei Shoo of Tsin assembled the great officers of [many of] the States in Teih-ts'eu, to proceed to the walling of Ch'ing-chow. Wei-tsze took the government of the undertaking, on which P'ew He of Wei said, "It is not right in him to take another position than his own, when we are [thus] proceeding to strengthen the [residence of the] son of Heaven. A violation of right in such a great matter is sure to be followed by great evil. If Tsin do not lose the States, Wei-tsze will probably come to an early death." Wei H'een-tsze then proceeded to entrust the service to Han K'een-tsze and Yuen Show-kwo, while he himself hunted in Ta-luh, setting fire to the coverts; and as he was returning, he died in Ning. Fan H'een-tsze refused to his body the coffin of cypress wood, because he had gone to hunt before reporting the execution of his commission.

'M'ang E-tsze [now came to] take part in the walling; and on K'ang-yin they erected the building-frames. Chung Ke of Sung, however, then declined his share of the work, saying, "T'ang, S'eh, and E must serve for us." The administrator of S'eh said, "Sung is acting contrary to what is proper, cutting off us small States from Chow. Having taken us with it to Ts'oo, we have always followed it. But when duke Wan of Tsin made the covenant of Ts'een-t'oo, it was said, "All of us covenanting States shall return to our old duties." Whether we shall follow [that covenant of] Ts'een-t'oo or follow Sung, it is [for Tsin] to say." Chung Ke said, "By that covenant even it should be as I say;" and the administrator replied, "The founder of S'eh, He-chung, dwelt in S'eh, and was master of the carriages to [the founder of the] H'ea [dynasty]. He removed to P'ei, but Chung-hwuy [again] dwelt in S'eh, and was minister of the Left to T'ang. If we were to resume our old duties, we should be officers of the king;—what cause is there that we should do service for any of the States?" Chung Ke said, "Each of the three dynasties is a different thing. How can S'eh have any older [duty] than its present? To do the service of Sung is its duty." Sze Me-mow said, "The present chief minister of Tsin is newly appointed (Fan H'een-tsze, who had taken the place of Wei Shoo). Do you (To Chung Ke) in the mean time accept the duty. When I return [to Tsin], I will look into the old archives." Chung Ke replied, "You may forget it, but will the Spirits of the hills and streams forget it?" Sze Pih was angry, and said to Han K'een-tsze, "S'eh makes its appeal to men, and Sung makes its appeal to Spirits. The offence of Sung is great. Having nothing, moreover, to say for itself, it presses us with [this appeal to] Spirits;—it is imposing on us. Its conduct is an illustration of the saying, "If you open the door to favourites, you will experience contempt from them (See the Shoo,

IV. viii. Pt. ii. 9). We must make an example of Chung Ke. Accordingly, they seized Chung Ke and carried him back [to Tsin], but in the 3d month they brought him again to the capital.

'The walling was finished in 30 days, and the guards of the different States were then sent home. Kaou Chang of Ts'e arrived late, and did not engage in the work with the other States. Joo Shuh-k'wan of Tsin said, "Neither Chang H'wang of Chow nor Kaou Chang of Ts'e will escape [an evil fate]. Chang Shuh has acted in opposition to Heaven, and Kaou-tsze in opposition to men. That which Heaven is overthrowing cannot be supported; that which all men are engaged in cannot be opposed."

[It is difficult to reconcile the second part of this Chuen with the text. The seizure of Chung Ke in the capital was the bringing of him back to it from Tsin, whither he had been carried after his seizure. On Ke-ch'ow of the 11th month of last year, Sze Me-mow made all the arrangements, and K'ang-yin was the day after that on which the work commenced; and not a day in the 1st month of this year. Sin-sze, when the meeting was held in Teih-ts'eu, was the 8th day before Ke-ch'ow.]

Parr. 2, 3. The Chuen says:—'In summer, Shuh-sun Ch'ing-tsze (The son of Shuh-sun Shay or Ch'au-tsze; his name was Puh-kan, —不敢) went to meet the coffin of the duke in Kan-how. Ke-sun had said to him, "Tsze-k'ea-tsze repeatedly spake [to the duke] about me, and always correctly expressed my views. I wish to carry on the government along with him. You must [try to] detain him, and allow him to do as he pleases." Tsze-k'ea-tsze, however, would not see Shuh-sun, and wept at a different time [from him over the coffin]; and when Shuh-sun sought an interview with him, he declined it, saying, "I had not seen you, when I followed our ruler forth, and he died without giving me any orders. I dare not [now] see you." Shuh-sun then sent to say to him, "Kung-yen and Kung-wei were the cause why we all were made unable to serve our ruler; if the Kung-tsze Sung (Duke Ting) will preside over the altars, it is what we all desire. As to all who left the State in attendance on the ruler, we will receive your instructions regarding those who may be permitted to enter it [again]. No one was appointed to be the representative of the family of Tsze-k'ea, but Ke-sun wishes to carry on the government along with you. These all are the wishes of Ke-sun, and he instructed me to inform you of them." The other replied, "As to the appointment of a ruler, there are the ministers, the great officers, and the keeper of the tortoise-shell in the State [to decide about it]; I dare not take any knowledge of it. As to those who followed the ruler, let those who left the State from a feeling of propriety return, and let those who did so as enemies [of Ke-sun] go elsewhere. As to myself, our ruler knew of my leaving the State, but he did not know that I would enter it [again]; I will go to another State."

'When the coffin arrived at Hwae-t'uy, the Kung-tsze Sung entered Loo before it, and those who had followed the duke all went back from that place. In the 6th month, on Kwei-hac,

the coffin arrived in the capital, and on Mow-shin duke [Ting] became marquis.'

The accession of Ting thus took place on the 5th day after the arrival of duke Ch'au's coffin, as if the latter had died, like most of his predecessors, in his palace in Loo. On the 5th day (Acc. to Too Yu) after the death of the ruler of a State, his body in its coffin was solemnly conveyed to the ancestral temple, and there and then his successor solemnly took his place; and again, on the 1st day of the next year, another solemn declaration of the new rule was made. This, however, was dispensed with in the present case, and the whole of this year was considered as belonging to duke Ting.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'Ke-sun was sending workmen to K'an (The place where the dukes of Loo were interred), intending to separate by a ditch the [last] home of the duke [from the other graves]; but Yung K'ea-go said to him, "You could not serve him when alive, and now he is dead, you would separate him [from his fathers], to be a monument of yourself. You may bear to do so [now], but the strong probability is that hereafter you will be ashamed of it." On this Ke-sun desisted from that purpose; but he asked K'ea-go, saying, "I wish to give him his posthumous title, so that his descendants may know him [by it]." That officer replied, "You could not serve him, when he was alive, and now that he is dead, you still hate him;—you would thereby show the truth about yourself." He [again] desisted from his purpose, and in autumn, in the 7th month, on Kwei-sze, he buried duke Ch'au on the south of the road to the tombs. When Confucius was minister of Crime, he united this tomb with the others by means of a ditch.'

Par. 6. Yang was the 3d duke of Loo, a son of Pih-k'in, and grand-son of the duke of Chow. He held the marquise for 6 years, B.C. 1057—1052, as successor to his brother duke K'an. There had of course long ceased to be any temple to him, and why one was now erected does not clearly appear. All the critics agree in holding that it was done by Ke-sun, though made to appear as the act of the State.

The Chuen says:—'When duke Ch'au went forth, on that account Ke-sun prayed to duke Yang, and [now] in the 9th month, he erected a temple to him.' The meaning of this Chuen, as Too explains it, is that for some reason or other, on duke Ch'au's leaving the State, Ke-sun had selected Yang's displaced tablet from among all the others, and prayed to him for his protection. This he supposed had been accorded to him, and he raised the temple as an expression of his gratitude.

A more plausible account of the affair is devised by Wan H'eaou-kung (萬孝恭; early in the Yuen dynasty), who connects the succession of Yang, though only a brother, to duke K'an, with the succession of Ting, to the exclusion of the sons of duke Ch'au.

[The Chuen appends the following brief notice:—'Duke K'een of Kung set aside his sons and younger brothers, and liked to employ strangers.']

Par. 7. The 10th month of Chow was only the 8th of H'ea. Frost so early, and at the same time so bitter, was an unusual thing, and is

therefore recorded. We need not suppose, with some critics, that only the pulse was killed by it. The pulse is specified as an important part of the food of the people. As Kuh-l'ang says, 曰菽舉重也.

## Second year.

二年春王正月夏五月壬辰雉門及兩觀災秋楚人伐吳冬十月新作雉門及兩觀

之肉焉奪之杖以敲姑飲酒私出闕乞克之獲楚公子繁豫章敗之遂圍巢十月吳軍楚師於章而潛師於巢冬章吳人見舟於豫囊瓦伐吳師於豫我使之無忌秋楚師臨我我伐桐爲鳩氏誘楚人曰以桐叛楚吳子使舒羣子弟賊簡公四月辛酉鞏氏之左傳曰二年夏

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, it was the spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-shin, the south gate of the palace, and the two side towers caught fire.  
3 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Woo.  
4 In winter, in the tenth month, we made anew the south gate of the palace, and its two side towers.

Par. 1. [The Chuen gives here the sequel of the narr. appended to par. 6 of last year:—'In summer, in the 4th month, on Sin-y'ew, the sons and younger brothers of the House of Kung put duke K'een to death.']

Par. 2. The 雉門 was 公宮之南門, the south or first gate belonging to the duke's palace. See the note on the Shoo, V. xxii. 10. The 兩觀 were two towers, one on either side of the gate. They were also called 闕 and 象魏. Maou says, 'The king and the princes of States had towers at their gates. They raised earth so as to form the towers, and then the frame of the gate was set up between them, and they were called "the gate-towers (門臺)." They were also called *k'ueh* (闕, and *kuan* 觀, the last name being given to them because the pictures and descriptions of punishments were hung up on them for the people to look at.'

Ho H'ew on Kung-yang relates some remarks of Tsze-k'ea K'eu (駒), that this gate and its towers were a usurpation on the part of Loo of the distinctions of the royal palace, and hence that the fire was a token of the displeasure of Heaven. But the premiss is without foundation.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'T'ung revolted from Ts'oo, on which the viscount of Woo made the chief of Shoo-k'ew entice the people of Ts'oo, advising them to proceed against Woo with an army, while they would then invade T'ung; so that they would thus help Woo by making Ts'oo have no fears of it. In autumn, Nang Wa of Ts'oo invaded Woo, and encamped with his army at Yu-chang. The people of Woo then appeared with their boats at that place, [as if they were going to attack T'ung], and at the same time privately sent a force against Ch'au. In the 10th month, Woo attacked the army of Ts'oo in Yu-chang, and defeated it, after which it laid siege to Ch'au, reduced it, and took the Kung-tze Fan of Ts'oo prisoner.'

In the Chuen, at the end of duke Ch'au's 30th year, Woo Yun suggests to the viscount of Woo that he should keep on harassing Ts'oo,

and in many ways leading it astray. The above narrative gives one of the delusions practised on Ts'oo in accordance with that advice.

[There is a brief narrative here, apparently meaningless in itself, but introductory to par. 2 of next year:—'Duke Chwang of Choo was

drinking with E Yih-koo, when that officer went out for a private occasion. [As he did so], the porter begged a piece of meat from him, on which he took his staff from him, and beat him with it.']

Par. 4. 新作,—see on V. xx. 1.

## Third year.

三年春王正月二月辛卯邾拔及邾子盟于冬仲孫何忌秋葬邾莊公夏四月子穿卒

左傳曰三年春二月辛卯邾子在門臺臨廷闕以餅水沃廷邾子望見之怒闕曰夷射姑旋焉命執之弗得滋怒自投於牀廢於鑪炭爛遂卒先葬以車五乘殉五人莊公卞急而好潔故及是勇也秋九月鮮虞人敗晉師於平中獲晉觀虎恃其冬盟于郟修邾好也昭昭侯爲兩佩與兩裘以如楚獻一佩一裘於昭王昭王服之以享蔡侯蔡侯亦服其一子常欲之弗與三年止之唐成公如楚有兩肅爽馬子常欲之弗與亦三年止之唐人或相與謀請代先從者許之飲先從者酒醉之竊馬而獻之子常子常歸唐侯自拘於司敗曰君以弄馬之故隱君身棄國家羣臣請相夫人以償馬必如之唐侯曰寡人之過也二三子無辱皆賞之蔡人聞之固請而獻佩於子常子常朝見蔡侯之徒命有司曰蔡君之久也官不共也明日禮不畢將死蔡侯歸及漢執玉而沈曰余所有濟漢而南者有若大川蔡侯如其子元與其大夫之子爲質焉而請伐楚

- III. 1 In the duke's third year, in spring, in the king's first month, he was going to Tsin; but when he got to the Ho, he returned.  
2 In the second month, on Sin-maou, Ch'uen, viscount of Choo, died.  
3 It was summer, the fourth month.



- 4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Choo.  
5 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke and the viscount of Choo made a covenant in Pah.

Par. 1. We do not know why the duke suffered this repulse from Tsin. K'ea Kwei thinks it may have been because Tsin considered that he was dilatory in presenting himself at its court after he succeeded to Loo. It may have been so; but there is no historical evidence to go upon in the matter.

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh have 三月 instead of 二月. The Chuen says:—'In the 2d month, on Sin-maou, the viscount of Choo was in one of the gate-towers (See on II. 2), looking down upon the court-yard, which the porter was sprinkling with a pitcher of water. The sight made him angry, but the porter said that E Yih-koo had made his water in the court (See the Chuen after par. 3 of last year). The viscount ordered that officer to be seized, but he could not be found, which put him in a greater rage, so that he threw himself down on a bench, fell upon a vessel of charcoal, was burned and died. Before he was put into his grave, five chariots and five men were buried [in an adjoining grave]. It was owing to the irascibility of duke Chwang, and his love of cleanliness, that he came to this end.'

Ch'uen had been viscount of Choo for 33 years. He was succeeded by his son Yih (益), known as duke Yin (隱公).

Par. 4. [The Chuen appends here:—'In autumn, in the 9th month, the people of S'een-yu defeated an army of Tsin at Ping-chung, and captured Kwan Hoo of that State;—through his reliance on his valour.']

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 枝 for 拔. Too does not assign the position of Pah. Most of the critics take it as the same as T'an;—see VII. iv. 1. Tso says the object of this covenant was to confirm the friendship of Loo and Choo. The viscount of Choo is of course the son of duke Chwang; and the transaction is commented on as improper on his part, so soon after the death of his father.

[We have here a narrative about the rapacity of the chief minister of Ts'oo:—'Ch'au, marquis of Ts'ae, had made two sets of girdle-ornaments and two robes of fur, with which he went to Ts'oo, where he presented one set and one robe to king Ch'au. The king wore them at an entertainment which he gave to the marquis, who himself wore the others. Tsze-chang (Nang Wa; the minister) wished to get them, but was refused; in consequence of which he detained the marquis in Ts'oo for 3 years. Duke Ch'ing of T'ang [also] went to Ts'oo, with two splendid gray horses, which Tsze-chang wanted; and when they were not given to him, he detained the marquis also for 3 years. Some officers of T'ang took counsel together, and asked leave to take the place of those who had attended the marquis to Ts'oo. This being granted them, they made those others drunk, stole the horses, and presented them to Tsze-chang, who thereupon allowed the marquis to return to T'ang. These men then presented themselves as prisoners to the minister of Crime, saying, "Our ruler, through his fondness for those horses, put his body in straits, and abandoned his country. We beg leave to assist the parties concerned to recover other horses, which shall be equal to them." The marquis said, "It was my fault. Do not you, gentlemen, subject yourselves to disgrace;"—and he rewarded them all.

'When the officers of Ts'ae heard this, they urgently begged their marquis to present the girdle ornament to Tsze-chang; and this was followed by the minister's saying to the officers, when he was at audience, and saw the followers of the marquis of Ts'ae, "The ruler of Ts'ae has been here so long, because you have not been ready [with the necessary gifts]. If they are not all furnished by to-morrow, ye shall die." When the marquis of Ts'ae had got to the Han on his return, he took a piece of jade in his hand, and sank it in the water, saying, "I swear by this great stream that I will not cross the Han again to go to the south." He went [by and by] to Tsin, with his son Yuen and the sons of his great officers, and presented them as hostages, begging that Ts'oo might be invaded.']

Fourth year.

四年春王二月癸巳陳侯吳卒三月公會劉子晉侯宋公蔡侯衛侯陳子鄭伯許男曹伯莒子邾子頓子

胡子滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子齊國夏于召陵侵楚夏四月庚辰蔡公孫姓帥師滅沈以沈子嘉歸殺之五月公及諸侯盟于皋鼬杞伯成卒于會六月葬陳惠公許遷于容城秋七月公至自會葬劉文公冬十有一月庚午蔡侯以吳子及楚人戰于柏舉楚師敗績楚囊瓦出奔鄭庚辰吳入郢

左傳曰四年春三月劉文公合諸侯于召陵謀伐楚也晉荀寅求貨於蔡侯弗得言於范獻子曰國家方危諸侯方貳將以襲敵不亦難乎水潦方降疾瘡方起中山不服棄盟取怨無損於楚而失中山不如辭蔡侯吾自方城以來楚未可以得志祇取勤焉乃辭蔡侯晉人假羽旄於鄭鄭人與之明日或旆以會晉於是乎失諸侯沈人不曾於召陵晉人使蔡伐之夏蔡滅沈將會衛子行敬子言於靈公曰會同難嘖有煩言莫之治也其使祝佗從公曰善乃使子魚子魚辭曰臣展四體以率舊職猶懼不給而煩刑書若又共二微

秋，楚爲沈故圍蔡。

伍員爲吳行人以謀楚，楚之殺卻宛也。伯氏之族出，伯州犂之孫，爲吳大宰，以謀楚。楚自昭王卽位，無歲不有吳師。蔡侯因之以其子乾，與其大夫之子，爲質於吳。冬，蔡侯、吳子、唐侯伐楚，舍舟於淮汭，自豫章與楚夾漢。左司馬戍謂子常曰：「子必漢而與之土下，我悉方城外以毀其舟，還塞大隧，直轅冥阨，子濟漢而伐之，我自後擊之，必大敗之。」既謀而行，武城黑謂子常曰：「吳用木也，我用革也，不可久也，不如速戰。」史皇謂子常：「楚人惡子而好司馬，若司馬毀吳舟於淮，塞城口而入，是獨克吳也。子必速戰，不然，不免。」乃濟漢而陳，自小別至於大別。三戰，子常知不可，欲奔。史皇曰：「安求其事，難而逃之，將何所入？子必死之，初罪必盡說。」十一月，庚午，二師陳於柏舉。闔廬之弟夫槩王晨請於闔廬曰：「楚瓦不仁，其臣莫有死志，先伐之，其卒必奔，而後大師繼之，必克。」弗許。夫槩王曰：「所謂臣義而行，不待命者，其此之謂也。」今日我死，楚可入也。以其屬五千先擊子常之卒，子常之卒奔。楚師亂，吳師大敗之，子常奔鄭。史皇以其乘廣死。

吳從楚師，及清發，將擊之。夫槩王曰：「困獸猶鬪，況人乎？若知不免而致死，必敗我。若使先濟者知免，後者慕之，蔑有鬪心矣。」半濟而後可擊也。從之。又敗之。楚人爲食，吳人及之，奔。食而從之，敗諸雍澨。五戰及郢。己卯，楚子取其妹季芊畀，我以出。涉睢，鍼尹固與王同舟。王使執燧象以奔吳師。庚辰，吳入郢。以班處宮，子山處令尹之宮。夫槩王欲攻之，懼而去之。夫槩王入之左司馬戍及息而還，敗吳師於雍澨。傷初司馬臣闔廬，故耻爲禽焉。謂其臣曰：「誰能免吾首？」吳句卑曰：「臣賤，可乎？」司馬曰：「我實失子，可哉。」三戰皆傷，曰：「吾不可用也。」已句卑布裳，到而裹之，藏其身，而以其首免。楚子涉睢，濟江，入於雲中。王寢盜攻之，以戈擊王。王孫由于以背受之，中肩。王奔。鄖鍾建負季芊畀以從。由于徐蘇而從。鄖公辛之弟懷將弑王，曰：「平王殺吾父，我殺其子，不亦可乎？」辛曰：「君討臣，誰敢讐之？君命，天也。若死天命，將誰讐？」詩曰：「柔亦不茹，剛亦不吐，不侮矜寡，不畏彊禦。」唯仁者能之。違彊陵弱，

大罪也。且夫祝社稷之常職也，社稷不動，祝不出竟，官之制也。君以軍行，祓社釁鼓，祝奉以從，於是乎出竟。若嘉好之事，君行師從，卿行旅從，臣無事焉。公曰：「行也。」及臯鼬，將長蔡於衛。衛侯使祝佗私於襄弘曰：「聞諸道路，不知信否？」若聞蔡將先衛，信乎？襄弘曰：「信。」蔡叔、康叔之兄也。先衛，不亦可乎？子魚曰：「以先王觀之，則尚德也。昔武王克商，成王定之，選建明德，以藩屏周。故周公相王室，以尹天下，於周爲睦。分魯公以大路、大旂，夏后氏之璜，封父之繁弱，殷民六族，條氏、徐氏、蕭氏、索氏、長勺氏、尾勺氏，使帥其宗氏，輯其分族，將其類醜，以法則周公，用卽命於周，是使之職事於魯，以昭周公之明德。分之土田陪敦，祝宗、卜史，備物典策，官司彝器，因商奄之民，命以伯禽，而封於少皞之虛，分康叔以大路，少帛、緡、旂、旌，大呂，殷民七族，陶氏、施氏、繁氏、錫氏、樊氏、饒氏，終葵氏，封畛土畧，自武父以南，及圃田之北，竟。取於有閭之土，以共王職。取於相土之東都，以會王之東蒐。聃季授土，陶叔授民，命以康誥，而封於殷虛，皆啟以商政，疆以周索。分唐叔以大路、密須之鼓，闕鞶、沽洗，懷姓九宗，職官五正，命以唐誥，而封於夏虛，啟以夏政，疆以戎索。三者皆叔也，而有令德，故昭之以分物。不然，文武成康之伯猶多，而不獲是分也。唯不尙年也。」管、蔡啟商，甚問王室，王於是乎殺管叔，而蔡叔以車七乘，徒七十人。其子蔡仲，改行帥德。周公舉之，以爲己卿士，見諸王而命之以蔡，其命書云：「王曰：『胡無若爾考之？違王命也。』若之何其使蔡先衛也？武王之母弟八人，周公爲大宰，康叔爲司寇，聃季爲司空，五叔無官，豈尙年哉？曹、文之昭也，晉、武之穆也。曹爲伯甸，非尙年也。今將尙之，是反先王也。」晉文公爲踐土之盟，衛成公不在，夷叔，其母弟也，猶先蔡，其載書云：「王若曰：『晉重、魯申、衛武、蔡甲午、鄭捷、齊潘、宋王臣、莒期，藏於周府，可覆視也。』吾子欲復文武之畧，而不正其德，將如之何？」長弘說：「告劉子與范獻子謀之，乃長衛侯於盟，反自召陵。鄭子犬叔未至而卒，晉趙簡子爲之臨，甚哀。」曰：「黃父之會，夫子語我九言，曰：『無始亂，無怙富，無恃寵，無違同，無敖禮，無驕能，無復怨，無謀非德，無犯非義。』」

非勇也。乘人之約，非仁也。滅宗廢祀，非孝也。動無令名，非知也。必犯是，余將殺汝。鬬辛與其弟巢，以王奔隨。吳人從之，謂隨人曰：『周之子孫，在漢川者，楚實盡之。』天誘其衷，致罰於楚。而君又竄之，周室何罪？君若顧報周室，施及寡人，以獎天衷，君之惠也。漢陽之田，君實有之。楚子在公宮之北，吳人在其南，子期似王，逃王而已。爲王曰：『以我與之，王必免。』隨人卜與之，不吉。乃辭吳曰：『以隨之辟小，而密邇於楚，楚實存之。世有盟誓，至於今未改。若難而棄之，何以事君？執事之患，不唯一人。若鳩楚竟，敢不聽命。』吳人乃退。鏹金初宦於子期氏，實與隨人要言。王使見辭曰：『不敢以約爲利。』王割子期之心，以與隨人盟。初，伍員與申包胥友，其亡也，謂申包胥曰：『我必復楚。』國申包胥曰：『勉之，子能復之，我必能興之。』及昭王在隨，申包胥如秦乞師，曰：『吳爲封豕長蛇，以荐食上國，虐始於楚。寡君失守社稷，越在草莽，使下臣告急。』曰：『夷德無厭，若鄰於楚，寡君失也。逮吳之未定，君其取分焉。』若楚之遂亡，君之士也。若以君靈撫之，世以事君。秦伯使辭焉，曰：『寡人聞命矣。子姑就館，將圖而告。』對曰：『寡君越在草莽，未獲所伏。下臣何敢即安？立依於庭牆而哭。』秦師乃出。

- IV. 1 In the duke's fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Woo, marquis of Ch'in, died.
- 2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Lëw, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquises of Ts'ae and Wei, the [heir-] son of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, Tun, Hoo, and T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and K'e, the viscount of little Choo, and Kwoh Hëa of Ts'e, in Shaou-ling, when they made an incursion into Ts'oo.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Käng-shin, the Kung-sun Säng of Ts'ae led a force and extinguished Shin, carrying back with him Këa, the viscount of Shin, whom he then put to death.
- 4 In the fifth month, the duke and the above princes made a covenant in Kaou-yëw.
- 5 Ch'ing, earl of K'e, died during the meeting.
- 6 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Hwuy of Ch'in.

- 7 Heu removed [its capital] to Yung-shing.
- 8 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the meeting.
- 9 K'euen of Lëw died.
- 10 There was the burial of duke Taou of K'e.
- 11 A body of men from Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 12 Sze Yang of Tsin and K'ung Yu of Wei led a force, and invaded Sëen-yu.
- 13 There was the burial of duke Wän of Lëw.
- 14 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Käng-woo, the marquis of Ts'ae and the viscount of Woo fought with an army of Ts'oo in Pih-keu, when the army of Ts'oo was disgracefully defeated. Nang Wa of Ts'oo fled from that State to Ch'ing.
- 15 On Käng-shin, Woo entered Ying.

Par. 2. Shaou-ling,—see V. iv. 3. The Chuen says:—'In the 3d month, duke Wän of Lëw assembled the States in Shaou-ling, to consult about invading Ts'oo. Seun Yin of Tsin asked a bribe from the marquis of Ts'ae; and when he did not get it, he said to Fan Hëen-tsze, "The State is now in a perilous condition, and the other States are disaffected towards it; shall we not find it a difficult enterprise to invade an enemy in such circumstances? The rains are beginning to come down; fever is arising; Chung-shan (Sëen-yu) is not submissive. To throw away our covenant with Ts'oo, and excite its enmity, will occasion no injury to Ts'oo, but to us the loss of Chung-shan. Our best plan will be to refuse [the request of] the marquis of Ts'ae. Since the affair at Fang-shing (See on IX. xvi. 7) we have not been able to get our will on Ts'oo;—we shall only be making toil for ourselves." Accordingly, the request of the marquis of Ts'ae was refused. The men of Tsin borrowed a [royal] pennon with feathers from Ch'ing [to look at]; and when it was given to them, a man of no note carried it, next day, at the top of a flag to the meeting, [to humiliate Ch'ing]; and in consequence of this Tsin lost the States.'

A great opportunity was thus lost by Tsin of establishing more than its former supremacy among the States, but the above Chuen shows us the reason of its failure. Though the princes were present at the meeting, they were only puppets in the hands of their ministers, who were not animated by any spirit of unity, or regard for any advantage but their own. An incursion into Ts'oo was but a lame and impotent conclusion to such a gathering under the sanction of a representative of the king; and even that 'incursion' is difficult to make out from the Chuen.

Leu Ta-kwei (呂大圭; towards the end of the Sung dynasty) describes the occasion very clearly:—'By this meeting in Shaou-ling Tsin might have regained its supremacy among the States, but it lost the opportunity. Ts'ae, Ch'in, Ch'ing, Heu, Tun, and Hoo had been the submissive servants of Ts'oo, but they all joined in this meeting, showing that they were distressed

by Ts'oo and weary of it, and wanted to transfer their service to Tsin. For 24 years, from the meeting at P'ing-k'ëw (X. xiii. 4), Tsin had not been able to assemble the States; but now, above, it had got the presence of the viscount of Lëw, and, below, it had called together the rulers of 17 States;—the forces of duke Hwan of Ts'e had never been on so grand a scale. Of the [grand] expedition of Hwan, however, it is written that he invaded Ts'oo, and that he imposed a covenant [on Ts'oo] at Shaou-ling (V. iv. 1,3); while of this expedition of [duke] Ting of Tsin, where he assembled the rulers of 17 States, it is only said, that "An incursion was made into Ts'oo." An incursion is a small affair. Ting was evidently a man with whom nothing could be done. From this time Tsin could have no hope of again presiding over the States.'

Par. 3. Shin,—see on VI. iii. 1. It is necessary to distinguish this Shin from the city of the same name, belonging to Ts'oo, of the 尹 or commandants of which we read so often in the Chuen. It was in the pres. dis. of Koo-ch'e (固始), Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan. This latter 沈 is sometimes written 寢 (Ts'in). 姓 is here pronounced as 生 (Säng).

The Chuen says:—'The people of Shin did not attend the meeting in Shaou-ling, and they of Tsin sent Ts'ae to attack it. In summer, Ts'ae extinguished Shin.' Mao thinks that it was to the meeting in Shaou-ling that Kung-sun Säng carried the viscount of Shin, and that it was Tsin which there put him to death. It may have been so, and the concluding sentence of the Chuen relates what took place after the meeting.

Par. 4. Kung-yang has 浩油 for 梟鼬. Kaou-yëw was in the pres. dis. of Lin-ying (臨穎), dep. K'ae-fung. It belonged to Ch'ing.

The Chuen says, "In prospect of the meeting, Tsze-häng King-tsze of Wei had said to duke Ling of that State, "It may be difficult to get an

agreement of opinion at the meeting, and there will be troublesome speeches about which no one can decide. You should make the litanist T'ao (See Ana. VI. xiv.) go with you." The duke approved of the advice, and instructed Tsze-yu (The designation of T'ao) to go with him; but he declined to do so, saying, "When I do all my four limbs are capable of to discharge the duties of my old office, I am still afraid of not being equal to them, and of giving the penal officer the trouble to record my failings. If I must now discharge two offices, I shall commit some great offence. Moreover, the priest is an ordinary inferior officer, attached to the altars of the land and grain. While those are not moved, he does not go out of the limits of the State;—this is the rule of his office. When the ruler is about to march with an army, the priest sprinkles the altar of the land, anoints the drums, and follows the ruler, carrying the Spirit-tablets with him. On such an occasion he passes beyond the limits of the State; but when the business is one of civility or friendship, the ruler goes at the head of 2,500 men, or a minister goes at the head of 500; but I take no part in the affair." The duke, however, replied, "You must go."

"When they got to Kaou-yew, it was in contemplation to give Ts'ae precedence over Wei, and the marquis sent the priest T'ao to speak privately to Chang Hwäng, saying, "I have heard something on the road, and do not know whether it be true or not. Should I have heard that Ts'ae is going to have precedence [at this meeting] over Wei, is it true?" Hwäng replied, "Ts'ae Shuh was the elder brother of K'ang Shuh (See the Shoo V. Bkk. ix. and xvii.); is it not proper that [Ts'ae] should take precedence of Wei?" Tsze-yu said, "Looking at the matter from [the example of] the former kings, we find that what they exalted was virtue. When king Woo had subdued Shang, king Ch'ing completed the establishment of the new dynasty, and chose and appointed [the princes of] intelligent virtue, to act as bulwarks and screens to Chow. Hence it was that the duke of Chow gave his aid to the royal House for the adjustment of all the kingdom, he being most dear and closely related to Chow. To the duke of Loo (Pih-k'in, the duke of Chow's son) there were given—a grand chariot, a grand flag with dragons on it, the *hwang*-stone of the sovereigns of Hsia, and the [great bow], Fan-joh of Fung-foo. [The Heads of] six clans of the people of Yin,—the T'ao, the Shu, the Siao, the Soh, the Chang-choh, and the We-choh, were ordered to lead the chiefs of their kindred, to collect their branches, the remoter as well as the near, to conduct the multitude of their connexions, and to repair with them to Chow, to receive the instructions and laws of the duke of Chow. They were then charged to perform duty in Loo, that thus the brilliant virtue of the duke of Chow might be made illustrious. Lands [also] were apportioned [to the duke of Loo] on an enlarged scale, with priests, superintendents of the ancestral temple, diviners, historiographers, all the appendages of State, the tablets of historical records, the various officers and the ordinary instruments of their offices. The people of Shang-yen were also attached; and a charge was given to Pih-k'in, and the old capital of Shaou-hau was assigned as the centre of his State.

"To K'ang Shuh (The first marquis of Wei) there were given a grand carriage, four flags,—of various coloured silks, of red, of plain silk, and ornamented with feathers,—and [the bell], Ta-leu, with seven clans of the people of Yin,—the T'ao, the Shu, the Po, the E, the Fan, the Ke, and the Chung-k'wei. The boundaries of his territory extended from Woo-foo southwards to the north of Poo-t'een. He received a portion of the territory of Yew-yen, that he might discharge his duty to the king, and a portion of the lands belonging to the eastern capital of Säng-t'oo, that he might be able the better to attend at the king's journeys to the east. Tan Ke delivered to him the land, and T'ao Shuh the people. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement to K'ang (Shoo, V. ix.),' and the old capital of Yin was assigned as the centre of his State. Both in Wei and Loo they were to commence their govt. according to the principles of Shang, but their boundaries were defined according to the rules of Chow.

"To T'ang Shuh (The first lord of Tsin) there were given a grand carriage, the drum of Meih-seu, the *Keueh-kung* mail, the bell Koo-sien, 9 clans of the surname Hwae, and five presidents over the different departments of office. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement of T'ang (Now lost),' and the old capital of Hsia was assigned as the centre of his State. He was to commence his govt. according to the principles of Hsia, but his boundaries were defined by the rules of the Jung. Those three princes were all younger brothers, but they were possessed of excellent virtue, and they were therefore distinguished by those grants of territory and other things. If it were not so, there were many elder brothers in the families of Wan, Woo, Ch'ing, and K'ang, but they obtained no such grants;—showing that it was not years which [these kings] valued. Kwan and Ts'ae instigated the [remaining descendant of] Shang poisonously to dismember the royal House, on which the king put Kwan Shuh to death, and banished Ts'ae Shuh, giving him seven chariots and an attendance of seventy men. His son Ts'ae Chung adopted a different style of conduct, and pursued a virtuous course, on which the duke of Chow raised him to be a minister of his own, introduced him to the king, and obtained a charge appointing him to the rule of Ts'ae. In that charge it is said, 'Be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders (Shoo, V. xxvii. 3);—how then can Ts'ae be made to take precedence of Wei? The own brothers of king Woo were eight. The duke of Chow was prime minister; T'ang Shuh was minister of Crime; Tan Ke was minister of Works; and five were not in any office. Was any preference given to years? [The first lord of] T'ao was a son of Wan (By a diff. mother from the duke of Chow or king Woo), and [the first lord of] Tsin was a son of Woo; yet T'ao was [only] an earldom in the *tien* domain;—showing that no preference was given to years. And now you are going to give a preference to them,—contrary to the practice of the former kings. When duke Wan of Tsin presided over the covenant of Tsien-t'oo (V. xviii. 8; but in the text there Ts'ae has precedence of Wei. T'ao tries to explain this in harmony with the Chuen here), duke Ch'ing of Wei was not present, but [only] his full brother E-shuh, who notwithstanding

ing took precedence of Ts'ae. The writing of the covenant was—"The king speaks to this effect:—Ch'ung of Tsin, Shin of Loo, Woo of Wei, K'eah-woo of Ts'ae, Ts'eh of Ch'ing, P'wan of Ts'e, Wang-shin of Sung, K'e of Keu—." It is deposited in the royal library, and can there be examined and seen. You wish to observe the old ways of Wan and Woo;—how is it then that you do not make virtue your regulating principle as they did?"

"Chang Hwäng was pleased with this representation, and laid it before the viscount of Lëw, who took counsel upon it with Fan Hien-tsze, the result being that precedence was given to Wei at the covenant.

"In returning from Shaou-ling, Tsze-t'ae-shuh died before he arrived at Ch'ing. Chao K'een-tsze wept for him very sorrowfully, and said, "At the meeting of Hwang-foo (X. xxv. 2), he gave me these nine maxims:—Do not begin disorder; do not trust in riches; do not rely on favour; do not oppose a common agreement; do not carry yourself proudly in ceremonies; do not be proud of your power; do not transfer your anger; take no counsels that are contrary to virtue; do nothing against righteousness."

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 戊 instead of 成. Duke Ch'ing was succeeded by his son K'eh (乞), known as duke Yin (隱公), but he was murdered very soon by a younger brother Kwo (過), who established himself in his place, and is known as duke He (僖公).

Par. 7. Yung-shing was in the pres. dis. of K'een-le (監利), dep. King-chow, Hoo-pih. This is now the 4th time within the Ch'ün Ts'ew period that Heu changed its capital. The Chuen says nothing about this removal; but Wang Paou observes that the changes were all ordered by Ts'oo, though the text represents them as if they originated with Heu itself. This removal would be forced on Heu for having obeyed the summons of Tsin, and attended the meeting in Shaou-ling.

Par. 9. This was duke Wän (文) of Lëw, who first appears in the Chuen on IX. xxii. 4, by his designation of Pih-fun (伯父), and which records also his elevation to be viscount. His name was K'euén (卷). The king sent notices of his death to the princes with whom he had been present at the meeting of Shaou-ling, according to royal practice. Otherwise, there was no interchange of such communications between the princes of the States and the nobles of Chow. It was also in accordance with royal practice that such notices should only contain the name of the deceased noble, without mentioning his title. Kung and Kuh give each a different reason for the notification of this death, but both are incorrect. A Chuen, under the 26th year of Ch'au, however, gives Teih as the name of the viscount of Lëw (劉狄). The individual probably had the two names, Teih and K'euén.

Par. 11. This attack on Ts'ae was, no doubt, as Tso says, in consequence of Ts'ae's extinction of Shin. It was the duty of Tsin to come now

to the help of Ts'ae; and as it did not do so, we shall presently find Ts'ae leagued with Woo.

Par. 12. For 圍 Kung-yang has 圍. In the Chuen on par. 2, we have Seun Yin urging on Fan Hien-tsze the necessity of action against Sien-yu. Chao P'ang-fei says, "For Tsin to invade Ts'oo would have been a gain to the other States, but an injury to its own six ministers; hence when duke Ting went out against Ts'oo, the ministers, jealous of his acquiring the merit of success, refused the request of Ts'ae, humiliated Ch'ing, and frustrated the whole enterprise. The invasion of Sien-yu was an injury to the marquis of Tsin, but a gain to his ministers; hence Seun-she, Sze-she, and Chao-she, one after another, attacked it, to show their merit and ability."

Par. 13. Notice of the death of the viscount of Lëw having been sent to the States, because he had covenanted with their princes, it was in order for them to send representatives to his funeral. Many of the critics fail to see this, and find it difficult to account for this par. Chao K'wang says the thing was contrary to propriety (非禮); Kaou K'ang, that only Loo sent a representative, and therefore the thing is recorded. The remarks of Le Lëén (李

廉; end of the Yuen dyn) are worthy of notice:—"The three Kung (公) of the son of Heaven (See Shoo, V. xx. 5) were so denominated. Any one who filled that office, and had territory as a noble of the royal domain, was also called Kung, the title following the name of the territory, as in the instances of "The duke of Chae (祭公)," "the duke of Chow (周公, 州公)," &c. The king's other ministers and great officers, who had received investiture as nobles of the royal domain, were all called "viscounts (子)," as in the instances of "the viscount of Wän (溫子)," "the viscount of Lëw (劉子)," "the viscount of Shen (單子)," &c. But towards the end of the Chow dynasty, all the nobles of the domain received the title of *Kung* after their death, as in the instances of "duke Suh of Ch'ing (成肅公)," "duke P'ing of Shen (單平公)," &c. The Ch'ün Ts'ew, in this par., takes the opportunity of the burial of "duke Wän of Lëw," to call attention to the usurpation. In the mention of the individual, when alive, as "the viscount of Lëw," when dead as "K'euén of Lëw," and, at his burial, as "duke Wän of Lëw," we have the careful and severe pencil of the sage."

Par. 14. For 柏舉 Kung-yang has 伯莒 and Kuh-läng 伯舉. The place belonged to Ts'oo, and was in the present dis. of Ma-shing (麻城), dep. Hwang-chow (黃州), Hoo-pih.

The Chuen says:—"Woo Yun acted as messenger [to other States] for Woo, [constantly]



laying plans against Ts'oo. When K'eh Yuen was put to death by Ts'oo (X. xxvii. 3), the different branches of the Pih family left that State, and P'e, the grandson of Pih Chow-lae, was made grand-administrator of Woo, that he [also] might plan against Ts'oo. From the date of king Ch'au's accession, there was no year in which Ts'oo was not [somehow] attacked by Woo. The marquis of Ts'ae took advantage of these circumstances, and placed his son K'een, and the sons of his great officers, in Woo as hostages [of his fidelity in an alliance against Ts'oo].

'This winter, the marquis of Ts'ae, the viscount of Woo, and the marquis of T'ang, invaded Ts'oo. They left their boats in a bend of the Hwae; and advancing from Yu-chang, they lined one side of the Han, the army of Ts'oo being on the other. Seuh, marshal of the Left, said to Tsze-chang (The chief minister of Ts'oo), 'Do you keep on this side of the Han, going up or down, according as they move. I will [meantime] lead all the troops outside the wall of defence, and destroy their ships, and then, on my return, I will shut up the passes of Ta-suy, Chih-yuen, and Ming-gae. If you then cross the Han, while I fall on them from behind, we shall give them a great defeat.' Having agreed on this plan, he marched [to execute his part of it]; but Hih, [commandant] of Woo-shing, said to Tsze-chang, 'Woo uses [shields] of wood, while ours are of leather. We must not remain here long; your best plan is to fight soon.' The historiographer Hwang [also] said to him, 'The people of Ts'oo hate you, and love the marshal. If he destroys the boats of Woo on the Hwae, and then enters the country, after stopping up the passes in the wall, he alone will have [the merit of] conquering Woo. You must fight soon, or you will not escape [your doom].' Tsze-chang then crossed the Han, and drew up his troops. Three battles were fought between S'au-p'eh and Ta-p'eh (See on the Shoo, III. i. Pt. ii. 3), and then Tsze-chang, knowing that he could not conquer, wished to flee [to another State]. The historiographer said to him, 'You sought the office, when it seemed safe; if now, in difficulty, you flee from it, what State will you enter? You must die in this struggle, and will thus make a complete atonement for your former offences.'

'In the 11th month, on K'ang-woo, the two armies were drawn up at Pih-keu, when the younger brother of Hoh-leu, [who afterwards called himself] king Foo-k'ae, early in the morning made a request to Hoh-leu, saying, 'In consequence of the want of benevolence in Wa of Ts'oo, his officers have no mind to die [in this struggle]. If I first attack him, his soldiers are sure to flee, and if you then follow up my success with the whole army, we are sure to conquer.' Hoh-leu refused him permission, but he then said, 'I will now give an illustration of the saying that a minister does what is right without waiting for orders. I will die to-day, but [the capital of] Ts'oo can be entered [in consequence].' He then with his own men, 5,000 in number, commenced the battle by an attack on the soldiers of Tsze-chang, who took to flight. The army of Ts'oo was thrown into confusion, and that of Woo inflicted a great defeat upon it. Tsze-chang fled to Ch'ing, and the historiographer Hwang died in his war chariot.'

The 蔡侯以吳子 of the text indicates that the marquis of Ts'ae was the mover of the expedition against Ts'oo, of which this battle was the first great event. As Maou says, 經特書蔡侯以之以主在蔡也. The ruler of Woo appears in this

par. for the first time with his title of 子 or viscount, and many of the critics foolishly see in this a sign of the sage's approval. The circumstance seems to be immaterial. Though Ts'ae instigated the expedition, it was of course carried on and carried out by the power of Woo.

Par. 15. Kung and Kuh have 楚 instead of 郢. Ying, 10 miles to the north of the pres. dep. city of King-chow (荊州), Hoo-pih, had been the capital of Ts'oo since the time of king Woo (B.C. 740—689).

Continuing the preceding narrative, the Chuen says:—'Woo pursued the army of Ts'oo to the Ts'ing-fah, and was about to fall upon it there, but king Foo-k'ae said, "A wild beast in the toils will still fight; how much more will men! If they know that there is no escape for them, and so fight to the death, they will be sure to defeat us. If we let the first of them cross, and know that they can escape, the rest will be anxious to follow them, and have no mind to fight. Let us then attack them when the half of them have crossed." This plan was taken, and so the army of Ts'oo was defeated again. [At one place] the men of Ts'oo were taking their meal when those of Woo came upon them, and they fled. The latter ate the food and resumed the pursuit, defeating them again at Yung-she; and with five battles, they reached Ying.'

'On Ke-maou, the viscount of Ts'oo took his youngest sister, Me Pe-go, left the city, and crossed the Ts'eu. Koo, the director of Remonstrances, went with him in the same boat, the king, [to keep back] the army of Woo, making men lead elephants with torches [tied to their tails], so as to rush upon it. On K'ang-shin, Woo entered Ying, and [the viscount and others] occupied the palaces according to their rank. Tsze-shaou (A son of the viscount) took the palace of the chief minister, where Foo-k'ae was going to attack him, which frightened him so that he left it, and the other then entered it.'

'Seuh, marshal of the Left, returned, after getting as far as Seih, and defeated the troops of Woo at Yung-she, but was wounded himself. Aforetime he had been in the service of Hoh-leu, and therefore felt that it would be a disgrace to him to be taken. He said to his officers, "Which of you can carry off my head?" Woo Kow-pe said, "Will it do if one so mean in rank as I do it?" "Yes," said the marshal; "it has been my error that I [did not know your worth before]. In each of these three battles I have been wounded, and am of no more use." Kow-pe then spread his skirt on the ground, cut off the marshal's head, and wrapped it up, after which he hid the body, and made his escape with the head.'

'The viscount of Ts'oo, after crossing the Ts'eu, crossed [also] the K'ang, and took

refuge in the marsh of Yun. While he was sleeping, some robbers attacked him, and [one of them] aimed a blow at him with a spear, which Wang-sun Y'ew-yu intercepted by interposing his back, and receiving the weapon in his shoulder. The king on this fled to Yun, followed by Chung K'een carrying his young sister on his back. Y'ew-yu [also] slowly revived, and followed him. Hwae, the younger brother of Sin, commandant of Yun, wanted to kill the king, saying, "King P'ing put my father to death. May I not now put his son to death?" Sin said, "When a ruler punishes a subject, who dare count him an enemy for it? The ruler's order is [the will of] Heaven. If a man dies by the will of Heaven, who can be regarded as the enemy? The ode (She, III. iii. ode VI. 3) says,

'He neither devours the mild,  
Nor violently rejects the strong.  
He does not insult the poor nor the widow;  
Nor does he fear the violent or powerful.'

It is only the truly virtuous man who can do thus. To avoid the powerful and insult the weak is contrary to valour. To take advantage of another's straits is contrary to benevolence. To cause the destruction of your ancestral temple and the discontinuance of its sacrifices is contrary to filial piety. To take action which will have no good name is contrary to wisdom. If you are determined to violate all these principles, I will kill you.'

'[After this], Tow Sin, and another younger brother Ch'au, fled with the king to Suy, whither they were followed by the men of Woo, who said to the people of Suy, "The States about the Han, possessed by descendants of [the House of] Chow, have been all destroyed by Ts'oo. Heaven has now moved our hearts to inflict punishment on Ts'oo, and your ruler is concealing its [ruler]. What is the offence of the House of Chow? If your ruler will try to recompense the House of Chow, and extend his favour to us, so that we may accomplish the purpose which Heaven has put into our hearts, it will be the act of his kindness, and the lands of Han-yang shall be his." The viscount of Ts'oo was on the north of [one of] the palaces of the marquis of Suy, and the men of Woo were on the south of it. Tsze-k'e (A brother of king Ch'au), who was like the king, [told the latter] to make his escape, and as if he himself were the king, proposed to the people of Suy to deliver him up, for that so the king would escape. They consulted the tortoise-shell about it, and receiving an unfavourable reply, they refused the request of Woo, saying, "Suy, though small and isolated, and situated near to

Ts'oo, has been preserved by that State. For generations there have been the engagements of covenants between us, which to this day we have not violated. If in the time of its calamity we should abandon it, wherewith should we serve your ruler? The troubles of your ministers would not arise from one man only. If you can consolidate under Woo all the territory of Ts'oo, we shall not presume not to obey your orders." On this the men of Woo withdrew. Loo Kin before this had been an officer in the family of Tsze-k'e, and [now] appealed to the people of Suy not to give up [the fugitives]. The king requested that Kin might be introduced to him, but he declined the honour, saying, "I do not dare to make your strait a source of profit." The king made a cut over [the region of] Tsze-k'e's heart, and [with the blood] made a covenant with the people of Suy.'

'At an earlier period, Woo Yun had been on terms of friendship with Shin Paou-seu; and when he fled from Ts'oo, he said to him "I shall repay Ts'oo for this." Paou-seu replied, "Do your utmost. You can repay [your wrong], and I can raise up Ts'oo [again]." When king Ch'au was in Suy, Shin Paou-seu went to Ts'in to beg the help of an army, and said, "Woo is a great pig and a long snake, bent on eating up the superior States, one after another. Its tyranny has commenced with Ts'oo. My ruler having failed to maintain his altars, is now a fugitive in the wilds, and has sent me to tell you of his distress, and to say for him, 'That barbarous State of the east is insatiable. If it become your neighbour, it will be a constant cause of trouble to your borders. While Woo has not settled its conquest, let your lordship [come and] take a portion of it. If Ts'oo indeed perish, the land will be yours; if by your powerful help and comfort [I can preserve it], it will be to serve your lordship with it for generations.'" The earl of Ts'in sent a refusal [for the present] to him, saying, "I have heard your orders. Go in the meantime to your lodging. I will take counsel and inform you of the result." Paou-seu replied, "My ruler is a fugitive in the wilds, and has nowhere to lie down. How dare I go to a place of ease?" He stood leaning against the wall of the courtyard, and cried. Day or night his voice was not silent; a spoonful of water did not enter his mouth;—for seven days. [At the end of that time], duke Gae of Ts'in sang to him the Woo-e (She, I. xi. ode VIII. 7), on which he bowed his head nine times to the ground, and remained kneeling on the earth. Soon after an army of Ts'in took the field.'

Fifth year.

五年<sup>一章</sup>春王三月辛  
亥朔日有食之。  
夏<sup>二章</sup>歸粟于蔡。  
於越<sup>三章</sup>入吳。  
六月<sup>四章</sup>丙申季孫意  
如卒。  
秋<sup>五章</sup>七月壬子叔孫  
不敢卒。  
冬<sup>六章</sup>晉士鞅帥師圍  
鮮虞。

◎左傳曰五年春王人殺子朝於楚。  
夏歸粟于蔡以周亟稔無資。  
越入吳吳在楚也。  
六月季平子行東野還未至丙申卒於房陽虎將以瑱璠斂仲梁懷弗與曰改步改玉陽虎欲逐之告公山不狃不狃曰彼爲君也子何怨焉既葬桓子行東野及費子洩爲費宰逆勞於郊桓子敬之勞仲梁懷仲梁懷弗敬子洩怒謂陽虎子行之乎。  
◎申包胥以秦師至秦子蒲子虎帥車五百乘以救楚子蒲曰吾未知吳道使楚人先與吳人戰而自稷會之大敗夫槩王於沂吳人獲蘧射於柏舉其子帥奔徒以從子西敗吳師於軍祥秋七月子期子蒲滅唐九月夫槩王歸自立也以與王戰而敗奔楚爲堂谿氏吳師敗楚師于雍澨秦師又敗吳師吳師居麇子期將焚之子西曰父兄親暴骨焉不能收又焚之不可子期曰國亡矣死者若有知也可以飲舊祀豈憚焚之焚之而又戰吳師敗又戰於公壻之谿吳師大敗吳子乃歸囚闔與罷闔與罷請先遂逃歸葉公諸梁之弟后臧從其母於吳不待而歸葉公終不正視。  
◎乙亥陽虎囚季桓子及公父文伯而逐仲梁懷冬十月丁亥殺公何藐己丑盟桓子於稷門之內庚寅大誅逐公父獸及秦遄皆奔齊。

◎楚子入於郢初闔辛聞吳人之爭宮也曰吾聞之不讓則不和不可以遠征吳爭於楚必有亂有亂則必歸焉能定楚王之奔隨也將涉於成白藍尹臺涉其帑不與王舟及寧王欲殺之子西曰子常唯思舊怨以敗君何效焉王曰善使復其所吾以志前惡王賞闔辛王孫由于王孫圉鍾建闔巢申包胥王孫賈宋木闔懷子西曰請舍懷也王曰大德滅小怨道也申包胥曰吾爲君也非爲身也君既定矣又何求且吾尤子旗其又爲諸遂逃賞王將嫁季芊季芊辭曰所以爲女子遠丈夫也鍾建負我矣以妻鍾建以爲樂尹王之在隨也子西爲王輿服以保路國於脾洩聞王所在而後從王王使由于城麇復命子西問高厚焉弗知子西曰不能如辭城不知高厚小大何知對曰固辭不能子使余也人各有能有不能王遇盜於雲中余受其戈其所猶在袒而示之背曰此余所能也脾洩之事余亦弗能也。  
晉士鞅圍鮮虞報觀虎之役也。

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Sin-hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
2 In summer, we sent grain to Ts'ae.  
3 Yu-yueh entered Woo.  
4 Ke-sun E-joo died.  
5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin-tsze, Shuh-sun Puh-kan died.  
6 In winter, Sze-Yang of Tsin led a force, and laid siege to [the chief town of] Sseen-yu.

Par. 1. This eclipse took place, at noon, on Feb'y 10th, B.C. 504. Kung-yang has 正月 instead of 三月, which is an error.

[The Chuen introduces here the death of [the king's] son Chaou who maintained so long a struggle for the throne:—This spring, an officer of the king killed [the king's] son Chaou in Ts'oo.]

Par. 2. 粟 is the general name for glumaceous grain, now generally applied (See Williams' Phonetic dict. in voc.) to millet and maize; but the meaning need not be restricted here. Tso-she says that Loo did this to succour Ts'ae in its distress, pitying its want of supplies. Kung and Kuh supply 諸侯, 'the States,' as the nominative to 歸; but, according to the analogy of other passages, the text can only be speaking of Loo. Other States may have done the same thing, though no notice is taken of their

action. We can understand how Ts'ae should have been in distress from want of provisions, over-run, as it had been, in the previous year by Ts'oo, and taking a prominent part, as it had done, in the operations of Woo against that State.

Par. 3. Yu-yueh is Yueh; but it is difficult to account for the initial Yu. Too makes it simply an initial sound (發聲). Lëw Ch'ang tells us that the people of the State themselves called it Yu-yueh, and that the States of Chow called it Yueh; which account would agree with the use of the former style in the text here, Yueh, we may suppose, having sent a notification to Loo of its movement. Other explanations have been offered on which we need not dwell. We must understand 吳 here as the name of the State. Yueh entered the boundaries, not the capital, of Woo, taking advantage, as Tso-she says, of the viscount of Woo's being in Ts'oo with all his forces.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—In the 6th month, Ke P'ing-tze went to Tung-yay; and on his return, before he arrived at the capital, on Ping-shin he died in Fang. Yang Hoo [the Yang Ho of the Ana., XVIII.]; he was the principal officer of the Ke family) was going to put his body into the coffin, having [still] on the [precious stone] Yu-fan [which he had worn when the duke was absent from the State]. Chung-l'ang Hwae (Another minister of the Ke family), however, would not give it for that purpose, saying, "He had ceased to tread on the [ruler's] steps, and another stone should be used." Yang Hoo wished to expel Hwae, and told Kung-shan Puh-n'w (See on Ana., XVII. v.) the circumstance, but that officer said, "He was acting in the interest of the ruler. Why should you be angry with him?"

After the burial, Hwan-tze went to Tung-yay. When he arrived at Pe, Tsze-s'eh (The above Kung-shan Puh-n'w), who was in charge of that city, met him, with complimentary offerings because of his journey, in the suburbs. Hwan-tze received him with respect. Chung-l'ang Hwae, however, to whom he also presented offerings, showed him no respect, in consequence of which he was angry, and said to Yang Hoo, "You can send him away."

The form of this notice of the death of P'ing-tze is very troublesome to the critics, and they think that the death of a man who had expelled his ruler, and held the State against him, should not have appeared without some sign of condemnation. Some of them say that it exhibits strikingly the weakness of duke Ting!

The Hwan-tze in the Chuen was the son of P'ing-tze, and had succeeded him. His name was Sze (斯).

Par. 5. Shuh-sun Puh-kan was mentioned in the Chuen on I. 2. He was succeeded by his son Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew (州仇), better known as Shuh-sun Woo-shuh (武叔). Both he and Hwan-tze were young and feeble, and the power of the State fell into the hands of Yang Hoo.

[We have here three narratives in the Chuen. The 1st continues the narrative of the invasion of Ts'oo by Woo with which the last year concludes.—Shin Paou-seu arrived [in Ts'oo] with the army of Ts'in, Tsze-p'oo and Tsze-hoo of that State having command of 500 chariots for its relief. Tsze-p'oo, being unacquainted as yet with the ways of Woo, made the troops of Ts'oo engage a body of the Woo-ites, and then joined them himself from Tseih, and a great defeat was thus inflicted on king Foo-k'ae at E. The men of Woo, however, captured Wei Yih at Pih-keu, but his son led the fugitives, and joined Tsze-se, who defeated an army of Woo at Keun-ts'ang.

In autumn, in the 7th month, Tsze-k'e and Tsze-p'oo extinguished T'ang. In the 9th month, Foo-k'ae returned to Woo, and set himself up for king; but, being defeated in a battle with the king, he fled to Ts'oo, where he became the founder of the T'ang-k'e family.

The army of Woo defeated that of Ts'oo at Yung-she, but the army of Ts'in again defeated Woo, whose army occupied Keun. Tsze-k'e proposed to burn that city, but Tsze-se said, "The bones of our fathers and elders bothers

are lying exposed there. We cannot collect them, and surely they ought not to be burned." Tsze-k'e replied, "The State is [in danger of] perishing. If the dead have any knowledge, they will enjoy the old sacrifices. Why should they be afraid of being burned?" They did burn the city, and fought another battle, in which Woo was defeated. It was defeated again severely in a battle in the valley of Kung-se, after which the viscount of Woo returned to his own State. He had as a prisoner Yin Yu-p'e, who asked leave to go before him to Woo, but made his escape on the way, and returned to Ts'oo.

How-tsang, a younger brother of Choo-l'ang, commandant of Sheh, had followed their mother, [when she was carried a prisoner] to Woo, and [now] he returned without waiting for her. The commandant of Sheh would never look straight at him.

2d, regarding the course of Yang Hoo, tyrannizing over the Ke family.—On Yih-hae, Yang Hoo imprisoned Ke Hwan-tze and Kung-foo Wan-pih (A cousin of Hwan-tze), and drove out Chung-l'ang Hwae. In winter, in the 10th month on Ting-hae, he killed Kung-ho M'eaou. On Ke-ch'ow, he imposed a covenant on Hwan-tze, inside the Tseih gate. On K'ang-yin, there were great imprecations, and he drove out Kung-foo Ch'uh and Ts'in Ch'uen, both of whom fled to Ts'e.

3d, a continuation of the affairs of Ts'oo. The viscount of Ts'oo [re-] entered Ying. Before this, when Tow Sin had heard that the Woo-ites were quarrelling about the palaces [of Ts'oo], he said, "I have heard that where there is no spirit of concession there is no harmony, and that, where there is no harmony, a distant enterprise cannot be carried out. The people of Woo thus quarrelling in Ts'oo, there is sure to be disorder among themselves, which will compel their return to their own State; how is it possible for them to settle Ts'oo?"

When the king was fleeing to Suy, he wished to get across the Ch'ing-k'ew. [Just then], Me, commandant of Lau, was conveying his children across it, and refused to give the boat to the king, in consequence of which, when tranquillity came again, the king wanted to put him to death. Tsze-se, however, said, to him, "It was by thinking of old wrongs that Tsze-chang came to ruin; why should your majesty imitate him?" The king said, "Good!" and he made Me resume his office, intending thereby to keep in mind his own former offences. [At the same time], he rewarded Tow Sin, the Wang-suns Y'ew-yu and Yu, Chung K'een, Tow Ch'au, Shin Paou-s'eu, the Wang-sun K'ea, Sung Muh, and Tow Hwae. Tsze-se said to him, "Please pass Hwae by;" but he replied, "He displayed great virtue in overcoming his [own] small resentment, thus acting rightly."

Shin Paou-seu said, "I acted for the ruler, and not for myself. Since you are now [re-] established what have I to seek? Moreover I blamed Tsze-k'e (See after X. xiv. 5), and shall I now do as he did?" Accordingly he declined any reward.

The king was going to give his youngest sister in marriage [to some one], but she refused, saying, "A young lady shows what she is by keeping far from all men; but Chung K'een has carried me on his back." She was given to him,

accordingly, to wife, and he was made director of Music.

When the king was in Suy, Tsze-se had assumed the royal carriage and robes, in order to keep the people [who were wandering about] on the roads together, and had made P'e-s'eh his capital, joining the king afterwards when he heard where he was. The king employed Y'ew-yu to wall Keun; and when he was reporting the execution of his commission, Tsze-se asked him how high and thick the walls had been made. He did not know, and Tsze-se said, "Since you were not able for the work, you should have declined it. After walling a city,

if you do not know the height, thickness, and length of the walls, what do you know?" Y'ew-yu replied, "I did refuse the commission on the ground of my incompetency, but you sent me to do it. Every man has what he can do, and what he cannot do. When the king met with robbers in [the marsh of] Yun, I received the spear in my person. The mark is still here." With this he bared his person, and showed him his back saying, "This is what I could do. What you did at P'e-s'eh I could not do." ]

Par. 6. Tso-she says this expedition was undertaken to avenge the affair in which Kwan Hoo was taken (See after III. 4.).

Sixth year.

六年春王正月癸亥鄭游速帥師滅許以許男  
二月公侵鄭  
公至自侵鄭  
夏季孫斯仲孫何忌如  
晉人執宋行人樂祁  
冬城中城  
季孫  
斯仲孫忌帥師圍鄆

左傳曰六年春鄭滅許因楚敗也二月公侵鄭取匡爲晉討鄭之伐胥靡也往不假道於衛及還陽虎使季孟自南門入出自東門舍於豚澤衛侯怒使彌子瑕追之公叔文子老矣輦而如公曰尤人而效之非禮也昭公之難君將以文之舒鼎成之昭昭定之鞶鑑苟可以納之擇用一焉公子與二三臣之子諸侯苟憂之將以爲之質此羣臣之所聞也今將以小忿蒙舊德無乃不可乎大嬖之子唯周公康叔爲相睦也而效小人以棄之不亦誣乎天將多陽虎之罪以斃之君姑待之若何乃止  
夏季桓子如晉獻鄭俘也陽虎強使孟懿子往報夫人之幣晉人兼享之孟孫立於房外謂范獻子曰陽虎若不能居魯而息肩於晉所不以爲中軍司馬者有如先君獻子曰寡君有官將使其人

○冬十二月，天王處於姑蘇，辟儋翩之亂也。

○陽虎又盟公及三桓於周社，盟國人於亳社，詛於五父之衢。

○私飲酒，不敬二君，不可不討也。乃執樂祁。

○得志於宋，范獻子言於晉侯曰：「以君命越疆而使，未致使而氏又有納焉，以楊楮質禍，弗可爲也已。」然子死，晉國子孫必於綿上，獻楊楮六十於簡子。陳寅曰：「昔吾主范氏，今子主趙唯君亦以我爲知難而行也。」見溷而行，趙簡子逆而飲之酒。

○秋八月，宋樂祁言於景公曰：「諸侯唯我事晉，今使不往，晉其憾矣。」樂祁告其宰陳寅，陳寅曰：「必使子往，他日公謂樂祁曰：『寡人說子之言，子必往。』陳寅曰：『子立後而行，吾室亦不亡。』唯君亦以我爲知難而行也。」見溷而行，趙簡子逆而飲之酒。

○伐涿，滑胥靡，負黍，狐人，闕外。六月，晉閻沒戍周，鄭於是乎。

○喜曰：「乃今可爲矣。」於是乎遷郢於郢，而改紀其政，以定楚國。

○周儋翩率王子朝之徒，因鄭人，將以作亂於周。鄭於是乎。

○必適晉，故強爲之請，以取入焉。

○鞅何知焉？獻子謂簡子曰：「魯人患陽虎矣，孟孫知其釁，以爲必適晉，故強爲之請，以取入焉。」

○四月己丑，吳太子終累敗楚舟師，獲潘子臣、小惟子及大夫七人。楚國大惕，懼亡。子期又以陵師敗於繁陽，令尹子西。

○夫七人，楚國大惕，懼亡。子期又以陵師敗於繁陽，令尹子西。

○喜曰：「乃今可爲矣。」於是乎遷郢於郢，而改紀其政，以定楚國。

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○於綿上，獻楊楮六十於簡子。陳寅曰：「昔吾主范氏，今子主趙氏又有納焉，以楊楮質禍，弗可爲也已。」然子死，晉國子孫必得志於宋，范獻子言於晉侯曰：「以君命越疆而使，未致使而私飲酒，不敬二君，不可不討也。乃執樂祁。」

○陽虎又盟公及三桓於周社，盟國人於亳社，詛於五父之衢。

○冬十二月，天王處於姑蘇，辟儋翩之亂也。

them. Kung-shuh Wän-tsze [at this time] was old, but he had himself wheeled by men to the marquis, and said to him, "To condemn others and to imitate them is contrary to propriety. During the troubles of duke Ch'au, your lordship was going to take the Shoo tripod of [duke] Wän, [the tortoise-shell of duke] Ch'ing, which gave such clear responses, and the mirrored-girdle of [duke] Ting, and give the choice of any one of them to whoever would restore him. Your own son and the sons of us your ministers you were ready to give as hostages, if any of the States would take pity on him. This is what we have heard; and does it not seem improper that for a small occasion of anger you should now cover over your former kindly feeling and action? Of all the sons of T'ae-sze (King Wän's queen) the duke of Chow and K'ang Shuh were the most friendly; and will it not be acting under a delusion if, to imitate [the conduct of] a small man, you throw away [that good relation between Wei and Loo]? Heaven means to multiply the offences of Yang Hoo, in order to destroy him. Suppose that your lordship wait for the present for that issue." The marquis on this desisted from his purpose.

The rulers of Loo had not in person conducted any military expedition since the 18th year of duke Seuen, a period of 80 years. The power of the State had been in the hands of the three great clans. These were now very much reduced, and we find duke Ting himself taking the field. Yet he was merely a puppet in the hands of the ministers of those clans, who made use of him to further their own ambitious designs against their chiefs.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"In summer, Ke Hwan-tsze went to Tsin, to present the spoils of Ch'ing. Yang Hoo forced Mäng E-tze to go [at the same time] with offerings in return for those which the marchioness [of Tsin] had sent [to Loo]. The people of Tsin entertained them both together. Mäng-sun, standing outside the apartment, said to Fan Hên-tsze, "If Yang Hoo cannot remain in Loo, and rests his shoulder against Tsin, by the former rulers you must make him marshal of the army of the centre!" Hên-tsze replied, "If our ruler have that office [vacant], he will employ the proper man [to fill it]. What should I know about it?" [Afterwards] he said to Kên-tsze, "The people of Loo are distressed by Yang Hoo. Mäng-sun knows that an occasion will arise, when he thinks Hoo will be obliged to flee the State. He therefore forces himself to make this request for him, to obtain his entrance [into our State]."

[The Chuen gives here two brief narratives:—1st, about Woo and Ts'oo. 'In the 4th month, Chung-luy, the eldest son of [the viscount of] Woo, defeated the fleet of Ts'oo, and captured [the two commanders], Chin, viscount of P'wan, and the viscount of Sëaou-wei, along with 7 great officers. Ts'oo was greatly alarmed, and afraid it would be ruined. [About the same time], Tsze-k'e was defeated with an army on the land at Fan-yang. The chief minister Tsze-se, however, was glad, and said, "Now it can be done;" and upon this he removed the capital from Ying to Joh, and changed the regulations of the government, in order [the better] to settle the State.' 2d, about troubles in Chow, and the share of Ch'ing in them. 'Tan P'ên of Chow had led

on the adherents of king [King's] son Chaou, and endeavoured by the assistance of Ch'ing to raise an insurrection in Chow. Upon this Ch'ing had attacked Fung, Hwah, Seu-mei, Hoo-shoo, Hoo-jin, and Këueh-wae. In the 6th month, Yen Muh of Tsin went to guard [the territory of] Chow, and walled Seu-mei."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, in the 8th month, Yoh K'e of Sung said to duke King, "Of all the States only we do service to Tsin. If an envoy do not now go there, Tsin will be offended." Having told his steward Ch'in Yin [what he said], that officer observed, "He is sure to send you." After a few days the duke said, "I am pleased with what you said; you must go [to Tsin]." Ch'in Yin, [on hearing this], said, "Get your successor appointed [a minister] before you set out, and our House will not go to ruin. The ruler also will know that we are proceeding with a knowledge of the dangers it involves." Yoh K'e accordingly introduced [his son] Hwän [to the duke], and took his departure. Chaou Kên-tsze met him, and entertained him at a drinking-feast in Mên-shang, being presented by Yoh K'e with 60 shields of willow. Ch'in Yin said, "Formerly we lodged with Fan-she, but now you are going to lodge with Chaou-she, and are presenting him with gifts besides. You should not have given those willow shields;—you are purchasing misfortune with them. But though you die in Tsin, your descendants will meet with prosperity in Sung."

Fan Hên-tsze said to the marquis of Tsin, "He crossed the borders of his State, charged with the orders of his ruler; but before discharging his commission, he has accepted a private invitation to drink, thus acting disrespectfully both to his own ruler and to you. He should not be left unpunished." Accordingly Yoh K'e was seized.

Par. 6. Chung-shing,—see VIII. ix. 13. Loo was not at this time on good terms either with Ch'ing or Ts'e, and we may suppose that the walls of Chung-shing were now repaired as a precautionary measure against hostilities.

Par. 7. The omission of 何 before 忌 must be regarded as an error of the text. The marquis of Ts'e had taken Yun in Ch'au's 25th year, and given it to that prince. The people left it in Ch'au's 30th year; and the probability is that, when they re-occupied it, they had endeavoured to do so under the protection of Ts'e. The siege in the text would be to recall them to their allegiance to Loo.

[We have here two brief narratives:—

1st, on the progress of Yang Hoo's encroachments in Loo. 'Yang Hoo imposed another covenant on the duke and the 3 Hwau clans at the altar of Chow, and one upon the people at the altar of Poh; the imprecations being spoken in the street of Woo-foo.'

2d, on affairs in Chow. 'In winter, in the 12th month, the king by Heaven's grace took up his residence in Koo-yëw, that he might escape from the insurrection of Tan P'ên (See the 2d narr. after par. 4).']

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Kwei-hae, Yëw Suh of Ch'ing, at the head of a force, extinguished Heu, and carried Sze, baron of Heu, back with him to Ch'ing.
- 2 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing.
- 3 The duke arrived from the incursion into Ch'ing.
- 4 In summer, Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke went to Tsin.
- 5 In autumn, the people of Tsin seized Yoh K'e-le, the messenger of Sung.
- 6 In winter, we walled Chung-shing.
- 7 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ke led a force, and laid siege to Yun.

Par. 1. Tso-she says that Ch'ing now extinguished Heu through taking advantage of the defeats which Ts'oo had sustained from Woo. Ch'ing had pursued Heu with implacable hatred (See I. xi. 3), and it might seem that it had now obtained the gratification of its desires, yet we find the State of Heu still existing in the 1st year of duke Gae. Here and elsewhere Kung-yang has 速 for 速.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"In the 2d month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing and took K'wang, to punish, in behalf of Tsin, the action of Ch'ing in attacking Seu-mei (See below, the 2d narr. after par. 4). On his way he did not ask liberty to pass through Wei; and on their return Yang Woo made Ke and Mäng enter by the south gate [of its capital], and pass out by the east, halting [afterwards] at the marsh of T'un. The marquis of Wei was enraged, and was sending Me Tsze-hëa to pursue



## Seventh year.

七年<sup>一</sup>春王正月。  
夏四月<sup>二</sup>。  
秋<sup>三</sup>齊侯鄭伯盟于鹹。  
齊人執衛行人北宮結<sup>四</sup>。  
以侵衛<sup>五</sup>。  
齊侯衛侯盟于沙<sup>六</sup>。  
大雩<sup>七</sup>。  
齊國夏帥師伐我西鄙<sup>八</sup>。  
九月大雩<sup>九</sup>。  
冬十月<sup>十</sup>。

①左傳曰：七年春，二月，周僖王入於儀棠，以叛。  
②齊人歸鄆，陽關，陽虎居之，以為政。  
③夏四月，單武公，劉桓公，敗尹氏於窮谷。  
秋，齊侯，鄭伯，盟于鹹，徵會於衛。  
衛侯欲叛晉，諸大夫不可，使北宮結如齊，而私於齊侯曰：「執結以侵我。」齊侯從之，乃盟于沙。  
齊國夏伐我，陽虎御季桓子，公斂處父御孟懿子，將宵軍，齊師，齊師聞之，墮伏而待之。處父曰：「虎不圖禍，而必死。」苦夷曰：「虎陷二子於難，不待有司，余必殺汝。」虎懼，乃還，不敗。  
④冬十一月，戊午，單子，劉子，逆王於慶氏。晉籍秦送王，己巳，王入於王城，館於公族黨氏，而後朝於莊宮。

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, it was the spring, the king's first month.  
2 It was summer, the fourth month.  
3 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant in Hên.  
4 The people of Ts'e seized Pih-kung Kêh, the messenger of Wei, and proceeded to make an incursion into that State.  
5 The marquises of Ts'e and Wei made a covenant in Sha.  
6 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

- 7 Kwoh Hêa of Ts'e led a force and invaded our western border.  
8 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
9 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends two brief notices:—1st, concerning events in Chow. 'This spring, in the 2d month, Tan P'een of Chow entered into E-leih, and held it in revolt.' 2d, of the relations between Loo and Ts'e. 'The people of Ts'e restored Yun and Yang-kwan [to Loo]. Yang Hoo took the merit of this, and assumed [the more] the functions of the govt.']

Par. 2. [The Chuen continues the narrative of events in Chow:—'In the 4th month duke Woo of Shen and duke Hwan of Lëw defeated the lord of Yin at K'ung-kuh.]

Par. 3. Hên,—see V. xiii. 3. This covenant is remarkable as indicating that the dominion of the *pa*, or leaders of the States, had passed away. The kingdom had in this respect reverted to the condition in which it was before the rise of duke Hwan of Ts'e. No one State could maintain pre-eminence over others. One and another now began to meet and covenant together as suited their private convenience, though Ts'e, perhaps, cherished a lingering hope of regaining its former influence. The Chuen says that these princes now required [the marquis of] Wei to attend a meeting.

Par. 4, 5. Instead of 沙 Kung-yang has 沙澤, and the Chuen has 瑣. The place is the same as the 瑣澤 in VIII. xii. 2, and was in the east of the *pres. dis.* of Yuen-shing (元城). *dep.* Ta-ming, Chih-le. It belonged to Tsin. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Wei wished to revolt from Tsin, but his great officers objected to such a course. On this he dispatched Pih-kung Kêh to Ts'e, and sent a

private message to the marquis, saying, "Seize Kêh, and then make an incursion upon us." The marquis of Ts'e did so, and then the marquis of Wei made a covenant with him in So.' The 以 in par. 4 must be taken as = 遂. See V. xxi. 4, where we have it used in the same way.

Par. 7. The object of Ts'e in now invading Loo was, we may suppose, to force it to revolt from Tsin, as Ch'ing and Wei had done. Loo tried to meet the invaders, when, according to the Chuen, 'Yang Hoo acted as charioteer to Ke Hwan-tsze, and Kung-lên Ch'oo-foo to Mäng E-tsze. [Hoo] was about to attack at night the army of Ts'e, which got intelligence of the project, assumed the appearance of being unprepared, and lay in ambush to await the onset. Ch'oo-foo said, "Hoo, you have not calculated the danger; you shall die." Chen E said to him, "Hoo, you are plunging the two ministers into danger. I will kill you, without waiting for the officers [of justice]." Hoo became afraid, and withdrew, so that no defeat was sustained.'

Par. 8. This is the second instance of the repetition of a sacrifice for rain. The other was in the 25th year of duke Ch'ao.

Par. 9. [The Chuen goes on here with the account of things in Chow:—'In winter in the 11th month, on Mow-woo, the viscounts of Shen and Lëw met the king in the house of K'ing-she (commandant of Koo-yëw). Tseih Ts'in of Tsin escorted him, and on Ke-sze he entered the royal city. He lodged [first] in the house of Chang, Head of a ducal clan, and afterwards repaired to announce his arrival in the temple of king Chwang.]]

## Eighth year.

八年<sup>一</sup>春王正月，公侵齊。  
二月<sup>二</sup>，公至自侵齊。  
三月<sup>三</sup>，公至自侵齊。  
曹伯露卒<sup>四</sup>。  
夏<sup>五</sup>齊國夏帥師伐我西鄙<sup>六</sup>。  
公會晉師于瓦<sup>七</sup>。  
公至自瓦<sup>八</sup>。

晉師將盟衛侯於鄆澤。趙簡子曰：「羣臣誰敢盟衛君者？」涉佗成何曰：「我能盟之。」衛人請執牛耳。成何曰：「衛，吾溫原也，焉得視諸侯？」將歃，涉佗援衛侯之手及挽衛侯怒。王孫賈趨進曰：「盟以信禮也，有如衛君，其敢不唯禮是事而受此盟也？」衛侯欲叛晉而思諸大夫。王孫賈使次於郊。大夫問故，公以晉語語之，且曰：「寡人辱社稷，其改卜嗣，寡人從焉。」大夫曰：「是衛之禍，豈君之過也？」公曰：「又有患焉，謂寡人必以而子，與大夫之子爲質。」大夫曰：「苟有益也，公子則往。」羣臣之子敢不皆負羈縻以從？將行，王孫賈曰：「苟衛國有難，工商未嘗不爲患，使皆行而後可。公以告大夫，乃皆將行之。」行有日，公朝國人，使賈問焉曰：「若衛叛晉，晉五伐我，病何如矣？」皆曰：「五伐我，猶可以能戰。」賈曰：「然則如叛之病而後質焉，何遲之有？」乃叛晉。晉人請改盟，弗許。秋，晉士鞅會成桓公，侵鄭，圍蟲牢，報伊闕也，遂侵衛。

九月，師侵衛，晉故也。

季寤，公鉏極，公山不狃，皆不得志於季氏。叔孫輒無寵於叔孫氏。叔仲志不得志於魯，故五人因陽虎。陽虎欲去三桓，以季寤更季氏，以叔孫輒更叔孫氏，己更孟氏。冬，十月，順祀先公而祈焉。辛卯，禘於僖公。

壬辰，將享季氏於蒲圃而殺之。戒都車曰：「癸巳至。」成宰公斂處父告孟孫曰：「季氏戒都車，何故？」孟孫曰：「吾弗聞。」處父曰：「然則亂也，必及於子。」先備諸與孟孫以壬辰爲期。陽虎前驅，林楚御桓子，虞人以鉞盾夾之。陽越殿，將如蒲圃。桓子昨謂林楚曰：「而先皆季氏之良也，爾以是繼之。」對曰：「臣聞命後，陽虎爲政，魯國服焉，違之徵死，死無益於主。」桓子曰：「何後之有，而能以我適孟氏乎？」對曰：「不敢愛死，懼不免主。」桓子曰：「往也。」孟氏選圉人之壯者三百人，以爲公期，築室於門外。林楚怒馬及衢而騁，陽越射之，不中。築者闔門，有自門間射陽越，殺之。陽虎劫公與武叔，以伐孟氏。公斂處父帥成人自上東門入，與陽氏戰於南門之內，弗勝。又戰於棘下，陽氏敗。陽虎說甲如公宮，取寶玉大弓以出，舍於五父之衢，寢而爲食。其徒曰：「追其將至。」虎曰：「魯人聞余出，喜於徵死，何暇追？」

九章 秋七月，戊辰，陳侯柳卒。

十章 晉士鞅帥師侵鄭，遂侵

衛。

十一章 葬曹靖公。

十二章 九月，葬陳懷公。

季孫斯、仲孫何忌帥師

侵衛。

十四章 冬，衛侯鄭伯盟于曲濮。

從祀先公。

盜竊寶玉大弓。

左傳曰：八年春，王正月，公侵齊，門於陽州。士皆坐列，曰：「顏高之弓六鈞，皆取而傳觀之。」陽州人出，顏高奪人弱弓，籍丘子鉏擊之，與一人俱斃，偃且射子鉏中頰，殪。顏息射人中眉，退曰：「我無勇，吾志其目也。」師退，冉猛僞傷足而先，其兄會乃呼曰：「猛也。」

①二月己丑，單子伐穀城，劉子伐儀栗，辛卯，單子伐簡城，劉子伐孟以定王室。

②趙鞅言於晉侯曰：「諸侯唯宋事晉，好逆其使，猶懼不至，今又執之，是絕諸侯也。」將歸樂祁士鞅曰：「三年止之，無故而歸之，宋必叛。」

晉獻子私謂子梁曰：「寡君懼不得事宋君，是以止子，子姑使溷代。」子梁以告陳寅，陳寅曰：「宋將叛晉，是棄溷也，不如待之。」樂祁歸卒於犬行，士鞅曰：「宋必叛，不如止其尸，以求成焉。」乃止諸州。

公侵齊，攻廩丘之郛，主人焚衝，或濡馬褐以救之，遂毀之。主人出，師奔，陽虎僞不見冉猛者，曰：「猛在此，必敗。」猛逐之，顧而無繼，僞顛虎曰：「盡客氣也。」苦越生子，將待事而名之。陽州之役獲焉，名之曰陽州。

夏，齊國夏高張伐我西鄙。

晉士鞅、趙鞅、荀寅救我，公會晉師于瓦。范獻子執羔，趙簡子中行文子，皆執鴈，魯於是始尚羔。

晉士鞅、趙鞅、荀寅救我，公會晉師于瓦。范獻子執羔，趙簡子，中行文子，皆執鴈，魯於是始尚羔。

文子，皆執鴈，魯於是始尚羔。

爲嗣 陽之 子懼 桓許 之劍 劍嘯 余  
政子 鄭陽 虎廟 於言 而子 陽孟 陽陽 從  
犬駟 關入 而季 辨歸 孟欲 孫請 在駕 者  
叔歎 以於 出氏 舍之 孫殺 弗追 公公 曰

- VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke made an incursion into Ts'e.
- 2 The duke arrived from the incursion into Ts'e.
- 3 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Ts'e.
- 4 In the third month, the duke arrived from the incursion into Ts'e.
- 5 Loo, earl of Ts'aou, died.
- 6 In summer, Kwoh Hëa of Ts'e led a force, and invaded our western border.
- 7 The duke had a meeting with an army of Tsin in Wa.
- 8 The duke arrived from Wa.
- 9 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Mow-shin, Lëw, marquis of Ch'in, died.
- 10 Sze Yang of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ch'ing, going on to make one into Wei.
- 11 There was the burial of duke Tsing of Ts'aou.
- 12 In the ninth month, there was the burial of duke Hwae of Ch'in.
- 13 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and made an incursion into Wei.
- 14 In winter, the marquis of Wei and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant in K'ëuh-puh.
- 15 We sacrificed to the former dukes according to their proper order.
- 16 A robber stole the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow.

Parr. 1, 2. This incursion would be made to retaliate the invasion of Loo by Kwoh Hëa in the previous autumn. The Chuen says:—"The duke made an incursion into Ts'e, and attacked the gate of Yang-chow. The soldiers all sat in ranks on the ground, and talked of the bow of Yen Kaou, how it was 180 catties in weight, taking it also and handing it round for all to look at. [In the meantime], the men of Yang-chow came out, and Yen Kaou seized a weak bow from another man; but Tsze-ts'oo of Tseih-k'ëw attacked him with a sword, [or spear], and he and another man both fell down; but Yen then shot Tsze-ts'oo in the jaw, and killed him. Yen Seih shot a man in the eyebrow, and retired saying, "I have no valour. I meant to hit his eye." When the army withdrew, Jen Mäng preceded it, pretending to be wounded in his foot. His elder brother Hwuy, [when he saw the troops return without Mäng], cried out, "Mäng must be bringing up the rear!"

[The Chuen introduces here two narratives:—1st, about affairs in Chow. In the 2d month,

on Ke-ch'ow, the viscount of Shen attacked Kuh-shing, and the viscount of Lëw attacked E-leih. On Sin-maou, the former attacked Këen-shing, and the latter Yu. The object of these operations was to effect the settlement of the royal House.]

2d, about the affairs of Tsin and Sung. 'Chau Yang said to the marquis of Tsin, "Of all the States it is only Sung which [heartily] serves Tsin. We should be glad to meet a messenger from it, still apprehensive lest he would not come. But now by seizing and holding its messenger, we are repelling the States from us." It was [then] designed to send Yoh K'e back to Sung, but Sze Yang said, "We have detained him three years; and if we send him back without any ground for doing so, Sung is sure to revolt from us." Hëen-tsze then said privately to Tsze-lëang (Yoh K'e), "Our ruler was afraid of not finding an opportunity to serve the ruler of Sung, and therefore detained you. Do you get Hwän [your son] to come and take your place for the present." Tsze-lëang told this to Ch'in Yin,

who said, "Sung will revolt from Tsin. It would only be throwing Hwän away. You had better wait here." [In the end], Yoh K'e was returning [to Sung], and died in T'ae-häng, on which Sze Yang said, "Sung is sure to revolt. We had better detain his body as a means of seeking peace with it." The body was accordingly detained in Chow.]

Parr. 3, 4. Dissatisfied with the little success of his expedition in the 1st month, the duke now made, or was compelled by Yang Hoo to make, another, which was as fruitless. The Chuen says:—"The duke made an incursion into Ts'e, and attacked the outer suburbs of Lin-k'ëw. The inhabitants set fire to their large war chariots; but some of the men put out the flames with horse-rugs soaked in water, and they then broke down [the wall of the suburbs]. The inhabitants came out, and [the rest of] the army hurried forwards. Yang Hoo, pretending that he did not see Jen Mäng, cried out, "If Mäng were here, he would be sure to be defeated!" Mäng pursued the enemy, but looking round, and seeing no others following him, he pretended [to be hit], and threw himself down, when Hoo said, "All behave like visitors."

'Chen Yueh had a son born at this time, and was waiting the result of these expeditions to give him a name. As some prisoners were taken in the affair at Yang-chow (In the 1st month), he gave the child the name of Yang-chow.'

Par. 5. Wang K'ih-k'wan thus runs over the history of the two last earls of Ts'aou:—"When duke Shing (聲) had occupied the earldom 5 years, he was murdered by his younger brother T'ung (通), who took his place. He again—duke Yin—after 4 years was murdered by his younger brother, Loo, who took his place. Loo was succeeded by his son Yang (陽).'

Par. 6. Tso repeats this par. with the addition of Kaou Chang as commanding the troops of Ts'e, along with Kwoh Hëa. This attack was, of course, in retaliation for the two incursions into Ts'e.

Par. 7, 8. Wa was in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Hwah (滑), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. The army of Tsin had come to the relief of Loo, but the troops of Ts'e had withdrawn before its arrival. The duke, however, felt it his duty to go on to meet its leaders; but as he had not left his capital for that purpose, the 8th par. simply says that he came 'from Wa,' and not 'from the meeting.' The Chuen says:—"Sze Yang, Chau Yang, and Seun Yin, [came to] relieve us, and the duke went to meet the army of Tsin at Wa. Fan Hëen-tsze (Sze Yang) had a lamb carried with him (As his present of introduction), and Chau Këen-tsze and Chung-häng Wän-tsze (Seun Yin) had each of them a goose. From this time Loo valued the lamb [as a present of introduction]."

Par. 10. Kung-yang has 趙鞅 instead of 士鞅. The Chuen says:—"The army of Tsin was going to impose a covenant on the marquis of Wei at Chuen-tsih; and Chau Këen-tsze said, "Which of you, my officers, will venture to make the covenant with the

marquis of Wei?" Shieh T'ao and Ch'ing Ho undertook to do it, and the people of Wei asked them to hold the bull's ear, but Ch'ing Ho said, 'Wei is [only] like our Wän or Yuen. How can [its lord] be regarded as the prince of a State?' When the marquis was about to put his fingers into the [vessel of] blood, Shieh T'ao pushed his hand in up to the wrist. The marquis was enraged, and Wang-sun Këa hurried forward, and said, "Covenants should serve to illustrate the rules of propriety. Even one like our ruler of Wei did not presume not to do service to [Tsin as being] observant of those rules, and was going to receive this covenant!" The marquis wished to revolt from Tsin, but had a difficulty with the great officers. Wang-sun Këa made him halt in the suburbs; and when the great officers asked the reason, the marquis told them the insults of Tsin, and added, "I have disgraced the altars. You must consult the tortoise-shell, and appoint another in my place. I will agree to your selection." The great officers said, "It is the misfortune of Wei, and not any fault of yours." "There is something worse," said the duke. "They told me that I must send my son and the sons of my great officers as hostages [to Tsin]." The officers replied, "If it will be of any benefit, let the prince go, and our sons will follow him carrying halters and ropes on their backs." It was then arranged that the hostages should go; but Wang-sun Këa said, "If the State of Wei has had any misfortunes, the mechanics and merchants have always shared in them. Let [the sons of] all classes go." The marquis reported this to the great officers, who were willing to send all, and a day was fixed for their setting out. The marquis [in the meantime] gave audience to the people, and made Këa ask them, saying, "If Wei revolt from Tsin, and Tsin 5 times attack us, how would you bear the distress?" They all replied, "Though it should 5 times attack us, we should still be able to fight." "Then," said Këa, "we had better revolt from it at once. We can give our hostages when we are brought to distress. It will not then be too late." Accordingly Wei revolted from Tsin, and refused, though Tsin requested it, to make another covenant.

'In autumn, Sze Yang of Tsin joined duke Hwan of Ch'ing (成) in an incursion into Ch'ing, when they laid siege to Ch'ung-laou, in retaliation for Ch'ing's [attack of] E-keueh (See the 2d narr. after VI. 4). They then went on to an incursion into Wei.'

Par. 13. Tso says this incursion was made on account of Tsin. That State now called in the help of Loo to wreak its anger on Wei.

Par. 14. 曲濮 is explained as if it were 濮曲, a well known bend or turn of the river Puh, in the pres. Puh Chow, dep. Ts'aou-chow, Shan-tung. It was in Wei. The object of the covenant between Ch'ing and Wei was, no doubt, to encourage each other in their revolt from Tsin.

Par. 15. To understand this par., the reader must refer to the long note on VI. ii. 6. The tablets of the dukes Min and He were then made to change places, contrary to the natural order, and this would affect the order in which the tablets of the subsequent dukes had been

arranged. This error was now corrected; the tablet of Min was restored to its proper place, and the others placed where they ought always to have been. This is the view of Tso-she, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lêng, who make the former dukes to be He and Min. Maou, however, argues from XII. iii. 3, that the shrine-house of He continued at that time to follow that of Hwan; but we cannot be certain that the fire which is there mentioned followed what may be called 'its natural course.' Hoo Gan-kwoh, following some scholar of Shuh, called Fung Shan (蜀人馮山), prefers to understand 先公 of duke Ch'au, whose tablet, he supposes, had till this time been kept out of the ancestral temple by the influence of the Ke family. But, as the K'ang-he editors observe, if this view, otherwise not unreasonable, were the correct one, the analogy of the Classic would make us expect the name 昭 in the text, rather than the indefinite 先公.

The Chuen says:—'Ke Woo, Kung-ts'oo Keih, and Kung-shan Puh-nêw could not get their way with Ke-she. Shuh-sun Cheh did not find favour with Shuh-sun-she, and Shuh-chung Che could not get his way in the State. These five men, in consequence, joined Yang Hoo, who wished to take off [the Heads of] the three Hwan clans, and to give to Ke Woo the place of Ke-she, and to Shuh-sun Cheh that of Shuh-sun-she, while he himself took the place of Máng-she. In winter, in the 10th month, they offered sacrifice to the former dukes in their natural order, and prayed [for their sanction to their scheme]; and on Sin-maou, they offered the *te* sacrifice in the temple of duke He.'

According to this narrative, the re-arrangement of the sacrificial order proceeded from Yang Hoo; and as it was made in contemplation of a *coup*, he probably designed to intimate that his object was to put civil matters, as well as religious, 'in a natural order.' The *te* sacrifice in He's temple, where all the tablets were brought together, would be to console He's Spirit, for the previous degradation of his own tablet.'

Par. 16. The Chuen says:—'On Jin-shin, [Yang Hoo] was going to give an entertainment to Ke-she in the orchard of P'oo, with the intention of killing him there, and gave notice to the war-chariots of the capital to come to him on Kwei-sze. Kung-lên Ch'oo-foo, commandant of Ch'ing, told Máng-sun of this, and asked why Ke-she (Yang Hoo must have done it in his name) had given such an order. Máng-sun said he had not heard of it. "Then," observed Ch'oo-foo, "they are going to raise an insurrection, which will be sure to extend to you. Let us be prepared for it beforehand;" and accordingly he arranged with Máng-sun to be ready to act on Jin-shin.

[That day], Yang Hoo rode [to the orchard] before the others, and Lin Ts'oo drove Hwan-tsze, with a body of foresters armed with spears and shields on each side of the chariot, while Yang Yueh brought up the rear. As they drew near to the place, Hwan-tsze, in doubt, said to Lin Ts'oo, "Your forefathers were all faithful servants of the Ke family:—is it in this way

that you are following their example?" Ts'oo replied, "Your order comes too late. The government is in the hands of Yang Hoo, and the State is submissive to him. To oppose him is to invite death; and my death would be of no advantage to you." Hwan-tsze said, "It is not too late. Can you go with me to Máng-she's?" "I do not dare to grudge dying," was the reply, "but I am afraid I shall not be able to bring you off." "Go," said Hwan-tsze.

'Máng-she had selected 300 of his grooms, who were all strong men, and had set them to build a house outside his gate for Kung-k'e. Lin Ts'oo made his horses furious, and when he got to the street, galloped them along [to Máng-she's house]. Yang Yueh sent an arrow after him which missed, and the builders shut the gate, through which some one shot Yang Yueh, and killed him.

'Yang Hoo [now] brought by force the duke and Woo-shuh (Shuh-sun-she) with him to attack Máng-she; but Kung-lên Ch'oo-foo, at the head of the men of Ch'ing, entered the city by the upper east gate, and fought with the adherents of Yang inside the south gate. This battle was unsuccessful, but in another, in Keih-hêa, the Yang-ites were defeated. Yang Hoo then threw off his armour, went to the duke's palace, and took from it the precious symbol of jade, and the great bow. With these he came forth and halted in the street of Woo-foo, where he went to sleep, and afterwards had a meal prepared. His followers said, "The pursuers will be upon us;" but he replied, "When the people hear that I am gone forth, they will all be rejoicing over [Ke-sun's escape from] the summons to death, and will have no leisure to pursue me." His followers, however, said, "Ha! get the horses quickly yoked. Kung-lên Yang (Ch'oo-foo) will be here!" Kung-lên Yang did ask leave to pursue the fugitives, but Máng-sun refused it. Yang also wished to kill Hwan-tsze, but Máng-sun was afraid, and sent Hwan-tsze to his own house.

'Tsze-yen (Ke Woo) drank and replaced the cups, all round, before the shrines in the temple of the Ke family, and then went forth. Yang Hoo entered the pass of Hwan-yang, and held it in revolt.'

From this narrative it appears that by the 'robber' in the text we are to understand Yang Hoo. It was not proper, according to Too, that the name or family name of him, who was merely the minister of a clan in the State, should appear in the text. The precious *yuh* and the great bow have, since Lêw Hin of the Han dynasty, been understood to be 'the *huang*-stone of the sovereigns of Hêa, and the great bow Fan-joh of Fung-foo,' mentioned in the long narrative on IV. 4, as having been given by king Ch'ing to the first duke of Loo. The loss of them in such a way was very insulting to Loo, and might be considered ominous of its destruction.

[The Chuen appends here:—'In Ch'ing, Sze Chuen (known as 騶子然, a son of Tsze-hêa) succeeded Tsze-t'ae-shuh as chief minister of that State.']

Ninth year.

九年春王正月  
夏四月戊申  
鄭伯蠆卒  
得寶玉大弓  
六月葬鄭獻  
公秋齊侯  
衛侯次于五  
氏秦伯卒  
冬葬秦哀公

左傳曰九年春宋公使樂大心盟於晉且逆樂祁之尸辭僞有疾乃使向巢如晉盟且逆子梁之尸子明謂桐門右師出曰吾猶衰經而子擊鐘何也右師曰喪不在此故也既而告人曰己衰經而生子余何故舍鐘子明聞之怒言於公曰右師將不利戴氏不肯適晉將作亂也不然無疾乃逐桐門右師鄭駟黜殺鄧析而用其竹刑君子謂子然於是不忠苟有可以加於國家者棄其邪可也靜女之三章取彤管焉竿旄何以告之取其忠也故用其道不棄其人詩云蔽芾甘棠勿剪勿伐召伯所茇思其人猶愛其樹況用其道而不恤其人乎子然無以勸能矣夏陽虎歸寶玉大弓書曰得器用也凡獲器用曰得得用焉曰獲六月伐陽關陽虎使焚萊門師驚犯之而出奔齊請師以伐魯曰三加必取之齊侯將許之鮑文子諫曰臣嘗爲隸於施氏矣魯未可取也上下猶和衆庶猶睦能事大國而無天菑若之何取之陽虎欲勤齊師也齊師罷大臣必多死亡已於是乎奮其詐謀夫陽虎有寵於季氏而將殺季孫以不利魯國而求容焉親富不親仁君焉用之君富於季氏而大於魯國茲陽虎所欲傾覆也魯免其疾而君又收之無乃害乎齊侯執陽虎將東之陽虎願東乃囚諸西鄙盡借邑人之車鑊其軸麻約而歸之載葱靈寢於其中而逃追而得之囚於齊又以葱靈逃奔宋遂奔晉適趙氏仲尼曰趙氏其世有亂乎秋齊侯伐晉夷儀敝無存之父將室之辭以與其弟曰此役也不死反必娶於



軒者之賞製犁師驕衛牟也牟猛曰者登高  
與以東公彌敗其雖中衛也牟我絕鞅國  
直五郭使彌帥其車衛侯先而彌從之  
蓋家視辭又帥人當其將登後之  
而免書曰賤君伐之寡五氏下書  
先乃東有先致遇在焉未可褚師  
歸齊曰郭登者臣從之齊侯賞克  
之侯彼登者臣從之齊侯賞克  
坐謂賓旅也乃夫子也吾貶子  
引夷儀人曰得敝無存  
者公三櫨之與之  
以師哭之  
親

- IX. 1 It was [the duke's] ninth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Mow-shin, Ch'ae, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
3 We got [again] the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow.  
4 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke H'een of Ch'ing.  
5 In autumn, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at Woo-she.  
6 The earl of Ts'in died.  
7 In winter, there was the burial of duke Gae of Ts'in.

Par. 1. [We have here two narratives in the Chuen:—1st, relating to affairs in Sung, a sequel to that after the 2d par. of last year. 'This spring, the duke of Sung wished to send Yoh Ta-sin to make a covenant with Tsin, and to receive the corpse of Yoh K'e, but he declined the mission on the pretence that he was unwell, and it was entrusted to H'ang Ch'au. [In consequence of this], Tsze-ming (Yoh K'e's son, H'wan), ordered the master of the Right (Ta-sin, who is here also called T'ung-mun, 桐門, as a sort of surname from his place of residence) away [when he called upon him], saying, "Why is it that you strike your bells, when I am still wearing deep mourning for my father?" The master replied, "Your mourning could not be affected by that;" and afterwards he remarked to some one, "He could beget a child while wearing his deep mourning; why should I not strike my bells?" Tsze-ming heard of this, and was angry, so that he said to the duke, "The master of the Right will prove injurious to the clans descended from duke Tae. His refusal to go to Tsin must have come from a design to

some insubordinate proceedings. It must be so, for he had no sickness." On this they drove the master out of the State.'

2d, about the new chief minister of Ch'ing, a sequel to the concluding notice of last year:— 'Sze Chuen of Ch'ing put to death T'ang Seih, and proceeded to employ the penal laws inscribed by him on tablets of bamboo. The superior man will say that in this matter Tsze-jen (Chuen) did not act in a good and generous way. If a man has what will be of advantage to the State, any perversity of his may be overlooked. The three stanzas of the Tsing-neu (She, I. iii., Ode XVII.) had their place assigned them [in the She] because of the "Red-coloured reed" [in the 2d]. The Kan maou (I. iv. ode VII.) with its "What will thou tell him?" had its place from the generous loyalty [which it indicates]. Therefore, when we make use of a man's methods, we do not cast himself away. The ode (I. ii. ode V.) says,

This umbrageous sweet pear tree!  
Clip it not nor hew it down;—  
Under it the Chief of Shaou lodged.'

The writer, thinking of the man, loved even his tree; how much more should we compassionate the man of whose methods we are making use! Tsze-jen took no means to encourage ability.]

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 蔓 for 蔓.

Par. 3. Tso-she gives here a canon about the use of 得 and 獲. 'We have here,' he says, '得, because the things were articles of use, and the taking such articles is described by 得; but when the use of them follows on the getting them, that getting is described by 獲.' The meaning is not clear, and the canon is unnecessary. The Chuen says:—

'Yang Hoo returned the precious symbol of jade and the great bow. In summer we attacked the Yang pass, but Hoo ordered the Lae gate to be set on fire; and while the troops were alarmed, he assailed them, and made his escape. Having fled to Ts'e, he begged [the assistance of] an army, with which to invade Loo, saying that after three attacks that State was sure to be taken. The marquis was about to grant his request, when Paou Wan-tze remonstrated, saying, "I was in the service formerly of She-she (See the Chuen on VIII. xvii. 5. Wan-tze was the Paou Kwoh there, and must now have been more than 90). [and know that] Loo cannot be taken. There is still harmony between its high officers and low, and its masses are well-affected. It is able to do service to the great State, and has not suffered calamity from Heaven;—how should we be able to take it? Yang Hoo wishes to impose hard toil on the army of Ts'e, so that many of our great officers are sure to die under its fatigues, and he will then play out his deceitful plans. He found favour with Ke-she, and then wanted to kill him, that through the disasters of the State he might seek for forbearance with himself. He makes friends of the rich, and not of men of virtue;—why should you use him? You are richer than Ke-she, and [Ts'e] is greater than Loo;—it is just you whom Yang Hoo will want to overthrow. Loo has got rid of its plague;—is not your lordship doing yourself an injury in receiving him?" [On this], the marquis of Ts'e seized Hoo, and was going to send him to the east. [He said that] he wished to go there, and he was banished to [a city on] the western border. There he borrowed all the chariots of the city, cut through their axles, and returned them, bound up with hemp. He then went into a baggage waggon, lay down in it, and made his escape. He was pursued, however, taken, and sent to be confined in the capital, but he made his escape from it again in a baggage-waggon, and fled to Sung. From Sung he fled to Tsin, and took refuge with the Head of the Chaou family. Chung-ne said, "Shall not the family of Chaou always be troubled with insubordination?"

Par. 6. Woo-she was a city of Tsin,—in the west of the pres. dis. of Han-tan (邯鄲), dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. The marquises of Ts'e and Wei were now engaged in an invasion of Tsin, and the text might have been 齊侯衛侯伐晉. Too supposes that they shrank

from publicly announcing in plain terms their commencement of hostilities against a State which had so long been lord of covenants, and therefore sent the modified notification in the text.

The Chuen says:—'This autumn, the marquis of Ts'e attacked [the city] E-e of Tsin. Pe Woo-ts'un's father was about to marry him [at that time] to a lady, but he declined the match, asking that she might be given to his younger brother. "If I do not die," said he, "in this expedition, when I return, I shall take a wife from the House of Kaou or from that of Kwoh." He mounted the wall [of E-e] before any other, but in seeking to get out at the gate, he was killed under the eaves. Tung-kwoh Shoo then took it on him to ascend before the rest, and was followed by Le Me, who said to him, "Do you stand aside to the left, and I will do the same to the right. When the others have done scaling, we can then go down [and open the gates]." On this Shoo took the left, and Me was down before him. [After the city was carried], Shoo was resting by Wang Mang, who said to him, "I was the first to get up," on which Shoo fastened his buff-coat and said, "He placed me a little ago in a false position, and you are now doing the same." Mang smiled and said, "I followed you as closely as the outside horse follows the inside."

'Tsin had a thousand chariots in Chung-mow, and as the marquis of Wei wished to go to Woo-she, he consulted the tortoise-shell about passing that place. The shell was [only] burnt [and gave no indication], on which he said, "It will do. The chariots of Wei can cope with half of them, and I will cope with the other half. We shall be a match for them." Accordingly, he passed by Chung-mow, and when the men of that place wanted to attack him, Choo-sze Poo of Wei, who was a refugee there, said, "Though Wei is but small, its ruler is there. You will not conquer him. The army of Ts'e is arrogant through having reduced the city. Its commander also is of mean rank. If you meet it, you are sure to defeat it. Your best plan is to pursue Ts'e." In accordance with this advice, they attacked the army of Ts'e, and defeated it.

'The marquis of Ts'e gave to Wei [the three cities of] Choh, Wei, and H'ang. He was going to reward Le Me, but that officer declined any reward, saying, "There was one who mounted the wall before me, with a white complexion, fine teeth, and wearing a fox's fur." The marquis sent to see Tung-kwoh Shoo, and then said, to him, "It was you. I will give the reward to you." Shoo, however, said, "He [and I] were like guests [at the same feast];"—declining the reward, which was then given to Le Me.

'When the army of Ts'e was in E-e, the marquis said to the inhabitants, "He who finds P'e Woo-ts'un shall be made chief of 5 houses and exempted from all services." In this way he recovered Woo-ts'un's body, which was encased in 3 suits of clothes from the marquis. A chariot of rhinoceros' hide went before the coffin, and a high umbrella, and in this fashion it was sent home before the army. While the trackers knelt, the marquis wept by the coffin before the troops, and with his own hand pushed the bier on three turns of the wheels.'

Tenth year.

十年春王三月及齊平。  
夏公會齊侯于夾谷。公至自夾谷。  
晉趙鞅帥師圍衛。  
齊人來歸鄆、龜陰田。  
叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師圍郕。  
秋，叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師圍郕。  
宋樂大心出奔曹。宋公子地出奔陳。  
冬，齊侯、衛侯、鄭游速會于安甫。  
叔孫州仇如齊。  
宋公之弟辰暨仲佗、石彊出奔陳。

左傳曰：十年春，及齊平。夏，公會齊侯於祝其，實夾谷。孔丘相，犂彌言於齊侯曰：「孔丘知禮而無勇，若使萊人以兵劫魯侯，必得志焉。」齊侯從之。孔丘以公退曰：「士兵之兩君合好，而裔夷之俘以兵亂之，非齊君所以命諸侯也。裔不謀夏，夷不亂華，俘不干盟，兵不偪好，於神為不祥。於德為愆義，於人為失禮，君必不然。」齊侯聞之，遽辟之。將盟，齊人加於載書曰：「齊師出竟而不以甲車三百乘從我者，有如此盟。」孔丘使茲無還揖對曰：「而不反我汶陽之田，吾以共命者，亦如之。」齊侯將享公，孔丘謂梁丘據曰：「齊魯之故，吾子何不聞焉？事既成矣，而又享之，是勤執

事也。且犧象不出門，嘉樂不野合，饗而既具，是棄禮也。若其不具，用秕稗也。用秕稗君辱，棄禮名惡，子盍圖之。夫享所以昭德也，不昭不如其已也，乃不果享。

晉趙鞅圍衛，報夷儀也。初，衛侯伐邯鄲，午於寒氏，城其西北而守之，宵燿。及晉圍衛，午以徒七十人，門於衛西門，殺人於門中，曰：「請報寒氏之役。」涉佗曰：「夫子則勇矣，然我往，必不敢啟門，亦以徒七十人，旦門焉，步左右皆至而立如植，日中不啟門，乃退。」反役，晉人討衛之叛故，曰：「由涉佗，成何？於是執涉佗，以求成於衛，衛人不許。晉人遂殺涉佗，成何奔燕。」君子曰：「此之謂棄禮，必不鈞。」詩曰：「人而無禮，何不遄死。」涉佗亦遄矣哉。

齊人來歸鄆、龜陰之田。

初，叔孫成子欲立武叔，公若藐固諫曰：「不可。成子立之而卒，公南使賊射之，不能殺。公南為馬正，使公若為郕宰。武叔既定，使郕馬正侯犯殺公若，弗能。其國人曰：『吾以劍過朝，公若必曰：『誰之劍也？』吾稱子以告，必觀之。』」吾僞固而授之，末則可殺也。使如之。公若曰：「爾欲吳王我乎？遂殺公若。」侯犯以郕叛，武叔懿子圍郕，弗克。

秋，二子及齊師復圍郕，弗克。叔孫謂郕工師曰：「赤曰：『郕非唯叔孫氏之憂，社稷之患也。』將若之何？」對曰：「臣之業在揚水卒章之四言矣。」叔孫稽首。赤謂侯犯曰：「居齊魯之際，而無事，必不可矣。子盍求事於齊，以臨民，不然，將叛。」侯犯從之。齊使至，赤亦與郕人為之宣言於郕中曰：「侯犯將以郕易於齊，齊人將遷郕民，眾兇懼，赤謂侯犯曰：『眾言異矣，子不如易於齊，與其死也，猶是郕也，而得紿焉，何必此？』」齊人欲以此徇魯，必倍與子地，且盍多舍甲於子之門，以備不虞。」侯犯曰：「諾。」乃多舍甲焉。侯犯請易於齊，齊有司觀郕將至，赤亦使周走呼曰：「齊師至矣。」郕人大駭，介侯犯之門甲，以圍侯犯。赤將射之，侯犯止之曰：「謀免我。」侯犯請行，許之。赤亦先如宿，侯犯殿，每出一門，郕人閉之。及郭門，止之曰：「子以叔孫氏之甲出，有司若誅之，羣臣懼死。」赤曰：「叔孫氏之甲有物，吾未敢以出。」犯謂赤曰：「子止而與之數。」赤止而納魯人，侯犯奔齊，齊人乃致郕。

石疆出奔陳。以國人出君誰與處。冬母弟辰暨仲佗。辰爲之請弗聽。辰曰是我廷吾兄也。吾君豈以爲寡君賜。君之執事夫不令之臣天下之所惡也。所以事君封疆社稷是以敢以家隸勤。際故敢助君憂之。對曰非寡君之望也。郈在君之他竟寡人何知焉。屬與敝邑。武叔聘於齊齊侯享之曰子叔孫若使。使其徒扶燧而奪之。燧懼將走公閉門。而泣之目盡腫。母弟辰曰子分室以與。獵也而獨卑燧亦有頗焉。子爲君禮不。過出竟君必止子。公子地出奔陳公弗止。武叔聘於齊齊侯享之曰子叔孫若使。使其徒扶燧而奪之。燧懼將走公閉門。而泣之目盡腫。母弟辰曰子分室以與。獵也而獨卑燧亦有頗焉。子爲君禮不。過出竟君必止子。公子地出奔陳公弗止。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, we made peace with Ts'e.  
 2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at K'eah-kuh.  
 3 The duke came from K'eah-kuh.  
 4 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Wei.  
 5 An officer came from Ts'e and restored [to us] Yun, Hwan, and the lands of Kwei-yin.  
 6 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to How.  
 7 In autumn, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to How.  
 8 Yoh Ta-sin of Sung fled from that State to Ts'auou.  
 9 The Kung-tsze Te of Sung fled from that State to Ch'in.  
 10 In winter, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei, and Y'ew Suh of Ch'ing, had a meeting in Gan-poo.  
 11 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew went to Ts'e.  
 12 Shin, a younger brother of the duke of Sung, with Chung T'o and Shih K'ow, fled from that State to Ch'in.

Par. 1. For 8 years now there had been hostilities between Loo and Ts'e, which were happily terminated by this peace. The influence of Confucius was now felt in the councils of Loo, and many of the critics ascribe the peace, with probability, to that. In the omission of 公 before 及, Le L'een sees an intimation that the peace was desired by the whole State; but when some other critics would press the 及, as indicating that the peace was agreed to by Ts'e at the earnest instance of Loo, he demurs to such a view as inconsistent with the calm dignity of the sage.

Par. 2. For 夾 Kung-yang has 煩. The situation of K'eah-kuh is not positively determined, and it has been assigned to three different places. The K'ang-he editors incline to place it in the dis. of Lae-woo (萊蕪), dep. T'ae-gan. The object of the meeting was, no doubt, to confirm the peace which had been agreed upon.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Chuh-k'e, i. e., K'eah-kuh, when K'ung K'ew attended him as director [of the ceremonies]. Le Me had said to the marquis, "K'ung K'ew is ac-

quainted with ceremonies, but has no courage. If you employ some of the natives of Lae to come with weapons and carry off the marquis of Loo, you will get from him whatever you wish." The marquis of Ts'e had arranged accordingly, but K'ung K'ew withdrew with the duke, saying, "Let the soldiers smite those [intruders]. You and the marquis of Ts'e are met on terms of friendship, and for those captives from the distant barbarous east to throw the meeting into confusion with their weapons is not the way to get the States to receive his commands. Those distant people have nothing to do with our great land; those wild tribes must not be permitted to create disorder among our flowery States; captives in war should not break in upon a covenant; weapons of war should not come near a friendly meeting. As before the Spirits, such a thing is inauspicious; in point of virtue, it is contrary to what is right; as between man and man, it is a failure in propriety:—the ruler [of Ts'e] must not act thus." When the marquis heard this, he instantly ordered the Lae-ites away.

"When they were about to covenant together, the people of Ts'e added to the words of the covenant these sentences, "Be it to Loo according to [the curses of] this covenant, if, when the army of Ts'e crosses its own borders, it do not follow us with 300 chariots of war." On this K'ung K'ew made Tsze Woo-seuen reply with a bow, "And so be it also to Ts'e, if without restoring to us the lands of Wan-shang you expect us to obey your orders!"

"The marquis of Ts'e wanted to give an entertainment to the duke, but K'ung K'ew said to L'ang-k'ew Keu, "Are you not acquainted with former transactions between Ts'e and Loo? The business is finished, and now to have an entertainment besides would only be troubling the officers. Our cups of ceremony, moreover, do not cross our gates, and our admirable instruments of music are not fit for the wild country. An entertainment at which things were not complete would be a throwing away of the [proper] ceremonies. If things were not complete, it would be like employing chaff and pae [instead of the good grain]. Such employment would be disgraceful to our rulers; and to throw away the proper ceremonies would be to bring a bad report [upon our meeting];—why should you not consider the matter? An entertainment answers the purpose of displaying virtue; if that be not displayed, it is better to have no entertainment."

"Accordingly the purpose of an entertainment was not carried into effect."

The substance of the above narrative is given by Kuh-l'ang, with the embellishment of a jester whom Ts'e sent to dance before the tent of the marquis of Loo; but the K'ang-he editors here reject both the Chuen, as derogatory to Confucius, and licentious additions of romancists. They have the authority for doing so of Choo He, and other Sung scholars; but the objections are mainly based on the inconsistency of the narrative with what they think Ts'e was likely to do in the circumstances, and what they feel sure Confucius would have done. Surely something like what Tso-she tells us did take place at K'eah-kuh. We may believe that he has given us what was the current tradition about the meeting soon after it was held. K'ang

Ping-chang says, "Tso-she was well acquainted with the history of Confucius in Loo;—he had heard and seen the facts. What other testimony can be needed to support his, as if he were speaking of things strange and beyond the sphere of his own knowledge?"

Par. 4. This siege was to be revenged on Wei for the taking of E-e in the autumn of last year. The Chuen says:—"Last year when the marquis of Wei had attacked Woo, the commandant of Han-tan, in Han-she (I. q. 五氏), he raised a wall to the north-west of that city, and guarded it, in consequence of which the inhabitants dispersed in the night. [In consequence of this], Woo now attacked the west gate of the capital of Wei, having 70 footmen with him, and killed a man right in the gate, saying, "Allow me to repay you for the affair of Han-she." Sheh T'o said to him, "You are indeed a man of courage; but if I go, they will not dare to open the gate." Accordingly he also attacked the gate next morning, having with him 70 footmen, whom he arranged on the right and left, where they all stood like trees till noon, when they retired, the gate not having been opened.

"When the expedition returned, the people of Tsin discussed the cause of Wei's revolt, and it was said that it was occasioned by Sheh T'o and Ch'ing Ho. On this they laid hold on Sheh T'o, and asked Wei, [in consideration of their doing so], to come to a good understanding with them; and when Wei refused to do so, they proceeded to put Sheh T'o to death, while Ch'ing Ho fled to Yen.

"The superior man will say that this was an illustration of the saying that they who cast propriety away shall have a different fate from other men. The ode (She, I. iv. ode VIII. 3) says,

"If a man observes not the rules of propriety, Why does he not quickly die?"

Sheh T'o did die quickly."

Par. 5. Kung and Kuh have 運 instead of 鄆, and Kuh has 之 between 陰 and 田. This is the sequel to par. 2, the result of the meeting at K'eah-kuh. Yun, Hwan, and Kwei-yin constituted what were called the lands of Wan-shang. Yun has often occurred. Hwan,—see on II. iii. 6. We might translate 龜陰 田 by 'the lands on the north of mount Kwei;'—which mount lies between the dis. of Sin-t'ae (新泰), dep. T'ae-gan, and that of Sze-shwuy (泗水), dep. Yen-chow. Ts'e, we were told under par. 1 of the 7th year, restored Yun to Loo; but when Yang Hoo fled to Ts'e, he had again delivered it to that State in the 8th year, as well as the other places mentioned.

Par. 6, 7. How was the principal city of the Shuh-sun family, and was at this time held in revolt by one of its retainers. In par. 7, Kung-yang has 費 instead of 郈; but his text must be wrong. Perhaps the two paragraphs following one another, identical save in one character, made him think the 郈 was a mistake; but the thing is clear enough in Tso-she's narrative.

The Chuen says, "Before this, when Shuh-sun Ch'ing-tze wanted to appoint Woo-shuh his successor, Kung-joh Mëaou remonstrated strongly, and urged him not to do so. Ch'ing-tze, however, made the appointment, and died [soon after]. Kung-nan then employed a ruffian to shoot Mëaou, but he did not succeed in killing him. Kung-nan was superintendent of [Shuh-sun's] horses, and sent Kung-joh to be commandant of How.

"When Woo-shuh was established in his position, he employed the superintendent of his horses in How, called How Fan, to kill Kung-joh. He was not able to do so; but one of his grooms said [to Shuh-sun], "I will pass by the court of audience, carrying a sword. Kung-joh will be sure to ask whose it is. I will tell him it is yours, and as he will [want to] look at it, I will pretend to be stupid, and hand it to him with the point turned towards him;—and in this way I can kill him." [Shuh-sun] told the man to do as he proposed; and when Kung-joh was saying, "Do you want to deal with me as the king of Woo was dealt with (See IX. xxix. 4)?" the other killed him. [On this], How Fan took possession of How, and held it in revolt. Woo-shuh and E-tze (Ho-ke) laid siege to it, but could not reduce it.

"In autumn they laid siege to it again, having with them an army of Ts'e, but were again unable to take it. Shuh-sun said to Sze Ch'ih, superintendent of the mechanics of How, "The place is not only an occasion of grief to our own family, but also a source of distress to the whole State; what is to be done?" Ch'ih replied, "My duty is in four words of the last stanza of the Yang-shwuy (She, I. x. ode III. 3. The words are, "I have heard your orders"), on which Shuh-sun bowed to him with his head to the ground. [Soon after], Ch'ih said to How Fan, "It will not do for you to dwell here between Ts'e and Loo, and not be serving either of them. Why not ask to be allowed to do service to Ts'e, and so present yourself to the people with its authority? If you do not do so, they will revolt from you."

"How Fan took his advice, and [ere long] a messenger arrived from Ts'e, for whom Sze Ch'ih and some others spread the report through the city, that How Fan was going to exchange How for a city in Ts'e, and that Ts'e would remove to it the people of How. The people were indignant and frightened, on which Ch'ih said to How Fan, "The people talk differently from what they did. You had better make an exchange with Ts'e. That is better than dying here. It will be another How, and you will be at ease there; why must you stick to this city? The people of Ts'e wish to have this, and so be near to [the capital of] Loo;—they will be sure to give you as much territory again. And why not place a large number of buff-coats near your gate, to be prepared for any unexpected movement?" "Very well," said How Fan, and accordingly he placed a number of buffcoats [at his gate]. He [also] asked leave of Ts'e to make an exchange with it of How, and [it was arranged that] a commissioner should come from that State to view the city. Just before his arrival, Ch'ih sent men to run about everywhere, crying out, "The army of Ts'e is come." The people were in

great alarm, got between the buff-coats and the gate, and held How Fan in siege. Ch'ih proposed shooting at them, but Fan stopped him, saying, "Try to get me off." He then asked to be allowed to leave the place, which the people granted. Ch'ih preceded him to Suh, and Fan himself went last of all. Whenever he went out at a gate, the people shut it. When he had got to the gate in the suburbs, they stopped him saying, "You are going away with the buff-coats of the Shuh-sun family. If the officers require them from us, we are afraid we shall have to die." Sze Ch'ih said (He must have returned from Suh), "Shuh-sun's buff-coats have their own mark. We do not dare to take them with us." How Fan said to him, "Do you stop, and number them with them." Ch'ih accordingly stayed, and delivered the buff-coats to the men of Loo. How Fan fled to Ts'e, and the people of that State gave the city over to Loo.

Par. 8. Kung-yang has 世 for 大. See the 1st narr. appended to par. 1 of last year, where this par. is anticipated.

Parr. 9, 12. Here and afterwards, Kung-yang has 池 for 地, as the name of the prince. Both he and Shin were brothers of the duke. After 暨 in par. 12 Kung and Kuh introduce a 宋.

The Chuen says:—"The Kung-tsze Te of Sung was so much attached to Këu Foo-lëeh, that he divided his property into 11 parts, and gave him 5 of them. He had 4 white horses, which the duke's favourite Hëang Tuy wanted to get; and the duke gave them to him, having coloured their manes and tails red. Te was enraged, and made his servants beat Tuy, and take the horses from him. Tuy was afraid, and going to run away, when the duke shut his gate, and wept over him, till his eyes were quite swollen.

"Te's own brother Shin, said to him, "You divided your property, and gave [half] to Lëeh. That you should make an exception of Tuy, and humiliate him, was an act of partiality. You must show respect to the ruler. If you just cross the borders, he will be sure to send and stop you." [On this] Te fled to Ch'in, without the duke's stopping him; and when Shin interceded for him, the duke would not listen to him. Shin then said, "It was I who deceived my elder brother. If I leave the State taking the people with me, whom will you have to stop with you?" In winter he left and fled to Ch'in, along with Chung T'o and Shih K'ow."

Par. 10. Kung-yang has simply 鞏 for 安甫. Where Gan-poo was has not been ascer-

tained. The meeting of the three States shows how disaffection to Tsin continued to grow, and the dread of it to become less.

Par. 11. This visit was no doubt to express the acknowledgments of Loo for the surrender to it of How, and for other favours received from Ts'e during the year. The Chuen says:—"Woo-shuh went on a complimentary visit to Ts'e, when the marquis entertained him, and said to him, "Sir Shuh-sun, if How had been in another part of your ruler's State, I should have

taken no knowledge of it; but as it immediately adjoins my own State, I assisted your ruler in his trouble about it." Woo-shuh replied, "That was not what my ruler expected. His service of your lordship depends on his [command of his] territories, and the [stability of his] altars. How dared I trouble your lordship's officers with my domestics? And a bad subject is an object of indignation to all under heaven;—your lordship should not consider what you did as a special gift to my ruler."

### Eleventh year.

|       |       |       |       |         |       |       |        |       |       |       |         |       |     |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-----|
| 如鄭泣盟。 | 冬及鄭平。 | 叔還。   | 曹入于蕭。 | 秋宋樂大心自。 | 夏四月。  | 叛。    | 自陳入于蕭。 | 以。    | 佗石疆。  | 公子地。  | 公之弟辰及仲。 | 十有一年。 | 春宋。 |
| 始叛晉也。 | 冬及鄭平。 | 向離故也。 | 爲宋患寵。 | 心從之大。   | 叛秋樂大。 | 入于蕭以。 | 疆公子地。  | 暨仲佗石。 | 公母弟辰。 | 一年春宋。 | 左傳曰。    | 十。    |     |

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, Shin, younger brother of the duke of Sung, with Chung T'o, Shih K'ow, and the Kung-tsze Te, [returning] from Ch'in, entered Sëaou, and held it in revolt.
- 2 It was summer, the fourth month.
- 3 In autumn, Yoh Ta-sin entered Sëaou from Ts'aou.
- 4 In winter, we made peace with Ch'ing, and Shuh Seuen proceeded thither to make a covenant.

Parr. 1, 3. Here we find all who were described as flying from Sung last year returning to it in a way which was, as Tso-she says, 'very distressing to Sung, and all because of the duke's favouritism for Hëang Tuy.' In par. 1 a prominence in the return and revolt is given to the Kung-tsze Shin. Sëaou,—see V. xxx. 6. It was then a small attached State of Sung, having been raised to that distinction about the

12th year of Chwang. This State was extinguished by Ts'oo in the 12th year of Seuen, and Sëaou became again a simple city of Sung.

Par. 4. Shuh Seuen was the successor to Shuh E, whose death is mentioned in X. xxix. 3, as Head of the Shuh family. Tso-she observes that in this peace and covenant Loo took its first public step in revolting from Tsin. It had made an incursion into Ch'ing in the duke's 6th year at the requisition of Tsin.



Twelfth year.

十有二年春薛伯定卒。  
夏葬薛襄公。  
叔孫州仇帥師墮郕。  
衛公孟驅帥師伐曹。  
季孫斯仲孫何忌帥師墮費。  
秋大雩。冬十月癸亥公會  
齊侯盟于黃。  
十有一月丙寅朔日有食之。  
公至自黃。  
十有二月公圍成。  
公至自圍成。

左傳曰十二年夏衛公孟驅伐曹克郊遂滑羅殿未出不退於列其御曰殿而在列其爲無勇乎羅曰與其素厲寧爲無勇。  
仲由爲季氏宰將墮三都於是叔孫氏墮郕季氏將墮費公山不狃叔孫輒帥費人以襲魯公與三子入於季氏之宮登武子之臺費人攻之弗克入及公側仲尼命申句須樂頎下伐之費人北國人追之敗諸姑蔑二子奔齊遂墮費將墮成公斂處父謂孟孫墮成齊人必至於北門且成孟氏之保障也無成是無孟氏也子僞不知我將不墮冬十二月公圍成弗克。

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, Ting, earl of Sëeh, died.  
2 In summer, there was the burial of duke Sëang of Sëeh.  
3 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ëw led a force, and pulled down the walls of How.  
4 Kung-mäng K'ow of Wei led a force, and invaded Ts'aou.  
5 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and pulled down the walls of Pe.

- 6 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant in Hwang.  
8 In the eleventh month, on Ping-yin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
9 The duke arrived from Hwang.  
10 In the twelfth month, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing.  
11 The duke arrived from besieging Ching.

Parr. 1, 2. Ting had been earl of Sëeh for 3 years, and was succeeded by his son Pe (比). Kaou K'ang observes that the death of 3 earls of Sëeh is recorded in the Ch'un Ts'ëw; but in no case is the day or month of their burial given,—through the indifference of the historiographers. Evidently they did not think it worth their while to be particular about so small a State. It is of no use to look for great meanings, as many critics do, in these omissions of dates.

Parr. 3, 5. 墮 is pronounced both to and hwei, the second sound being taken probably, from 毀, which has the same meaning. Maou says, 所云墮者,謂毀其城,壞其郛夷其阨塞,使失所險阻,而無可憑也, the term thus indicating the entire dismantling of the cities, the overthrow of all their walls and outworks. We could wish that we had more information as to how this movement originated, and how far it was proposed to carry it. How, Pe, and Ch'ing were the principal cities of the three clans, which had long got all the power of Loo into their hands. Each of the cities was fortified in the strongest manner, and could defy any attempts of the marquises against them. Latterly, however, the chiefs had found these engines of their influence turned against themselves. How Fan had held How in revolt, and defied Shuh-sun. First Nan Kwae and then Kung-sun Puh-nëw had held Pe; and Kung-lëen Ch'oo-foo was in Ch'ing, all but independent of the Mäng-sun or the State. The three chiefs thus found their weapons turned against themselves, and were prepared to listen to the exhortations of Confucius, who was at this time minister of Crime, and advocated the dismantling of their cities, as an important step towards restoring the authority of the ruler of the State, and establishing an impartial justice throughout its borders. The sage was seconded by Tsze-loo, or Chung Yëw, one of his most energetic disciples, who was in the employment of the Ke family. The Chuen says:—'Chung

Yëw was [at this time] steward to Ke-she, and proposed dismantling the three capitals [of the clans]. On this Shuh-sun dismantled How, and Ke-sun was going to do the same with Pe. Kung-san Puh-nëw, however, and Shuh-sun Cheh, led the men of Pe to surprise the capital. The duke with the 3 chiefs entered the palace of Ke-she, and ascended the tower of Woo-tsze. There the men of Pe attacked them unsuccessfully, but they penetrated near to the duke's side. [On this], Chung-ne ordered Shin K'eu-seu and Yoh K'e to go down and attack them. The men of Pe were defeated and fled, pursued by the people, who defeated them [again] at Koo-mëeh. Their two leaders fled to Ts'e, and Pe was dismantled.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'In summer, Kung-mäng K'ow invaded Ts'aou, and reduced Këaou. In his retreat, Hwah Lo had the charge of defending the rear, but he did not leave the ranks of the main body, until they had crossed [the border of Ts'aou]. His charioteer said to him, "Does it not seem as if you were deficient in courage to be keeping in the ranks, when you should be in the rear?" Lo replied, "It is better to [seem to] be without courage than to make a useless display of defiance."

Par. 7. Kung-yang gives wrongly 晉侯 instead of 齊侯. Hwang,—see II. xvii. 1. Too thinks this covenant was to confirm the revolt of Loo from Ts'in.

Par. 8. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of Sept. 15th, B.C. 497.

Parr. 10, 11. The Chuen says:—'It was intended to dismantle Ch'ing; but Kung-lëen Ch'oo-foo said to Mäng-sun, "If you dismantle Ch'ing, the men of Ts'e will [soon] be at the north gate. Ch'ing, moreover, is the sure defence of the Mäng family. If there be no Ch'ing, there will be no Mäng-she. Do you pretend that you do not know anything about it, and I will not dismantle the place." In winter, in the 12th month, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing, but he could not take it.'

Thus the work of reformation was stopped. About this time, too, Confucius was obliged by the intrigues of Ts'e and the falling off from him of Ke-she, to abandon Loo.

Thirteenth year.

十<sup>一章</sup>有三年春齊侯衛侯次  
于垂葭。<sup>二章</sup>  
夏築蛇淵囿。<sup>三章</sup>  
大蒐于比蒲。<sup>四章</sup>  
衛公孟驅帥師伐曹。<sup>五章</sup>  
秋晉趙鞅入于晉陽以叛。<sup>六章</sup>  
冬晉荀寅士吉射入于朝  
歌以叛。<sup>七章</sup>  
晉趙鞅歸于晉。<sup>八章</sup>  
薛弑其君比。

左傳曰十三年春齊侯衛侯次于垂葭實鄭氏使師伐晉將濟河大夫皆曰不可邴意茲曰可銳師伐河內傳必數日而後及絳絳不三月不能出河則我既濟水矣乃伐河內齊侯皆斂諸大夫之軒唯邴意茲乘軒齊侯欲與衛侯乘與之宴而駕乘廣載甲焉使告曰晉師至矣齊侯曰比君之駕也寡人請攝乃介而與之乘驅之或告曰無晉師乃止

晉趙鞅謂邯鄲午曰歸我衛貢五百家吾舍諸晉陽午許諾歸告其父兄父兄皆曰不可衛是以爲邯鄲而寘諸晉陽絕衛之道也不如侵齊而謀之乃如之而歸之於晉陽趙孟怒召午而囚諸晉陽使其從者說劍而入涉賓不可乃使告邯鄲人曰吾私有討於午也二三子唯所欲立遂殺午趙稷涉賓以邯鄲叛夏六月上軍司馬籍秦圍邯鄲邯鄲午荀寅之甥也荀寅范吉射之姻也而相與睦故不與圍邯鄲將作亂董安于聞之告趙孟曰先備諸趙孟曰晉國有命始禍者死爲後可也安于曰與其害於民寧我獨死請以我死趙孟不可秋七月范氏中行氏伐趙氏之宮趙鞅奔晉陽晉人圍之

范臯夷無寵於范吉射而欲爲亂於范氏梁嬰父嬖於知文子文子欲以爲卿韓簡子與中行文子相惡魏襄子亦與范昭子相惡故五子謀將逐荀寅而以梁嬰父代之逐范吉射而以范臯夷代之荀躒言於晉侯曰君命大臣始禍者死載書在河今三臣始禍而獨逐鞅刑已不鈞矣請皆逐之冬十一月荀躒韓不信魏曼多奉公以伐范氏中行氏弗克二子將伐公齊高彊曰三折肱知爲良醫唯伐君爲不可民弗與也我以伐君在此矣三家未睦可盡克也克之君將誰與若先伐君是使睦也弗聽遂伐公國人助公二子敗從而伐之丁未荀寅士吉射奔朝歌韓魏以趙氏爲請十二月辛未趙鞅入于絳盟于公宮

○初衛公叔文子朝而請享靈公退見史鮪而告之史鮪曰子必禍矣子富而君貪罪其及子乎文子曰然吾不先告子是吾罪也君既許我矣其若之何史鮪曰無害子臣可以免富而能臣必免於難上下同之成也驕其亡乎富而不驕者鮮吾唯子之見驕而不亡者未之有也成必與焉及文子卒衛侯始惡於公叔戌以其富也公叔戌又將去夫人之黨夫人愬之曰成將爲亂

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at Ch'uy-k'ea.  
2 In summer, we enclosed the park of Shay-yuen.  
3 There was a grand review at P'e-p'oo.  
4 Kung-m'ang K'ow of Wei led a force and invaded Ts'aou.  
5 In autumn, Chaou Yang of Tsin entered into Tsin-yang, and held it in revolt.  
6 In winter, Seun Yin and Sze Keih-shih of Tsin entered into Chaou-ko and held it in revolt.  
7 Chaou Yang of Tsin returned to [the capital of] that State.  
8 S'eh murdered its ruler Pe.

Par. 1. Kuh-l'ang has no 衛侯, and Kung-yang has 瑕 instead of 葭. Ch'uy-k'ea, or as it was also called Keih-she (郕氏), was in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Keu-yay, (鉅野), dep. Ts'aou-chow. As to the force of 次, see on IX. 5. Too says here, that the two princes were intending to send a force against Tsin, and halted here themselves, to succour it if necessary.

The Chuen say:—The marquises halted at Ch'uy-kea, or Keih-she, and sent a force to invade Tsin. When it was about to cross the Ho, the great officers all objected to its doing so;

but Ping E-tsze said, "We can do so. A light-armed force can attack the country inside the Ho (in the pres. dep. of Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan). It will take several days to transmit the news to K'ang, and troops from K'ang cannot be on the Ho in less than 3 months, by which time we shall have crossed the river again." Accordingly they ravaged the country inside the Ho. The marquis of Ts'e called in the conveyances of all the great officers, and only Ping E-tsze was allowed to use his.

The marquis wished to ride in the same carriage with the marquis of Wei; and [to bring this about], he asked him to a feast, and caused a large war chariot to be yoked, with buff-coats in it. Then he made word [suddenly] be

brought that the army of Tsin was coming, and said to his guest, "Till your lordship's carriage is yoked, I beg to offer you mine instead." He then put on his armour, and they rode together, driving very fast. [By and by], some one told them that there was no army of Tsin; and they stopped.

Par. 2. Shay-yuen was in the south of the pres. dis of Fei (肥), dep. Tse-nan. The summer was not the season for such an undertaking. "We may be sure," says Le Léen, "that by this time the master had nothing to do with the government of Loo." Comp. VIII. xviii. 10; X. ix. 5.

Par. 3. See X. xi. 5.

Par. 4. This attack was made, it is supposed, because Ts'au would not join in the revolt against Tsin.

Par. 5. Tsin-yang was a city and district of Tsin,—the principal seat of the Chaou clan;—in the pres. dis. of T'ae-yuen, dep. T'ae-yuen (太原), Shan-se.

The Chuen says:—"Chaou Yang of Tsin said to Woo, [the commandant] of Han-tan, "Make over to me the 500 families rendered to you by Wei, and I will set them in Tsin-yang." Woo agreed to do so; but, on his return home, he told the elders of his family about the matter, and they all objected, saying, "It is on account of these families that Han-tan enjoys the favour of Wei. If you place them in Tsin-yang, you will cut off the communication between us and Wei. You had better make an incursion into Ts'e, and then take counsel about the matter, [as if you sent them away for fear of Ts'e]." Woo accordingly adopted this plan, and sent the families to Tsin-yang. Chaou-mang was angry, called Woo to him, and imprisoned him in Tsin-yang, causing his followers to give up their swords before they entered [the city], which, however, Sheh Pin refused to do. He then sent word to the men of Han-tan that for some private reasons he had punished Woo, and would appoint any other [of his family] whom they wished in his place. Immediately after, he put Woo to death; but Chaou Tseih (Woo's son) and Sheh Pin held Han-tan in revolt against him. In summer, in the 6th month, Tseih Ts'in, marshal of the 1st army, laid siege to Han-tan. Woo of Han-tan had been a nephew of Seun Yin, and Seun Yin's son had married a daughter of Fan Keih-shih. Thus these chiefs of the Seun and Fan families were friendly together, and therefore they took no part in the siege of Han-tan, and intended to make a rising. Tung Gan-yu heard of their purpose, and told it to Chaou-mang, saying that he should be prepared for them beforehand. That minister replied, "There is an order of the State that he who commences an insurrection shall die. I will wait for them." "Than that the people should be injured, I," said Gan-yu, "should prefer to die alone. [Make your preparations, and] explain your doing so by [throwing the blame on] me." Chaou-mang, however, refused to do so.

"In autumn, in the 7th month, the Fan and the Chung-hang attacked the palace of the Chaou, when Yang fled to Tsin-yang, where they came from the capital and besieged him."

The above narrative seems hardly to bear out the statement of the text that 'Chaou-yang

held Tsin-yang in revolt.' Maou says:—"Chaou-yang fled to Tsin-yang to escape the danger with which he was threatened; and how is it that the text says he held it in revolt? Tsin-yang was a city of Tsin; but Chaou-yang looked upon it as his own, and wished to remove people from elsewhere to fill it; this done, he further regarded it as an independent State, and resisted in it the army of Tsin, so that it no longer belonged to Tsin. This might be described as revolt, and from this time the Chaou family wanted to dismember Tsin.' If the Fan and the Seun were acting against Yang by the orders of the ruler he was certainly in opposition to the government, and a rebel; if they were acting on their own authority, or authority extorted from the marquis, a justification of his course might be pleaded. Only one thing is plain, that the rulers of Tsin, once all-powerful, were now reduced as low as the rulers of Loo.

Par. 6. Chaou-ko was the old capital of Yin, and at this time belonged to Tsin. It was in the north of the pres. dis. of K'e (淇); dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. The Chuen says:—"Fan Kaou-e did not find favour with Fan Keih-shih, and wished to create an insurrection in the Fan family. Léang Ying-foo was a favourite with Che Wán-tsze (Seun Leih), who wished to have him made a minister. Han K'een-tsze was on bad terms with Chung-hang Wán-tsze (Seun Yin), as was Wei Séang-tsze with Fan Chaou-tsze (Fan Keih-shih). These five took counsel together how they might expel Seun Yin and Fan Keih-shih, and get Léang Ying-foo substituted for the former, and Fan Kaou-e for the latter. Seun Leih said to the marquis, "Your lordship gave a command to your great servants that the first who disturbed the peace should die. The words of it [were sunk] in the Illo. Three officers have now disturbed the peace, and only Yang has been driven out. Punishment is not equally distributed. I beg that all the three may be driven out."

"In winter, in the 11th month, Seun Leih, Han Puh-sin (K'een-tsze), and Wei Man-to (Séang-tsze) carried the marquis with them, and attacked, without success, the Fan and the Chung-hang. The chiefs of these two families prepared to attack the marquis, but Kaou K'ang of Ts'e (A refugee in Tsin. See the Chuen on X. x. 2) said to them, "I know he is a good physician [who can heal] an arm broken in 3 places; but it is wrong to attack your ruler. The people will not side with you. I am here because I attacked my ruler. The three families (Their opponents:—the Che represented by Seun Leih; the Han; and the Wei) are not on good terms among themselves, and may all be overcome. Reduce them, and with whom will the ruler find himself? If you first attack him, you will make them harmonious." They would not listen to him, but attacked the marquis, who was aided by the people of the capital. The chiefs were defeated, pursued, and attacked in their turn, and on Ting-we, Seun Yin and Sze Keih-shih fled to Chaou-ko."

Kung-yang has a 及 in the text after 寅. Seun Yin and Sze (or Fan) Keih-shih might properly be described as revolters.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"The chiefs of the Han and Wei made intercession for Chaou-she; and in the 12th month, on Sin-we, Chaou

Yang entered K'ang, and made a covenant in the marquis's palace."

We are left to form our own judgment on this event. The K'ang-he editors say that it is recorded by the sage to condemn the marquis of Tsin for failing to punish Chaou Yang. Many critics have sought to vindicate the pardon and restoration of Yang on various grounds. The probability is that the marquis could not help himself, but was obliged to do as the great chiefs told him. The narratives about Yang bring before us, however, very distinctly, the six families which now divided the power of Tsin;—those of Chaou, Han, Wei, Che, Fan, and Chung-hang. We see also premonitions of the rise of the former three over the latter. A shadow is thrown before of the division of the great State of Tsin into the three States of Chaou, Han, and Wei.

Par. 8. The succession of Pe to Séeh was noticed on the 1st and 2d parr. of last year. Not one of the Chuen says anything of the circumstances of his death or murder, as the text calls it. He was followed by his son E, duke Hwuy (惠公夷).

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about Wei:—"Before this, Kung-shuh Wán-tsze of Wei went to court, and begged that duke Ling would accept an entertainment from him. As he was retiring, he saw the historiographer Ts'ew, and told him, who said, "You are sure to meet with misfortune. You are rich, and the ruler is covetous. Some offence will be charged against you." "Yes," replied Wán-tsze, "it was my fault that I did not tell you before. But the ruler has promised; what is to be done?" "There is no harm," said the historiographer. "Deport yourself as a subject, and you will escape. When a rich man can so deport himself, he will escape danger. It is thus with both high and low. But [your son] Shoo is proud, and is like to come to ruin. There are few who are rich without being proud. You are the only exception that I have seen. There has never been a case of a proud man, who did not come to ruin. Shoo is sure to fall into calamity." When Wán-tsze was dead, the marquis of Wei began to hate Kung-shuh Shoo,—because of his riches. Shoo also wished to send away the partisans of the marchioness (The famous Nan Tsze. See Ana. VI. xxvi.), and she accused him of intending to produce an insurrection.]"

#### Fourteenth year.

十有四年春，衛公叔成來奔。  
 子結、陳公孫佗人帥師滅頓，以頓  
 子牂歸。夏，衛北宮結來奔。  
 五月，於越敗吳于檣李。  
 吳子光卒。公會齊侯、衛侯于牽。  
 公至自會。秋，齊侯、宋公會于洮。  
 天王使石尙來歸脹。  
 衛世子蒯聵出奔宋。  
 衛公孟彊出奔鄭。

宋公之弟辰白蕭來奔大蒐于比蒲邾子來會公城莒父及霄

左傳曰十四年春衛侯逐公叔戌與其黨故趙陽奔宋戌來奔也梁嬰父惡董安于謂知文子曰不殺安于使終爲政於趙氏趙氏必得晉國蓋以其先發難也討於趙氏文子使告於趙孟曰范中行氏雖信爲亂安于則發之是安于與謀亂也晉國有命始禍者死二子既伏其罪矣敢以告趙孟患之安于曰我死而晉國寧趙氏定將焉用生人誰不死吾死莫矣乃縊而死趙孟尸諸市而告於知氏曰主命戮罪人安于既伏其罪矣敢以告知伯從趙孟盟而後趙氏定祀安于於廟頓子牂欲事晉晉楚而絕陳好二月楚滅頓夏衛北宮結來奔公叔戌之故也

吳伐越越子勾踐禦之陳於檣李勾踐患吳之整也使死士再禽焉不動使罪人三行屬劍於頸而辭曰二君有治臣奸旗鼓不敏於君之行前不敢逃刑敢歸死遂自剄也師屬之目越子因而伐之大敗之靈姑浮以戈擊闔廬闔廬傷將指取其一履還卒於陘去檣李七里夫差使人立於庭苟出入必謂己曰夫差而忘越王之殺而父乎則對曰唯不敢忘三年乃報越

晉人圍朝歌公會齊侯衛侯於脾上梁之間謀救范中行氏析成鮒小王桃甲率狄師以襲晉戰於絳中不克而還士鮒奔周小王桃甲入於朝歌

秋齊侯宋公會于洮范氏故也

衛侯爲夫人南子召宋朝會于洮犬子蒯聵獻孟於齊過宋野野人歌之曰既定爾婁猪盍歸吾艾緦犬子羞之謂戲陽速曰從我而朝少君少君見我我顧乃殺之速曰諾乃朝夫人夫人見犬子犬子三顧速不進夫人見其色啼而走曰蒯聵將殺余公執其手以登臺犬子奔宋盡

逐其黨故公孟驅出奔鄭自鄭奔齊犬子告人曰戲陽速禍余戲陽速告人曰犬子則禍余犬子無道使余殺其母余不許將戕於余若殺夫人將以余說余是故許而弗爲以紿余死諺曰民保於信吾以信義也

冬十二月晉人敗范中行氏之師於潞獲籍秦高彊又敗鄭師及范氏之師於百泉

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, Kung-shuh Shoo of Wei came a fugitive to Loo.  
2 Chaou Yang of Wei fled from that State to Sung.  
3 In the second month, the Kung-tsze K'eh of Ts'oo, and the Kung-sun T'o-jin of Ch'in, led a force and extinguished Tun, carrying Tsang, the viscount of Tun, back with them [to Ts'oo].  
4 In summer, Pih-kung K'eh of Wei came a fugitive to Loo.  
5 In the fifth month, Yu-yueh defeated Woo at Tsuy-le.  
6 Kwang, viscount of Woo, died.  
7 The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Ts'e and Wei in K'een.  
8 The duke arrived from the meeting.  
9 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e and the duke of Sung had a meeting in T'aou.  
10 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shih Shang to Loo with a present of the flesh of sacrifice.  
11 Kwae-wae, heir-son of Wei, fled from that State to Sung.  
12 Kung-m'ang K'ow of Wei fled from that State to Ch'ing.  
13 Shin, younger brother of the duke of Sung, came a fugitive to Loo from S'iaou.  
14 There was a grand review in P'e-p'oo.  
15 The viscount of Shoo came and had a meeting with the duke.  
16 We walled Keu-foo and S'iaou.

Parr. 1, 2. We have here the sequel of the narrative at the end of last year. The Chuen says here:—“This spring, the marquis of Wei drove out Kung-shuh Shoo and his partizans, in consequence of which Chaou Yang fled to Sung, and Shoo came a fugitive to Loo.”

Kung and Kuh both have, in p.r. 2, 晉趙陽 for 衛趙陽, misled, probably, by the 晉趙鞅 in parr. 5 and 7 of last year.

[The Chuen appends here a continuation of affairs in Tsin:—L'ang Ying-foo hated Tung Gan-yu, and said to Che W'an-tze (Seun Leih). “If you do not kill Gan-yu, but allow him to continue to direct the affairs of the Chaou family, Chaou-she is sure to get the State of Tsin; why not require Chaou-she to punish him, on the ground that he was the first to excite our

[recent] troubles?” W'an-tze sent a representation to that effect to Chaou-she, saying, “Although the Fan and the Chung-hang did really rise in insurrection, yet it was Gan-yu who provoked them. He was chargeable with the same crime as they. It is a law of Tsin that they who commence to disturb the peace should die. Those two chiefs have suffered for their crime; and I venture to submit the case to you.” Chaou-m'ang was troubled about the matter, but Gan-yu said, “If by my death the State of Tsin get repose, and the Chaou family be established, why should I live? What man must not die? I shall [only] die [too] late.” Accordingly he strangled himself. Chaou-m'ang exposed his body in the market-place, and sent word to Che-she, saying, “You ordered me to put to death the criminal Gan-yu. He has suffered for his crime, and I presume to inform





左傳曰十五年春邾隱公來朝子貢觀焉邾子  
執玉高其容仰公受玉卑其容俯子貢曰以禮  
觀之二君者皆有死亡焉夫禮死生存亡之體  
也將左右周旋進退俯仰於是乎取之朝祀喪  
戎於是乎觀之今正月相朝而皆不度心已亡  
矣嘉事不體何以能久高仰驕也卑俯替也驕  
近亂替近疾君爲主其先亡乎  
吳之入楚也胡子盡俘楚邑之近胡者楚既定  
胡子豹又不事楚曰存亡有命事楚何爲多取  
費焉二月楚滅胡  
夏五月壬申公薨仲尼曰賜不幸言而中是使  
賜多言者也  
鄭罕達敗宋師於老丘  
齊侯衛侯次于蘧棼謀救宋也  
秋七月壬申姒氏卒不稱夫人不赴且不祔也  
葬定公雨不克襄事禮也  
葬定姒不稱小君不成喪也  
冬城漆書不時告也

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court visit.  
2 Field-mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died; and another was divined for.  
3 In the second month, on Sin-ch'ow, the viscount of Ts'oo extinguished Hoo, and carried P'aou, viscount of Hoo, back with him to Ts'oo.  
4 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-hae, we offered the border sacrifice.  
5 On Jin-shin, the duke died in the high chamber.  
6 Han Tah of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Sung.  
7 The marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at K'eu-ch'oo.  
8 The viscount of Choo came hurrying to the [ceremonies consequent on the duke's] death.  
9 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin-shin, the lady Sze died.  
10 In the eighth month, on Käng-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
11 In the ninth month, the viscount of T'äng came to be present at the [duke's] funeral.  
12 On Ting-sze there should have been the interment of our ruler duke Ting; [but] the rain came down, so that it couldnot be carried out. On Mow-woo, in the afternoon, it was done.  
13 On Sin-sze, there was the burial of Ting Sze.  
14 In winter, we walled Ts'eih.

Par. 1. The viscount of Choo had a meeting, we saw last year, with the duke, at P'e-proo, and here we find him, at the beginning of this year, paying a formal visit at his court; and in summer he hurries to it again, as soon as he hears of the duke's death. There must have been great friendship, or some other cogent reason, to make him thus demean himself.

The Chuen here says:—'When duke Yin of Choo appeared at the court of Loo, Tsze-kung (One of Confucius' most famous disciples) witnessed [the ceremony between the two princes]. The viscount bore his symbol of jade [too] high, with his countenance turned upwards; the duke received it [too] low, with his countenance bent down. Tsze-kung said, "Looking on [and judging] according to the rules of ceremony, the two rulers will [soon] die or go into exile. Those rules are [as] a stem from which grow life or death, preservation or ruin. We draw our conclusion from the manner in which parties move to the right or to the left, advance and recede, look down and look up; and we observe this at court-meetings and sacrifices, and occasions of death and war. It is now in the first month that these princes meet at court together, and they both violate the proper rules;—their minds are gone. On a festal occasion like this, unobservant of such an essential matter, how is it possible for them to continue long? The high symbol and upturned look are indicative of pride; the low symbol and look bent down are indicative of negligence. Pride is not far removed from disorder, and negligence is near to sickness. Our ruler is the host, and will probably be the first to die.'

Par. 2, 4. See VIII. vii. 1. Here we are not told in what part the mice attacked the ox, but the animal died. The sacrifice, notwithstanding, was performed, though the 5th month was beyond the equinox, and the ceremony was therefore irregular.

Par. 3. Comp. par. 3 of last year. Ts'oo had the same grounds of resentment against Hoo as against Tun. The Chuen says here:—'When Woo entered Ts'oo (IV. 15), the viscount of Hoo had plundered all the cities of Ts'oo which were near his State, and carried the people off. After Ts'oo was settled again, P'aou, the viscount of Hoo, still refused to do service to it, saying, "Preservation and ruin happen as appointed; why should I incur the numerous expenses connected with serving Ts'oo?" In the 2d month, Ts'oo extinguished Hoo.'

Par. 5. Too says that 高寢 is the 'name of a place,' and for Ting to die here was not to die in his proper place. Thus of the eleven marquises of Loo whose deaths have now been chronicled, only three—Chwang, Seuen, and Ching—died, as all ought to have done, in the 'State chamber.' Some critics however, with whom I am inclined to agree, take 高寢

as synonymous with 路寢. The critics dwell on the privilege which Ting possessed in the counsels of Confucius, which might have raised Loo to more than its ancient eminence among the States of the kingdom. That he did not avail himself long of them was a proof, they say, both of his own weakness, and of the averted regards from Loo of Heaven.

The Chuen says:—'On the death of the duke, Chung-ne said, "It is unfortunate for Tsze (Tsze-kung; see on par. 1) that his words have proved correct;—it will make him a still greater talker."

Par. 6. The Chuen says that at this time 'Tah defeated an army of Sung at Laou-k'öw.' The Kung-tszes, who fled at first from Sung to Ch'in (X. 9), subsequently took refuge in Ch'ing. This led to hostilities between the two States, which continued for many years (See XII. xii. 5). Kung-yang has 軒 for 罕.

Par. 7. Kung has 蘧棼 for 渠蔭; and the Chuen calls the place 蘧棼. Nothing is known of it, but that it was in Sung. "The marquises," says Tso, "halted here, to take counsel about succouring Sung; i. e., they consulted about succouring it, but did not do so.

Par. 8, 11. Both the things related here were contrary to rule. We have not hitherto met with an instance of the prince of one State hurrying to be present at the preparatory obsequies of the prince of another. The student will mark the difference between the terms 葬

and 會. The funeral took place, according to rule, 5 months after the death; and there was time to go to it without 'hurrying.' Not so with the coffin and other preparatory rites, which commenced immediately after the decease.

Par. 9, 13. K'uh-läng has 弋 for 姒. This lady Sze was the mother, it is generally supposed, of duke Gae, and a concubine of Ting. She has not, in the former of these paragraphs, the title of 夫人 or wife, nor in the latter

the title of 小君, or marchioness, because, though Gae was now marquis, the year had not expired, and he had not the title. This is more likely than, the reason which Tso-she gives for the former omission,—that the lady's death was not communicated to other States, nor was her spirit-tablet placed in its proper place in the temple; and for the latter, that her funeral rites were imperfectly attended to.

Par. 10. This is the last of the eclipses recorded in the classic, and took place in the forenoon of July 16th, B.C. 494.

Par. 12. See on VII. viii. 9, 10. Tso-she observes here, as there, that to defer the burial, in consequence of the rain, was proper. In the Yih (under the diagram Fung—豐) we find 日中昃 'after mid-day is the afternoon.'

K'uh-läng has 稷 for 昃.

Par. 14. Ts'eih;—see IX. xxi. 2, where Ts'eih treacherously passes from Choo to Loo. The fortifying the place now appears to have been in contemplation of hostilities against Choo. Perhaps it was a knowledge of such a design against his State which made the viscount of Choo so assiduous in his attentions to duke Ting alive and dead.

## BOOK XII. DUKE GAE.

First year.

元年春王正月公即位。  
 楚子陳侯隨侯許男圍蔡。  
 蔡食郊牛。改卜牛。  
 夏四月辛巳郊。  
 秋齊侯衛侯伐晉。  
 冬仲孫何忌帥師伐邾。

## 哀公

左傳曰：元年春，楚子圍蔡，報柏舉也。里而栽，廣丈高倍，夫屯晝夜九日，如子西之素。蔡人男女以辨，使疆於江汝之間，而還蔡於是乎。請遷於吳。

①吳王夫差敗越於夫椒，報檣李也。遂入越，越子以甲楯五千保於會稽，使大夫種因吳大宰嚭以行成。吳子將許之。伍員曰：不可。臣聞之，樹德莫如滋，去疾莫如盡。昔有過澆，殺斟灌以伐斟鄩，滅夏后相，后緡方娠，逃出自竇，歸於有仍，生少康焉。爲仍牧正，其澆能戒之，澆使椒求之，逃奔有虞，爲之庖正，以除其害。虞思於是妻之以二姚，而邑諸綸，有田一成，有衆一旅，能布其德而兆其謀，以收夏衆，撫其官職，使女艾諜澆，使季杼誘豷，遂滅過，戈復禹之績。祀夏配天，不失舊物。今吳不如過，而越大於少康，或將豐之，不亦難乎？勾踐能親而務施，施不失人，親不棄勞，與我同壤，而世爲仇讐，於是乎克而弗取，將又存之，違天而長寇讐，後雖悔之，不可食已。姬

之衰也，日可俟也。介在蠻夷，而長寇讐，以是求伯，必不行矣。弗聽，退而告人曰：越十年生聚，而十年教訓，二十年之外，吳其爲沼乎？三月，越及吳平。吳入越，不書，吳不告慶，越不告敗也。

夏四月，齊侯、衛侯救邯鄲，圍五鹿。

②吳之入楚也，使召陳懷公。懷公朝國人而問焉，曰：欲與楚者有，欲與吳者有。陳人從田，無田從黨，逢滑當公而進，曰：臣聞國之興也以福，其亡也以禍。今吳未有福，楚未有禍，楚未可棄，吳未可從，而晉盟主也，若以晉辭吳，若何？公曰：國勝君亡，非禍而何？對曰：國之有是多矣，何必不復？小國猶復，況大國乎？臣聞國之興也以福，視民如傷，是其福也；其亡也以民爲土芥，是其禍也。楚雖無德，亦不艾殺其民，吳日敝於兵，暴骨如莽，而未見德焉。天其或者正訓楚也，禍之適吳，其何日之有？陳侯從之。及夫差克越，乃修先君之怨，秋八月，吳侵陳，修舊怨也。

齊侯、衛侯會于乾侯，救范氏也。師及齊師，衛孔圉、鮮虞人伐晉，取棘蒲。

③吳師在陳，楚大夫皆懼，曰：闔廬惟能用其民，以敗我於柏舉，今聞其嗣又甚焉，將若之何？子西曰：二三子恤不相睦，無患吳矣。昔闔廬食不二味，居不重席，室不崇壇，器不彤鏤，宮室不觀，舟車不飾，衣服財用，擇不取費，在國，天有菑癘，親巡其孤寡，而共其乏困；在軍，熟食者分，而後敢食，其所嘗者，卒乘與焉。勤恤其民，而與之勞逸，是以民不罷勞，死知不曠。吾先大夫子常易之，所以敗我也。今聞夫差次有臺榭陂池焉，宿有妃嬪嬪御焉，一日之行，所欲必成，玩好必從，珍異是聚，觀樂是務，視民如讐，而用之日新，夫先自敗也已，安能敗我？

冬十一月，晉趙鞅伐朝歌。

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 The viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ch'in and Suy, and the baron of Heu, laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 3 Field-mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died; and another was divined for.

- 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Siri-sze, we offered the border sacrifice.  
 5 In autumn, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei invaded Tsin.  
 6 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force and invaded Choo.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—哀公, 'Duke Gae.'

Duke Gae was a son of Ting, by the lady Sze, whose death took place about two months after her husband's. His name was Ts'ang (蔣). In his 14th year was found the *lin*, with the record of which event Confucius terminated his labours on the Ch'un Ts'ew; but the rule of Gae lasted 27 years, from B.C. 493 to 467. The posthumous title denotes: 'Respectful and benevolent, short-lived (恭仁短折曰哀).'

His first year synchronized with the 26th of king King; the 18th of Ting of Tsin; the 54th of King of Ts'e; the 41st of Ling of Wei; the 25th of Ch'au of Ts'ae; the 7th of Shing (聲) of Ch'ing; the 8th of Yang (陽) of Ts'au; the 8th of Min (閔) of Ch'in; the 12th of He (僖) of K'e; the 23d of King of Sung; the 7th of Hwuy (惠) of Ts'in; the 22d of Ch'au of Ts'oo; and the 2d of Foo-ch'ae (夫差) of Woo.

Par. 1. This par. must be taken as showing that all was regular about the succession of duke Gae.

Par. 2. We have met with Suy before, but not with 'the marquis of Suy,' as a peer of the kingdom. Too supposes that in consequence of the services of Suy to the viscount of Ts'oo, when he was driven from his capital by Woo (See the Chuen on XI. iv. 15), he had rewarded it, and called its ruler now to take the field as one of the other princes. We read, in XI. vi. 1, that Ch'ing extinguished Heu, and carried off the baron as a prisoner. Ts'oo must have constituted another State of Heu, thus boldly exercising a royal prerogative.

The Chuen says:—'This spring, the viscount of Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae, to repay that State for the action at Pih-keu (XI. iv. 14). He raised a mound at the distance of a *le* [from the walls], 10 cubits thick, and twice as many in height, stationing soldiers [inside, till the work was completed], which was accomplished in 9 days, the men working day and night;—according to the previous [calculation] of Tsze-se. The people of the city [came out and surrendered], the males in one body and the women in another. [The viscount then] ordered them to settle between the K'ang and the Joo, and returned, upon which Ts'ae asked leave from Woo to remove within the limits of that State.'

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Woo and Yueh:—'Foo-ch'ae, king of Woo, defeated Yueh at Foo-ts'au, in return for the battle of Tsuy-le (XI. xiv. 5), and then went on to enter [the capital of] that State. The viscount of Yueh, with 5000 men armed with buff-coats and shields, maintained himself on [the hill of] Kwei-k'e, while he sent his great officer Chung to obtain

peace by means of the services of P'ei, the grand-administrator of Woo. The viscount of Woo was about to grant his request, when Woo Yun said, "Do not do so. I have heard that in planting what will be advantageous to us we should try to make it great, and in removing what will be injurious we should do it entirely. Anciently there was K'au of Kwo, who killed [the prince of] Chin-kwan, and then, going on to attack Chin-sin, destroyed S'ang, the sovereign of H'ia. S'ang's queen Min was then pregnant, and made her escape through a hole. She went to her native State of Jing, where she gave birth to Shaou-k'ang. He became chief of the shepherds of Jing; and, afraid of the power of K'au, he took precautions against him. K'au employed Ts'au to seek for him, on which he fled to Yu, and was chief cook to its ruler, that thus he might escape the dangers which threatened him. Sze of Yu gave him his two daughters (Yaous, of the same surname as Shun) in marriage, and the city of Lun, where he had territory to the extent of 10 *le* square, and troops to the number of 500. There he could make his virtue be felt, and commenced to lay his plans, to collect again the people of H'ia and revive its [abolished] offices. He employed Joo E to watch K'au, and Le Ch'oo to delude He, so that [by and by] he extinguished Kwo and Ko, restored the line of Yu, and sacrificed to the sovereigns of H'ia with their founder as the correlate of Heaven, recovering all that of old belonged to his family. Now Woo is not equal to Kwo, and [the ruler of] Yueh is greater than Shaou-k'ang. Should you perhaps [by this peace] make him still greater, will it not be to the disadvantage [of Woo]? Kow-ts'een is able to attract men's affection, and lays himself out to bestow favours. In his bounty, he does not fail to reward the proper men; in his kindness, he does not neglect [the smallest] services. His territory is similar to ours, but Woo and Yueh have been enemies for generations. Now you have vanquished it, but instead of taking it to yourself, you are going to preserve it;—this is to oppose the will of Heaven, and to strengthen your enemy. Though you repent of this hereafter, the evil cannot be digested away. The decay of the Ke may be expected to go on from day to day. Lying contiguous to the rude tribes of the south and east, and giving encouragement to our enemies, if in this way you seek to make yourself the leader of the States, the thing can certainly not be done.'

'Yun was not listened to, so he retired, and said to some one, "Give Yueh 10 years for the growth of its people and the collection of its resources, and [other] ten years for the instruction of its people, and in little more than those 20 years, [the capital of] Woo is likely to be made a pool. In the 3d month, Yueh and Woo made peace.'

'Woo's entering of Yueh does not appear in the text, because Woo did not announce [to Loo] its success, nor did Yueh announce its defeat.'

Par. 3, 4. Kuh-l'ang has here 角 after 牛. See on par. 2, 4 of last year, and the previous paragraphs of a similar nature. Kuh-l'ang dilates, on this par., at great length on the presumption of Loo, exhibited and condemned in these passages; but his criticism goes on the supposition that the border sacrifice spoken of is that to Heaven in the 1st month. But we have seen reason to think that the texts only refer to the sacrifice for a blessing on the toils of husbandry, properly falling in the 3d month of Chow, but still allowable in the 4th month, up to the time of the equinox. Whether this year it was celebrated before or after that date, the text does not enable us to say.

[The Chuen appends here 2 narratives:—1st, about the struggle between Ts'e and Tsin. 'In summer, in the 4th month, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei succoured Han-tan, and laid siege to Woo-luh.'

2d, about Woo's commencing hostilities against Ch'in. 'When Woo had entered [the capital of] Ts'oo (In Ting's 4th year), [the viscount] sent to summon duke Hwae of Ch'in [to join him], who assembled the people of the State to ask their opinion, and said, "Let those who wish to side with Ts'oo go to the right, and those who wish to side with Woo go to the left." The people took the side of the State near to which their lands lay; and those who had no lands took the side they were inclined to. Fung Hwah, however, advanced right opposite to the duke, and said, "I have heard that States flourish through prosperity and perish through calamity. Now Woo has not yet enjoyed prosperity, nor has Ts'oo suffered calamity. Ts'oo is not to be rejected, and Woo is not to be followed. There is Tsin, the lord of covenants. Suppose you decline the requisition of Woo on the ground of [your duty to] Tsin." The duke said, "The State [of Ts'oo] is conquered, and its ruler is a fugitive. If this be not calamity, what would be so?" "Such things have happened to many States," was the reply. "Why may not Ts'oo recover itself? Small States have done so, and how much more may a great State do so! I have heard that States flourish when they regard their people as if apprehensive of their receiving hurt:—that brings prosperity. States again perish when they treat their people as earth or grass:—that brings calamity. Although Ts'oo does not show [much] kindness, it does not slay its people, whereas Woo is daily ruined with fighting, and the bones of its people lie like weeds on the ground. They experience no kindness from it. Heaven perhaps is teaching Ts'oo good lessons; but what [future] time need we look to for calamity to visit Woo?"

'The duke followed this advice; and [now] when Foo-ch'ae had subdued Yueh, he determined to carry out the resentment of his father [against Ch'in]; and in autumn, in the 8th month, Woo made an incursion into Ch'in, reviving and feeding the old animosity.'

Par. 5. We have here a continuance of the efforts of the other States, at the instigation of Ts'e, to break down the power of Tsin. The Chuen says:—'The marquises of Ts'e and Wei had a meeting in Kan-how, to help the chief of the Fan clan. An army of ours, one of Ts'e, K'ung Yu of Wei, and a body of the S'een-yu, invaded Tsin, and took Keih-p'oo.'

[The Chuen continues its narratives about Woo:—'When Woo was in Ch'in, the great officers of Ts'oo were all afraid, and said, "Hoh-leu was able to employ his people, and defeated us at Pih-keu, and now we have heard that his successor is still more [warlike] than he; what is to be done?" Tsze-se said to them, "You have only to be anxious, gentlemen, about a want of harmony among yourselves, and need not be troubled about Woo. Formerly Hoh-leu never partook of two dishes, did not sit on a double mat, dwelt in no lofty structures, had no red paint nor carving about his articles of furniture, built no towers about his palaces, used no ornaments about his boats and chariots, and in his choice of dress and in all his outlay avoided what was expensive. When any calamity or pestilence from Heaven visited the State, he went round himself among the orphans and widows, and ministered to their wants and distresses. When he was with his army, he did not venture to eat himself until all the soldiers had had their share of what was cooked; and in what he took himself his foot-guards and chariot-men all partook with him. Thus diligently did he care for his people, and share with them in their toils and pleasures; and the consequence was that they did not weary of hard service, and in death they knew that [their families] would not be uncared for. Our former great officer, Tsze-chang, was the reverse of all this and so it was that Hoh-leu defeated us. But I have heard that Foo-ch'ae, wherever he halts, must have towers, raised pavilions, embankments, and lakes, and where he spends the night, must have ladies, high and low, to serve his purposes. If he take one day's journey, he must have whatever he desires done. His curiosities must follow him; he collects things precious and rare; he seeks after spectacles and music; he regards his people as enemies; and uses them every day in some new way. Such an one will first defeat himself;—how can he defeat us?']

Par. 6. We have the commencement of the hostilities against Choo, spoken of under the concluding par. of last year as in contemplation by Loo.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In winter, in the 11th month, Ch'au Yang of Tsin attacked Ch'au-ko.'



Second year.

二年春王二月季孫斯叔孫州仇仲孫何忌帥師伐邾取漵東田及沂西田。  
 癸巳叔孫州仇仲孫何忌及邾子盟于句繹。  
 夏四月丙子衛侯元卒。  
 滕子來朝。  
 晉趙鞅帥師納衛世子蒯聵于戚。  
 秋八月甲戌晉趙鞅帥師及鄭罕達帥師戰于鐵鄭師敗績。  
 冬十月葬衛靈公。  
 十有一月蔡遷于州來。  
 蔡殺其大夫公子駟。

左傳曰二年春伐邾將伐絞邾人愛其土故賂以漵沂之田而受盟。  
 初衛侯遊於郊子南僕公曰余無子將立女不對他日又謂之對曰郕不足以辱社稷君其改圖君夫人在堂三揖在下君命祇辱夏衛靈公卒夫人曰命公子郕爲太子君命也對曰郕異於他子且君沒於吾手若有之郕必聞之且亡人之子輒在乃立輒。  
 六月乙酉晉趙鞅納

衛太子于戚宵迷陽虎曰右河而南必至焉使太子繞八人衰絰僞自衛逆者告於門哭而入遂居之。  
 秋八月齊人輸范氏粟鄭子姚子般送之士吉射逆之趙鞅禦之遇於戚陽虎曰吾車少以兵車之旆與罕駟兵車先陳罕駟自後隨而從之彼見吾貌必有懼心於是乎會之必大敗之從之卜戰龜焦樂丁曰詩曰爰始爰謀爰契我龜謀協以故兆詢可也簡子誓曰范氏中行氏反易天明斬艾百姓欲擅晉國而滅其君寡君恃鄭而保焉今鄭爲不道棄君助臣二三子順天明從君命經德義除詭恥在此行也克敵者上大夫受縣下大夫受郡士田十萬庶人工商遂人臣隸圉免志父無罪君實圖之若其有罪絞縊以戮桐棺三寸不設屬辟素車櫟馬無入於兆下卿之罰也甲戌將戰郵無恤御簡子衛太子爲右登鐵上望見鄭師衆太子懼自投於車下子良授太子綏而乘之曰婦人也簡子巡列曰畢萬匹夫也七戰皆獲有馬百乘死於牖下羣子勉之死不在寇繁羽御趙羅宋勇爲右羅無勇麋之吏詰之御對曰店作而伏衛太子禱曰曾孫蒯聵敢昭告皇祖文王烈祖康叔文祖襄公鄭勝亂從晉午在難不能治亂使鞅討之蒯聵不敢自佚備持矛焉敢告無絕筋無折骨無面傷以集大事無作三祖羞大命不敢請佩玉不敢愛鄭人擊簡子中肩斃於車中獲其蠶旗太子救之以戈鄭師北獲溫大夫趙羅太子復伐之鄭師大敗獲齊粟千車趙孟喜曰可矣傳僂曰雖克鄭猶有知在憂未艾也初周人與范氏田公孫施稅焉趙氏得而獻之吏請殺之趙孟曰爲其主也何罪止而與之田及鐵之戰以徒五百人宵攻鄭師取蠶旗於子姚之幕下獻曰請報主德追鄭師姚般公孫林殿而射前列多死趙孟曰國無小旣戰簡子曰吾伏弢嘔血鼓音不衰今日我上也太子曰吾救主於車退敵於下我右之上也郵良曰我兩軻將絕吾能止之我御之上也駕而乘材兩軻皆絕。  
 吳洩庸如蔡納聘而稍納師師畢入衆知之蔡侯告大夫殺公子駟以說哭而遷墓冬蔡遷於州來。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, Ke-sun Sze, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew, and Chung-sun Ho-ke, led a force and invaded Choo. They took the lands east of the K'oh, and those west of the E.
- 2 On Kwei-sze, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke made a covenant with the viscount of Choo at Kow-yih.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-tsze, Yuen, marquis of Wei, died.
- 4 The viscount of T'ang came on a court visit to Loo.
- 5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and placed Kwae-wae, heir-son of Wei, in Ts'eih.
- 6 In autumn, in the eighth month, on K'eah-seuh, Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and fought with a force under Han Tah of Ch'ing at T'eh, when the army of Ch'ing was shamefully defeated.
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wei.
- 8 In the eleventh month, Ts'ae removed [its capital] to Chow-lae.
- 9 Ts'ae put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Sze.

Parr. 1, 2. The K'oh river,—see on IX. xix. 4. The E,—see on the Shoo III. i. Pt. i. 29. In IX. xix. 4, it is said that Loo took the lands of Choo from the K'oh water. A further portion of its territory lying east from that stream must now have been secured.

The Chuen says:—"In spring, we invaded Choo, and were going to attack K'eaou. The people of Choo, loving the territory thereabouts, bribed us with the lands about the K'oh and the E, and received a covenant." The three great families of Loo would seem by this time to have recovered themselves, and duke Gae was a tool in their hands as much as Ch'au had been. While their chiefs were united in the invasion of Choo, only two of them covenanted with the viscount. Perhaps Kuei-l'ang is right in thinking the reason was that Shuh-sun and Chung-sun obtained the lands which were now ceded; and this may have been the reason that the system of depredation was continued next year. Kow-yih was in Choo,—in the pres. dis. of Tsow (鄒), dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 3. The Chuen says, "Before this, [once], when the marquis of Wei was enjoying himself in the suburbs, and Tsze-nan was driving his carriage, he said to him, 'I have [now] no son [declared as my successor]; I will appoint you.' Tsze-nan gave no answer. Another day, the marquis spoke to him to the same effect, when he replied, 'I am not sufficient to preside over the altars. Let your lordship think of some other arrangement. There is the marchioness [with you] in the hall, and there are the 3 classes to whom you bow below it:—[consult with them]. Your [mere] order to me would only lead to disgrace.' In summer the marquis died, and the marchioness said, 'Appoint his son Ying (Tsze-nan) to be his successor; this was his order.' Ying replied, 'My views differ from those of his other sons. He died, moreover, in

my hands. If there had been such an order, I should have heard it. Besides, Cheh, the son of the exile (Kwae-wae; see XI. xiv. 11) is here.' Accordingly Cheh was appointed marquis."

Par. 4. With this end the notices of other princes coming to the court of Loo. Wang Kih-k'wan says:—"Duke Gae had newly succeeded to the State, and therefore duke K'ing of T'ang came to pay him this court visit. It was the first paid by a marquis of T'ang to Loo since the visit of duke Ch'ing in the 6th year of Séang, though Ch'ing attended the funeral of Séang, and K'ing that of Ting. Of all the States which thus visited Loo, during the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew, the princes of T'ang, K'e, Ts'au, and Choo, did so most frequently. Those of K'e did so 7 times, the last visit being in the 18th year of Ch'ing. Those of Ts'au did so 5 times, the last being in the 21st year of Séang. Those of Little Choo also paid 5 visits, the last being in the 17th year of Ch'au. Those of Choo 7, the last being in the 15th year of Ting. Those of T'ang 5, the first in the 11th year of Yin and the last in this year. The princes of T'ang and Loo were equally marquises; and for the former to be thus constantly found at the gate of the latter showed extreme smallness and weakness." This is all very well; but according to 'the rules of propriety,' the interchange of court visits between the princes should have been much more frequent. 'The rules of propriety' gave place to 'the way of the world.' Great States gave up those visits altogether, and small ones observed them by constraint not willingly.

Par. 5. Ts'eih,—see VI. i. 9. The Chuen says:—"In the 6th month, on Yih-y'ew, Chaou Yang of Tsin placed the eldest [and heir-son of the late marquis of] Wei in Ts'eih. [The expedition] lost its way in the night, but Yang Hoo said, 'Let us keep on the right of the Ho

and proceed southwards, and we must come to the place." [Yang] made the prince wear mourning, and 8 men wear clothes and scarfs of sack-cloth, and pretend that they had gone from the capital to meet him; and in this guise they notified their arrival at the gate, which the prince entered weeping. He then kept possession of the city."

We saw, XI. viv. 11, that Kwae-wae fled from Wei to Sung. His father was now dead, and his own son had been appointed marquis. This seemed to be a good opportunity to Chaou Yang to take revenge on Wei for its hostility to Tsin, and he would appear to have gone for the prince of Wei to Sung, or have called him from that State; and by the stratagem mentioned in the Chuen, he placed him in possession of an important city in Wei, from which he was able by and by to gain all his inheritance. The critics dwell on the terms and phrases, 納世子, 納于戚 instead of 納于衛, as full of pregnant meaning; but it seems to me that Confucius simply tells the story, and leaves his readers to form their own judgment on the conduct of the parties concerned in it.

Par. 6. Kung-yang has 軒 for 罕, and for 鐵 both 栗 and 秩. T'eh was the name of a small hill, which lay south from Ts'eih;—in the present K'ae Chow, dep. Ta-ming.

The repetition of 帥師 in the 2d member of the sentence is peculiar. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, in the 8th month, the people of Ts'e were sending grain to the Fan-ites, under the convoy of Tsze-yaou (Han Tah) and Tsze-pan (Sze Hw'ang) of Ch'ing, who were met by Sze Keih-shih. Chaou Yang wanted to intercept the convoy, and met it near Ts'eih. Yang Hoo said to him, "Our chariots are few. Let us take the flags of our war-chariots, and display them in the van, in front of the chariots of Han and Sze. Those officers coming up from behind, and arranging in the same way [their order of battle], will be sure to be alarmed when they see our appearance; and by then commencing the fight, we shall give them a great defeat." Yang adopted this counsel, and consulted the tortoise-shell about [the propriety of] fighting; but the shell was [only] scorched, [and gave no further indication]. Yoh Ting said, "The ode (She, III. i. ode III. 3) says,

"There he began with consulting his followers;

There he scorched the tortoise-shell."

Our counsels are the same (As they were before, when we determined to re-instate the prince of Wei); we may take the intimation which we then received as our answer now.

"K'een-tsze (Chaou Yang) then made the following solemn declaration. "Fan-she and Chung-lang-she have transgressed the clear will of Heaven, slaughtering our people, and wishing to get into their own hands the State of Tsin, and to extinguish its ruler. 'Our ruler felt himself safe in his reliance on Ch'ing, but now Ch'ing, contrary to all right, has abandoned our ruler, and is assisting his rebellious subjects. You, gentlemen, are acting in accordance with the clear will of Heaven, and in obedience to your ruler's commands. It is for you, in this

engagement, to vindicate the supremacy of virtue and righteousness, and to take away reproach and shame. Those who distinguish themselves in the victory shall receive—a great officer of the superior grade, a *k'een*, and one of the inferior, a *keen*; an officer, 10 myriads of *mow*; a common man (*I. e.*, a farmer), a mechanic, or a merchant, the privilege of becoming an officer; servants, such as sweepers and groomers, exemption [from their menial toils]. Should I (Chefoo was a name of Yang) come out free of guilt, let our ruler consider my case. If I be chargeable with guilt, let me die by the cord. Let my body be put into a single coffin of *t'ung* wood, [only] 3 inches thick; let the coffin be conveyed in a plain carriage by undressed horses; let it not be put into a grave. Let me [thus] be punished as a minister of the lowest degree."

"On K'eah-seuh, they prepared for the fight. Y'ew Woo-s'eh drove K'een-tsze, and the prince of Wei was spearman on the right. Having driven to the top of T'eh, when they looked at the army of Ch'ing, and saw how numerous it was, the prince was afraid, and threw himself down under the chariot. Tsze-l'ang (Woo-seuh, the Wang L'ang of Mencius, III. Pt. II. i. 4) handed him the strap, and helped him up again, saying, "You are a woman." K'een-tsze went round the ranks, saying, "Peih Wan (The ancestor of the Wei clan in Tsin. See the Chuen, at the end of IV. i.) was [originally but] a common man; but he made captures in 7 battles, till he possessed 100 teams, and he died at last [in the proper place] under his window. Do you all do your best. Your death need not come from this enemy."

"Fan Yu was driving Chaou Lo, and Sung Yung was spearman on the right. Lo's courage all departed, so that the others tied him to his seat; and when an officer inquired the reason, the charioteer said, "It was because he was seized with an ague-fit, and fell down." The prince of Wei prayed, saying, "I, Kwae-wae, your distant descendant, venture to announce to you king Wan, my great ancestor, to you K'ang-shuh, my distinguished ancestor, and to you duke Séang, my accomplished ancestor:—Shing of Ch'ing is siding with the rebellious, whom Woo of Tsin, in the midst of difficulties, is not able to deal with and bring to order. He has now sent Yang to punish them, and I, not daring to indulge in sloth, am here with my spear in my hand. I presume to announce this to you, and pray that my sinews may not be injured, my bones not broken, and my face not wounded, but that I may succeed in this great engagement, and you my ancestors may not be disgraced. I do not presume to ask for the great appointment; I do not grudge the precious stones at my girdle."

"A man of Ch'ing struck K'een-tsze with a spear in the shoulder, so that he fell down in the chariot, and his flag, Fung-k'e, was taken. The prince, however, came to his succour with his spear, and the army of Ch'ing was worsted; but it captured Chaou Lo, the commandant of Wan. The prince again attacked it, and it was entirely defeated, and a thousand carriages, containing the grain of Ts'e, were taken. Chaou-m'ang, delighted, said, "This will do," but Foo Sow said, "Although we have defeated Ch'ing, the Che clan are still in force, and our troubles are not over."

'Before this, the Kung-sun Mang had collected the rents of the lands given by the people of Chow to Fan-she, when he was taken by some of the Chaou clan, and presented [to Chaou K'een]. The officers asked leave to put him to death, but Chaou-mang said, "It was for his lord. He has no crime." So he stopped the officers, and gave Mang [back the rents of] the lands. After this battle of T'ieh, Mang, with 500 footmen, attacked the army of Ch'ing at night, and took the flag, Fung-k'e, from beside the tent of Tsze-yaou, which he then presented [to K'een-tsze] saying, "This is in requital of your kindness."

'In the pursuit of the army of Ch'ing, Yaou, Pan, and the Kung-sun Lin, guarded the rear, and killed with their arrows many in the front ranks of the pursuers, so that Chaou-mang said, "The State [of Ch'ing] should not be called small."

'When all was over, K'een-tsze said, "When I fell upon the quiver, I brought up blood, but still the sound of the drum did not diminish. My merit is at the top of this day's work." The prince [of Wei] said, "I saved you in the chariot, and made the enemies who were pressing about it retire. I stand at the top of the spearmen." Y'ew L'ang said, "My two breast-leathers were nearly broken, but I managed to prevent [the catastrophe]. I am at the top of the charioteers." They yoked the chariot, and drove it over a [small] piece of wood, when the leathers both broke.'

### Third year.

三年<sup>一章</sup>春<sup>二章</sup>齊國<sup>三章</sup>夏<sup>四章</sup>衛石曼姑<sup>五章</sup>帥<sup>六章</sup>師圍<sup>七章</sup>戚<sup>八章</sup>夏<sup>九章</sup>四月<sup>十章</sup>甲午<sup>十一章</sup>地震<sup>十二章</sup>。  
五月<sup>十三章</sup>辛卯<sup>十四章</sup>桓宮<sup>十五章</sup>僖宮<sup>十六章</sup>災<sup>十七章</sup>。  
季孫斯<sup>十八章</sup>叔孫州仇<sup>十九章</sup>帥<sup>二十章</sup>師城<sup>二十一章</sup>啟<sup>二十二章</sup>。  
陽<sup>二十三章</sup>宋樂髡<sup>二十四章</sup>帥<sup>二十五章</sup>師伐<sup>二十六章</sup>曹<sup>二十七章</sup>。  
秋<sup>二十八章</sup>七月<sup>二十九章</sup>丙子<sup>三十章</sup>季孫斯<sup>三十一章</sup>卒<sup>三十二章</sup>。  
蔡人<sup>三十三章</sup>放其大夫<sup>三十四章</sup>公孫獵<sup>三十五章</sup>于吳<sup>三十六章</sup>。  
冬<sup>三十七章</sup>十月<sup>三十八章</sup>癸卯<sup>三十九章</sup>秦伯<sup>四十章</sup>卒<sup>四十一章</sup>。  
叔孫州仇<sup>四十二章</sup>仲孫何忌<sup>四十三章</sup>帥<sup>四十四章</sup>師圍<sup>四十五章</sup>邾<sup>四十六章</sup>。

Par. 7. It was thus the 7th month after his death before the interment of duke Ling took place. The movements of Kwae-wae had, probably, occasioned the delay.

Parr. 8, 9. Chow-lae,—see VIII. vii. 7 and X. xiii. 12. In the latter passage it is said that 'Woo extinguished Chow-lae.' It would now therefore be a city of Woo. We saw on I. 2, that Ts'ae had requested that it might be allowed to remove within the limits of Woo. It would appear to have changed its purpose and wished to remain where Ts'oo had placed it, but Woo was not to be balked, and accomplished the removal in the way which the Chuen narrates:—'S'eh Yung of Woo went to Ts'ae with the offerings of a complimentary visit, and at the same time accompanied by a small force. When his soldiers were all entered, and the people all knew it, the marquis of Ts'ae communicated with his great officers and put to death the Kung-tsze Sze, throwing the blame [of their having hesitated to remove] on him. He then wept at the tombs [of his ancestors], and carried their contents with him on his removal to Chow-lae.'

Chow-lae was the 3d capital of Ts'ae. When king Woo invested his brother Too with Ts'ae the capital was 上蔡 in the dis. still so called, dep. Joo-ning. Too rebelled, and was put to death, but king Ch'ing restored Ts'ae to his son, and by and by the capital was removed to 新蔡 also in dis. of Joo-ning. The third removal was now to Chow-lae, which is often called 下蔡

左傳曰：三年春，齊衛圍戚，求援於中山。夏五月辛卯，司鐸火，火踰公宮，桓僖災，救火者皆曰：顧府。南宮敬叔至，命周人出御書，俟於宮。曰：庀汝而不在，死。子服景伯至，命宰人出禮書，以待命。命不共，有常刑。校人乘馬，中車脂轄，百官官備。府庫慎守，官人肅給，濟濡帷幕，鬱攸從之。蒙葺公屋，自大廟始。外內以悛，助所不給，有不用命，則有常刑。無赦。公父文伯至，命校人駕乘車。季桓子至，御公立於象魏之外，命救火者傷人則止，財可為也。命藏象魏，曰：舊章不可亡也。富父槐至，曰：無備而官辦者，猶拾藩也。於是乎法表之臺，道還公宮。孔子在陳，聞火，曰：其桓僖乎。○劉氏范氏世為婚姻，萇弘事劉文公，故周與范氏趙鞅以為討。六月癸卯，周人殺萇弘。秋季孫有疾，命正常曰：無死，南孺子之子，男也，則以告而立之。女也，則肥也可。季孫卒，康子即位。既葬，康子在朝，南氏生男，正常載以如朝，告曰：夫子有遺言，命其圉臣曰：南氏生男，則以告於君與大夫而立之。今生矣，男也，敢告。遂奔衛。康子請退，公使共劉視之，則或殺之矣。乃討之，召正常，正常不反。○冬十月，晉趙鞅圍朝歌，師於其南。荀寅伐其郛，使其徒自北門入，已犯師而出。癸丑，奔邯鄲。十一月，趙鞅殺士皇夷，惡范氏也。

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, Kwoh H'ea of Ts'e and Shih Man-koo of Wei led a force, and laid siege to Ts'eih.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on K'eah-woo, there was an earthquake.
- 3 In the fifth month, on Sin-maou, the temples of [dukes] Hwan and He were burned.
- 4 Ke-sun Sze and Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew led a force, and walled K'e-yang.
- 5 Yoh K'w'än of Sung led a force, and invaded Ts'aou.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-tsze, Ke-sun Sze died.
- 7 The people of Ts'ae banished their great officer Kung-sun L'eh to Woo.
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-maou, the earl of Ts'in died.
- 9 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Choo.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'In spring, Ts'e and Wei laid siege to Ts'eih, and sought help from Chung-shan (The people of Sên-yu). Ts'e had its grudge against Ts'eih, because Kwae-wae, who now held that place, had been a principal instrument of the defeat of the troops of Ch'ing, and of the capture of the grain which Ts'e was trying to send to Chaou-ko. Wei, however, was principally concerned for the reduction of Ts'eih, because, while his father had a footing in the State, the new marquis Cheh could not consider his position secure. Down to the pres. day, critics take different sides on the question of the right to the State of Wei, whether it belonged to Kwae-wae, against the wish of his father, or to Cheh, Kwae-wae's son in opposition to him. See a partial decision of Confucius on the point, Ana. VII. xiv.

Par. 2. See VI. ix. 11; *et al.*

Par. 3. It is not easy to account for the temples of Hwan and He being still continued. The ancestral temples of the States were restricted to 5 smaller temples, or shrine-houses: and the tablets of Hwan and He ought long ere this to have been removed to the special building appropriated to displaced tablets, and their places occupied by those of more recent marquises. Between Hwan and Gae there had been 9 rulers in Loo, and between He and him 6. Some critics think Loo maintained 7 shrine-houses, as the royal House did; but even this would not account for the temple of Hwan. It is easy to see why the great families should have preserved the temple of Hwan, or rather built another specially for him, as it was to him that they all traced their lineage. However it was, the existence of these temples was irregular; and now they were destroyed by fire, and according to Tso-she and the K'ea Yu (家語), even Confucius saw in the event the judgment of Heaven.

The Chuen says:—'In the 5th month, on Sin-maou, a fire broke out in the [small palace of] Sze-toh. It then passed over the duke's palace, and burnt the temples of Hwan and He.

'The people who tried to put out the fire all cried out, "Look to the treasury." When Nan-kung King-shuh arrived, he ordered the officer in charge of the Chow [documents] to carry out the books which were read to the marquis, and to wait with them in the palace, saying to them, "See that you have all in your charge. If you are not there, you shall die." When Tsze-fuh Ming-pih came, he ordered an officer belonging to the Board of the chief minister to bring out the books of ceremony and to wait [further] orders, reminding him that if he did not obey the order, he was liable to the regular punishment. [He also ordered] the superintendent of the horses to have them arranged in teams, and the superintendent of the carriages to have the wheels all greased; the officers of the various departments to be all there; a careful guard to be maintained over the treasury and repositories; the subordinate officers gravely to contribute their service; curtains and tents to be soaked, and placed wherever the smoke was issuing; the palace and contiguous houses to be [also] covered with them; beginning at the grand temple, outside and inside, in due order, help to be given where it was needed; and all disobedience to suffer the regular penalties without forgiveness.

When Kung-foo Ming-pih arrived, he ordered the superintendent of the horses to have the carriages all yoked; and when Ke Hwan-tze arrived, he drove the duke to the outside of the towers at the front gate, where the boards with the statutes on them were hung up. He gave orders to those who were trying to put out the fire, that, as soon as any of them were injured, they should stop, and let the things take their chance. He ordered [also] the boards with the statutes to be laid up, saying, "This old statutes must not be lost." When Foo-foo Hwae arrived, he said, "For the officers to try to deal with the fire, without making preparations [against its progress], is like trying to gather up water that has been spilt." On this they removed all the straw outside the fire, and cleared a way all round the palace.

'Confucius was then in Ch'in, and when he heard of the fire, he said, "It destroyed, I apprehend, the temples of Hwan and He."

Par. 4. K'e-yang (Kung has 開 for 啟) was 15 *le* to the north of the pres. dep. city of E-chow. It had been the capital city of the old State of Yu (郕), which was taken in Choo in the 18th year of Ch'au. Choo was now obliged to yield it to Loo, and as it was near to Pe, it was probably appropriated by Ke-she. The fortifying it would be to provide against attempts to regain it by Choo, which might be expected to be assisted by Tsin.

Par. 5. Yoh Ta-sin had fled from Sung to Ts'au (XI. x. 8), and this may have been the ground for the present attack; which was followed by others still more serious.

[The Chuen appends here:—'There had been intermarriages for generations between the families of Lëw [in Chow] and Fan [in Tsin]; and Chang Hwäng had been in the service of duke Wän of Lëw. In consequence of this, Chow took the side of the Fan [in the struggles in Tsin]. Chaou Yang made this the subject of remonstrance, and in the 6th month, on Kwei-maou, the people of Chow put Chang Hwäng to death.']

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'In autumn, Kung-sun was ill, and gave orders to Ching-chang saying, "You must not die. If Nan Joo-tsze's child prove a boy, then inform the duke, and appoint him my successor. If it prove a girl, then you may appoint Fei." He died, and K'ang-tsze (Fei) took his place; but after the burial, [once] when K'ang-tsze was in the court, Nan-she gave birth to a boy, which Ching-chang carried to the court, where he said, "My master left a charge with me, his groom, that if Nan-she gave birth to a boy, I should inform his lordship and the great officers of it, and appoint him his successor. Now she has given birth to a boy, and I venture to give the information." On this, he fled to Wei. K'ang-tsze asked leave to retire from his position, and the duke sent Kung Lëw to see the child, but some one had put it to death. He caused the murderer to be punished, and then called Ching-chang [from Wei], but he would not return.'

Par. 7. This Kung-sun Lëh would be a partizan of Kung-tsze Sze, mentioned in the last par. of last year.

Par. 8. Loo seems to have been bent on the entire subjugation of Choo.

[The Chuen turns here to the siege of Chaou-ko:—'In winter, in the 10th month, Chaou Yang of Tsin laid siege to Chaou-ko, and lay in force on the south of it. Seun Yin attacked the outer suburbs, and made the troops [which were coming to his aid] enter the city by the north

gate, while he himself burst through the enemy and got away. On Kwei-chow he fled to Hantan. In the 11th month, Chaou Yang put to death Sze Kaou-e, such was his hatred of the Fan clan.']

Fourth year.

四年<sup>二章</sup>春<sup>二章</sup>王二月<sup>二章</sup>庚戌<sup>二章</sup>盜殺蔡侯<sup>二章</sup>申<sup>二章</sup>蔡公孫辰<sup>二章</sup>出奔吳<sup>二章</sup>葬秦惠公<sup>三章</sup>宋人執小邾子<sup>四章</sup>夏<sup>五章</sup>蔡殺其大夫公孫姓<sup>五章</sup>公孫霍<sup>六章</sup>晉人執戎蠻子赤<sup>七章</sup>歸于楚<sup>八章</sup>城<sup>九章</sup>西郭<sup>十章</sup>六月<sup>十章</sup>辛丑<sup>十章</sup>亳社災<sup>十章</sup>葬滕頃公<sup>十章</sup>冬<sup>十章</sup>十有二月<sup>十章</sup>葬蔡昭公<sup>十章</sup>

左傳曰四年春蔡昭侯將如吳諸大夫恐其又遷也承公孫翩逐而射之入於家人而卒以兩矢門之衆莫敢進文之錯後至曰如牆而進多而殺二人錯執弓而先翩射之中肘錯遂殺之故逐公孫辰而殺公孫姓公孫盱夏楚人既克夷虎乃謀北方左司馬販申公壽餘葉公諸梁致蔡於負函致方城之外於繒關曰吳將沂江入郢將奔命焉爲一昔之期襲梁及霍單浮餘圍蠻氏蠻氏潰蠻子赤奔晉陰地司馬起豐析與狄戎以臨上雒左師軍於苑和右師軍於倉野使謂陰地之命大夫士蔑曰晉楚有盟好惡同之若將不廢寡君之願也然將通於少習以聽命士蔑請諸趙孟趙孟曰晉國未寧安能惡於楚必速與之士蔑乃致九州之戎將裂田以與蠻子而城之且將爲之卜蠻



人。鮮虞、時、晉、之、臨、寅、十、月、氏、弦、遺、邑、師、其、子、  
 虞、陰、取、遂、十二、月、趙、庚、秋、民、立、於、五、聽、  
 納、人、邢、墮、鮮、一、月、午、衛、七、而、宗、三、大、卜、  
 荀、孟、任、臨、虞、邯、鞅、圍、五、甯、月、齊、俘、以、誘、  
 寅、壺、鄆、國、弦、趙、邯、鄆、鹿、救、陳、以、歸、其、  
 於、口、鄆、夏、施、稷、降、鄆、冬、九、范、乞、歸、其、  
 柏、會、逆、伐、逆、奔、荀、冬、九、范、乞、歸、其、

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Käng-seuh, a ruffian killed Shin, marquis of Ts'ae.
- 2 Kung-sun Shin of Ts'ae fled from that State to Woo.
- 3 There was the burial of duke Hwuy of Ts'in.
- 4 An officer of Sung seized the viscount of Little Choo.
- 5 In summer, Ts'ae put to death its great officers, Kung-sun Säng and Kung-sun Hoh.
- 6 An officer of Tsin seized Ch'ih, viscount of the Man Jung, and sent him to Ts'oo.
- 7 We walled our outer suburbs on the west.
- 8 In the sixth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the altar of Poh was burned.
- 9 In autumn, in the eighth month, Këeh, viscount of T'äng, died.
- 10 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'au of Ts'ae.
- 11 There was the burial of duke K'ing of T'äng.

Parr. 1, 2, 5. In par. 1. Kung-yang has 三月 for 二月. Kung and Kuh-läng have 弒 for 殺, which is probably the more correct reading.

In VII. xvii. 2, we are told that 'Shin (申), marquis of Ts'ae,' died, so that here is one of his descendants called by the same name; which is 'contrary to rule.' Twan Yuh-tse says that the 'Historical Records' give 甲 instead of 申; but there is no 甲 in the edition of that Work in my possession.

The Chuen says:—'This spring, the marquis of Ts'ae was about to go to Woo, and all the great officers tried to prevent him from going, fearing there would be another removal of the capital. Kung-sun P'ên pursued, and shot him, so that he entered into a house [on the way] and digd. [P'ên] then took his station in the door of it, with two arrows on his string, and no one would venture to go forward to it. Wan Che-k'ae, however, came up afterwards, and said, "Let us advance like a wall; at the most, he can kill but two men." He then advanced with his bow in his hand. P'ên discharged an

arrow at him, which hit him in the wrist, but immediately after K'ëae killed him. In consequence of this event, K'ëae expelled Kung-sun Shin, and put to death the two Kung-suns, Säng and Yu (*f. q.* Hoh in par. 5).'

On 盜, see on IX. x. 8.

Par. 3. The Chuen does not say anything on this event. Le Lëen discerns in it an indication of the ambition of the duke of Sung, who, now that there was no acknowledged leader among the princes, had fallen to imitate the doings of his predecessor Sëang. The idea of many critics, that the duke is condemned here by being called 人, is inadmissible; but how that term ought to be translated, by 'officer,' 'body of men,' or 'the people,' could only be determined by our knowing the circumstances in which the seizure took place.

Par. 6. The Man Jung;—see X. xvi. 2. Here, as there, Kung-yang has 曼 for 蠻. The act of Tsin in this matter is held to have been disgraceful to it. The right of asylum for refugees seems to have been accorded by the States to one another; and one which had played such a part as Tsin ought to have maintained it with peculiar jealousy.

The Chuen says:—'In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo, having reduced the E-hoo, began to turn its attention to the regions farther north. P'an, the marshal of the Left, Show-yu commandant of Shin, and Choo-läng commandant of Sheh, collected [the people of] Ts'ae, [who remained in that quarter], and placed them in Hoo-hëen, and did the same for the people outside the barrier wall in Tsäng-kwan. [They then] said that Woo was going to come up the Këang to enter Ying, and that they must hurry away as they had been commanded. On this, on the very day after, they took by surprise Lëang and Hoh, [cities of the Man Jung].

'Shen Fow-yu laid siege to [the chief town of] the Man, the people of which dispersed, while Ch'ih, the viscount, fled to Yin-te in Tsin. The marshal raised the people of Fung and Seih, along with [certain tribes of] the Teih and Jung, and proceeded towards Shang-loh. The master of the Left encamped near [the hill of] T'oo-ho, and the master of the Right near Ts'ang-yay. [The marshal then] sent a message to Sze Mëeh, the great officer [of Tsin] appointed over [the district of] Yin-te, saying, 'Tsin and Ts'oo have a covenant, engaging them to share in their likings and dislikings. If you will not neglect to observe it, that is the desire of my ruler. If you determine otherwise, I will communicate with you by Shaou-seih to hear your commands.' Sze Mëeh requested instructions from Chaou-mäng, who said, "Tsin is not yet in the enjoyment of tranquillity; we dare not make a rupture with Ts'oo. You must quickly give up the refugee to it."

'On this, Sze Mëeh then called together the Jung of Këw-chow, and proposed that they should set aside some lands for the viscount of the Man, and settle him there in a city. He also proposed to consult the tortoise-shell about the city; and while the viscount was waiting for the result, Mëeh seized him and his five great officers, and delivered them to the army of Ts'oo

at San-hoo. The marshal [also pretended that he] would assign him a city and set up his ancestral temple, in order that he might delude the remnant of his people; and then he carried them all back as captives with him to Ts'oo.'

Par. 7. 'This would be in apprehension of an attack on the west from Tsin.

Par. 8. For 亭 Kung-yang has 蒲. By the altar to the Spirit of the land of Poh we are to understand an altar of Yin. That dynasty had its capital in Poh, and on its extinction king Woo ordered the different States to rear altars, called 'altars of Poh,' to serve as a warning to their princes to guard against the calamity of losing their States. These are understood to have been placed outside the gate leading to the ancestral temple, so that the princes should not fail to take notice of them. They were covered, however, and enclosed, and sacrifices were not offered at them. Their preservation in this way simply served the purpose of admonition, but it exposed them to the calamity recorded in the text.

Par. 9. Këeh had been viscount of T'äng 23 years, and was succeeded by his son Yu-woo (虞母), duke Yin (隱).

Parr. 10, 11. The burial of the marquis of Ts'ae had been delayed;—probably by the troubles in the State. [The Chuen continues here the narrative of events in Tsin:—'In autumn, in the 7th month, Ch'in K'ëih and Hëen She of Ts'e, and Ning Kwei of Wei, proceeded to the relief of Fan-she; and on Käng-woo they laid siege to Woo-luh. In the 9th month, Chaou Yang laid siege to Hlan-tan, which surrendered in winter, in the 11th month, when Seun Yin fled to the Sëen-yu, and Chaou Tseih to Lin. In the 12th month, Hëen She met the latter in that place, and threw down its walls. [At the same time] Kwoh Hëa invaded Tsin, and took Hing, Jin, Lwan, Haou, Yih-che, Yin-jin, Yu, and Hoo-kow, was joined by the Sëen-yu, and placed Seun Yin in Pih-jin.']

*Fifth year.*

公。閏<sup>六</sup>月、葬<sup>五</sup>齊侯杵臼卒。秋<sup>四</sup>九月、癸酉、伐<sup>三</sup>衛。晉<sup>二</sup>趙鞅帥師<sup>一</sup>夏<sup>二</sup>齊侯伐宋。五年<sup>一</sup>春、城毗。

左傳曰五年春晉圍柏人荀寅士吉射奔齊初范氏之臣王生惡張柳朔言諸昭子使爲柏人昭子曰夫非而讐乎對曰私讐不及公好不廢過惡不去善義之經也臣敢違之及范氏出張柳朔謂其子爾從主勉之我將止死王生授我矣吾不可以僭之遂死於柏人夏趙鞅伐衛范氏之故也遂圍中牟齊燕姬生子不成而死諸子鬻之茶嬖諸大夫恐其爲犬子也言於公曰君之齒長矣未有犬子若之何公曰二三子間於憂虞則有疾疾亦姑謀樂何憂於無君公疾使國惠子高昭子立荼寘羣公子於萊秋齊景公卒冬十月公子嘉公子駒公子黔奔衛公子鉏公子陽生來奔萊人歌之曰景公死乎不與埋三軍之事乎不與謀師乎師乎何黨之乎

鄭駟秦富而侈嬖大夫也而常陳卿之車服於其庭鄭人惡而殺之子思曰詩曰不解於位民之攸暨不守其位而能久者鮮矣商頌曰不僭不濫不敢怠皇命以多福

- V
- 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, we walled P'e.
  - 2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Sung.
  - 3 Chaou Yang of Tsin, at the head of a force, invaded Wei.
  - 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Kwei-yëw, Ch'oo-k'ëw, marquis of Ts'e, died.
  - 5 In winter, Shuh Seuën went to Ts'e.
  - 6 In the intercalary month, there was the burial of duke King of Ts'e.

Par. 1. It is not known where P'e exactly was. It would be in the west of Loo, and now be walled, as a preparation against an attack from Tsin. Kung has 比 and 庇 instead of 毗.

Par. 2. We saw last year how Sung was now trying to vindicate its claim to a foremost place among the States. We may suppose that this excited the jealousy of Ts'e, and led to the attack here mentioned.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'This spring, Tsin laid siege to Pih-jin (See the Chuen at the end of last year), on which Seun Yin and Sze Keih-shih fled to Ts'e. Before this, Wang Säng, an officer of Fan-she, hated another called Chang Lëw-soh; but he spoke of him to Ch'au-tszé (Sze Keih-shih), and got him appointed commandant of Pih-jin. Ch'au-tszé said, "Is not he your enemy?" Säng replied, "Private enmities should not interfere with public [duty]. In your likings not to overlook faults, and in your hatreds not to disallow what is good, is the course of righteousness. I dare not act contrary to it." When Fan-she left [Pih-jin],

Chang Lëw-soh said to his son, "Do you follow your lord, and do your utmost for him. I will remain here and die. Wang Säng has laid that upon me. I must not fail in it." He died accordingly in Pih-jin. In summer, Chaou Yang invaded Wei, because of [the assistance it had afforded to] Fan-she, and laid siege to Chung-mow.'

Par. 4. For 杵 Kung-yang has 處. Ch'oo-k'ëw had been marquis of Ts'e for 50 years; but for his character see the Ana. XVI. xii. He had enjoyed the counsels of his distinguished minister Gan-tszé, and of Confucius; but though he was a scourge to Tsin, he could not arrest the decay of his own House. Immediately after his death, his son was murdered, and the State thrown into confusion; and in less than ten years the House of Këang was superseded by that of Ch'in.

The Chuen says:—'Yen Ke [wife of the marquis of Ts'e], had a son, who died before he was grown up. Of his sons [by his concubines] his favourite was T'oo, whose mother was Yuh

Sze. The great officers were all afraid lest T'oo should be appointed the duke's successor, and spoke to him on the subject, saying, "Your lordship is old; and how is it that it has not been declared which of your sons is to succeed you?" The duke, however, said, "If you are free at present from anxieties [about the State], you have [the risk] of illness [to think about]. Try to get what pleasure you can in the meantime. Why should you be concerned about having no ruler?"

'When the duke was ill, he made Kwoh Hwuy-tszé and Kaou Ch'au-tszé appoint T'oo, and place all his other sons in Lae. In autumn he died; and in winter, in the 10th month, his sons, Këa, K'ëu, and K'ëen, fled to Wei, while Ts'oo and Yang-säng came to Loo. The people of Lae sang about the young princes,

"Duke King is dead!  
Ye stood not by his grave.  
To Ts'e's armies  
No counsel e'er you gave.  
The crowd of you!  
What country will you save?"

Par. 5. This visit would be one of condolence, and to attend the funeral of the marquis.

Par. 6. We may assume that this intercalary month was a double 12th, which would give the burial in the 5th month after the death;—according to rule. Two schemes of the calendar of the Ch'un Ts'ëw place the intercalary month of this year, the one after the 10th month, and

the other after the 11th; but I do not see any ground for admitting either of them. The fact of the burial is against them both. At present the intercalary months are left out of calculation in all matters connected with the duties to the dead; but it may not have been so in those times. Kuli-lëang thought it was, and therefore finds in the par. a condemnation of the irregularity. Kung-yang took the other view. Each has crowds of followers; and the K'ang-he editors give the views of both, unable to decide between them.

[The Chuen turns here to an affair in Ch'ing:—Sze Ts'in of Ch'ing was rich and extravagant. Though [only] a great officer of the lowest grade, he had always the chariot and robes of a minister displayed in his courtyard, so that the people of Ch'ing disliked him, and put him to death. Tsze-sze (The son of Tszech'au) said, "The ode (She, III. ii. ode V. 4) says,

'They will not be idle in their offices,  
So that the people will have rest in them,'

They are few that can continue long who do not observe the conditions of their place. In the Temple-odes of Shang (She, IV. iii. ode V. 2) it is said,

'He erred not in rewarding and punishing,  
And dared not to be idle;  
And so he made his happiness grandly secure."

Sixth year.

六年春城邾瑕。晉趙鞅帥師伐鮮虞。吳伐陳。夏齊國夏及高張來奔。叔還會吳于柎。秋七月庚寅楚子軫卒。齊陽生入于齊。齊陳乞弑其君荼。冬仲孫何忌帥師伐邾。宋向巢帥師伐曹。

而告之故，闕止知之。先待諸外。公子曰：「事未可知，反與壬也。」處戒之，遂行。逮夜，至於齊。國人知之，僖子使士之母養之，與饋者皆入。冬十月丁卯，立之。將盟，鮑子醉而往，其臣差車鮑黠曰：「此誰之命也？」陳子曰：「受命於鮑子。」遂誣鮑子曰：「子之命也。」鮑子曰：「汝忘君之爲孺子牛而折其齒乎？」而背之也。悼公稽首曰：「吾子奉義而行者也，若我可不必亡一大夫，若我不可，不必亡一公子。」義則進，否則退，敢不唯子是從。廢與無以亂，則所願也。鮑子曰：「誰非君之子？」乃受盟。使胡姬以安孺子如賴，去鬻姬殺王甲，拘江說，囚王豹於句賈之丘。公使朱毛告於陳子曰：「微子則不及此，然君異於器，不可以二。」器二不匱，君二多難，敢布諸大夫。僖子不對而泣。曰：「君舉不信羣臣乎？」以齊國之困，又有憂，少君不可以訪，是以求長君，庶亦能容羣臣乎？不然，夫孺子何罪？毛復命，公悔之。毛曰：「君大訪於陳子，而圖其小，可也。」使毛遷孺子於駘，不至，殺諸野幕之下，葬諸父冢淳。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, we walled Choo-hëa.  
 2 Chaou Yang of Tsin, at the head of a force, invaded Sëen-yu.  
 3 Woo invaded Ch'in.  
 4 In summer, Kwoh Hëa and Kaou Chang of Ts'e came fugitives to Loo.  
 5 Shuh Seuen had a meeting with Woo at Cha.  
 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Käng-yin, Chin, viscount of Ts'oo, died.  
 7 Yang-säng of Ts'e entered [the capital of] that State.  
 8 Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.  
 9 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke, at the head of a force, invaded Choo.  
 10 Hëang Ch'aou of Sung, at the head of a force, invaded Ts'aou.

Par. 1. For 瑕 Kung-yang has 蔑. The city was 10 *le* to the south of the pres. Tse-ning Chow, dep. Yen-chow. It properly belonged to Choo, but Loo had either taken it before, or now did so, and proceeded to settle the appropriation by walling it. Perhaps we ought to call the place—'Hëa of Choo.'

Par. 2. We have seen that once and again the people of Sëen-yu had helped the Fan and other insubordinate clans of Tsin. The time 'to punish them for this,' as Tso-she says, was now come.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Woo [now] invaded Ch'in, again reviving the old animosity

(See the Chuen after I. 3). The viscount of Ts'oo said, "My father had a covenant with Ch'in; I must by all means now go to its help." Accordingly he proceeded to the help of Ch'in, and encamped with his army at Shing-foo.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e pretended to do service to [the ministers] Kaou and Kwoh; and whenever they went to court, he would go in the same carriage with one of them, and, as they went along, speak about all the great officers, saying, "They are all very arrogant and will cast from them your orders. They all say, 'Kaou and Kwoh have got [the favour] of the [new] ruler, and are sure to be pressing upon us. Why should we

左傳曰：六年，春，晉伐鮮虞，治范氏之亂也。

吳伐陳，復修舊怨也。楚子曰：「吾先君與陳有盟，不可以不救。」乃救陳，師於城父。

齊陳乞僞事高國者，每朝必驂乘焉。所從必言諸大夫曰：「彼皆偃蹇，將棄子之命，皆曰：『高國得君，必偪我，盍去之。』」又謂諸大夫曰：「二子者禍矣，恃得君而欲謀二三子，曰：『國之多難，貴寵之由，盍去之而後君定。』」既成謀矣，盍及其未作也，先諸作而後悔，亦無及也。大夫從之。夏六月，戊辰，陳乞、鮑牧及諸大夫以甲入於公宮，昭子聞之，與惠子乘如公戰於莊，敗國人，追之國，夏奔莒，遂及高張，晏圍弦施來奔。

秋七月，楚子在城父，將救陳，卜戰不吉，卜退不吉，王曰：「然則死也。」再敗楚師，不如死，棄盟逃，讐亦不如死，死一也。其死讐乎？命公子申爲王，不可，則命公子結，亦不可，則命公子啟，五辭而後許。將戰，王有疾，庚寅，昭王攻大冥，卒於城父。子閭退曰：「君王舍其子而讓羣臣，敢忘君乎？」從君之命，順也。立君之子，亦順也。二順不可失也。與子西子期謀，潛師閉塗，逆越女之子章，立之而後還。是歲也，有雲如衆赤鳥，夾日以飛，三日，楚子使問諸周犬史，周犬史曰：「其當王身乎？若榮之，可移於令尹司馬。」王曰：「除腹心之疾，而寘諸股肱，何益？」不穀不有大過，天其天諸有罪受罰，又焉移之？遂弗榮。初，昭王有疾，卜曰：「河爲祟。」王弗祭，大夫請祭諸郊，王曰：「三代命祀，祭不越望，江漢睢漳，楚之望也。」禍福之至，不是過也。不穀雖不德，河非所獲罪也。遂弗祭。孔子曰：「楚昭王知大道矣，其不失國也，宜哉。」夏書曰：「惟彼陶唐，帥彼天常，有此冀方，今失其行，亂其紀綱，乃滅而亡。」又曰：「允出茲在茲，由己率常可矣。」

八月，齊邴意茲來奔。

陳僖子使召公子陽生，陽生駕而見南郭且子，曰：「嘗獻馬於季孫，不入於上乘，故又獻此，請與子乘之。」出萊門。

not remove them out of the way?" They are sure to be plotting against you. You should take measures against them beforehand, and if you take such measures, the best plan will be to destroy them entirely. Delay is the worst of all methods." When they got to the court, he would say, "They are so many tigers and wolves. When they see me by your side, they will kill me any day. Allow me to go where they are standing." He would then say on the other hand to the great officers, "Those two ministers are [meditating] evil. They trust in having the ruler [in their hands], and wish to plot against you. They say, 'The many troubles of the State arise from the [number of] those who have high rank and favour. Let us do away with all of them, and then the ruler will be settled in his position.' They have decided on their plan. Why not take the initiative with them? If you wait till they move, regrets will be of no use." The great officers were persuaded by him; and in summer, in the 6th month, on Mow-shin, Ch'in K'ei and Paou Muh, with all the great officers, burst into the duke's palace with [a body of] men-at-arms. Ch'ao-tse (Kaou Chang) heard of their movement, and got into a carriage with Hwuy-tse (K'woh H'ia), to go to the duke. They were defeated in a fight at Chwang, and pursued by the people of the capital. K'woh H'ia fled to Keu, and [soon after], along with Kaou Chang, Gan Yu (Son of Gan P'ing-tse), and H'ien She, he came a fugitive to Loo.

Par. 5. Cha,—see IX. x. 1. The Chuen says nothing on the reasons of this proceeding. Maou observes that some say it was in obedience to a requisition from Woo;—which is likely, as the viscount or king of Woo was now pushing forward to the leading place among the States.

Par. 6. Continuing the narrative under par. 3, the Chuen says:—"In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo was in Shing-foo, intending to succour Ch'in. He consulted the tortoise-shell about fighting, and got an unfavourable response. He consulted about retreating, and got the same. He then said, 'Well then I will die. It is better to die than to incur a second defeat of the army of Ts'oo. It is also better to die, than to throw away our covenant with Ch'in, and evade the enemy. It is [only] dying in either case, and I will die at the hands of the enemy.' He named the Kung-tse Shin (Tsze-se) to be king, but he declined. Next he named the Kung-tse K'eh (Tsze-k'e), but he also declined. Finally he named the Kung-tse K'e (Tsze-leu), who declined the dignity five times, but then accepted it.

"When they were about to fight, the king fell ill; but on K'ang-shin he attacked Ta-ming. He [then] died in Shing-foo, after which Tsze-leu retreated, saying, 'Our ruler and king passed over his son in favour of his subjects. I did not dare to forget [my duty to] the ruler, and to obey his command was proper. But to appoint his son in his place is likewise natural and proper. Both things are proper, and neither of them must be neglected.' He then took counsel with Tsze-se and Tsze-k'e, kept [the king's death] concealed from the army, shut up all communication abroad, sent for Chang, [the king's son] by a daughter of Yueh, appointed him king, and afterwards returned [with the army to the capital].

"This year, there had been a cloud, like a multitude of red birds, flying round the sun, which continued for 3 days. The viscount of Ts'oo sent to ask the grand-historiographer of Chow about it, who said that it portended evil to the king's person, and that if he offered a deprecatory sacrifice to it, the evil might be removed so as to fall on the chief minister or one of the marshals. The king, however, said, "Of what use would it be to take a disease threatening the heart and lay it upon the limbs. If I had not committed great errors, would Heaven shorten my life? I must receive the penalty of my transgressions; why should I try to move it over to another?" So he did not offer the sacrifice. Before this, king Ch'ao had been ill, and an answer was obtained from the tortoise-shell that his illness was occasioned by the [Spirit of the] Ho. Notwithstanding, he did not sacrifice to it; and when his great officers begged him to sacrifice to it at the border [altar], he said, "According to the sacrifices commanded by the 3 dynasties, a State cannot sacrifice to any but the hills and streams within its borders. The K'ang, the Han, the Ts'eu, and the Chang are the rivers to which Ts'oo ought to sacrifice. Calamity or prosperity is not to be accounted for by error in this respect. Although I am deficient in virtue, I have not offended against the Ho." Accordingly he would not sacrifice to it. Confucius said, "King Ch'ao of Ts'oo knew the great path of duty. It was right that he should not lose his State! In one of the Books of H'ia (Shoo, III. iii. 7) it is said,

'There was the prince of T'ao and T'ang,  
Who observed the rules of Heaven,  
And possessed this country of K'e.  
Now we have fallen from his ways,  
And thrown into confusion his rules and laws:—  
The consequence is extinction and ruin.'

It is said in another place (Shoo, II. ii. 10), 'Where sincerity proceeds from, therein is the result.' When a man observes of himself the regular [statutes of Heaven], [his worth] is to be acknowledged."

[There is here a short notice, relating to Ts'e:—'In the 8th month, Ping E-tse came a fugitive to Loo.']

Parr. 7, 8. For 茶 Kung-yang has 舍. The Chuen says:—"Ch'in He-tse (K'ei) had sent to call the Kung-tse Yang-sang (See the flight of Yang-sang, and other princes of Ts'e to Loo in the narrative under par. 4 of last year) to Ts'e. Yang-sang yoked his chariot, and went to see [his brother] Tseu-yu (The Kung-tse Ts'oo) in the south suburbs, when he said, "I presented some horses to Ke-sun, but they were not fit to enter his best team. I therefore wish to present these, and beg you to ride with me, and try them." When they had gone out at the Lae gate, he told the other all about the call he had received. [Meanwhile, his servant] K'an Che knew it, and was waiting for him outside. "But," said the prince to him, "how the thing will turn out cannot yet be known. Do you go back, and dwell with [my son] Jin." He then cautioned him, and went his way. He arrived at [the capital of] Ts'e at night, but the people were aware of it.

'He-tse made [his concubine], the mother of Tsze-se, keep him [for some time], but [by and by] he got him in [to the palace] along with those who were taking the food in. In winter, in the 8th month, on Ting-maou, he raised him to the marquisate and was about to impose a covenant [on the great officers]. Paou-tse had gone [to the palace] drunk, but one of his officers, who had charge of his chariots, Paou T'ien, said, "By whose orders is this?" "I received the order from Paou-tse," replied Ch'in-tse, and [turning to that minister], he said falsely to him that it was by his order. "Have you forgotten," said Paou-tse, "how when our [late] ruler was playing ox [to T'oo], the child [fell down and] broke his teeth? And now you are rebelling against him." Duke Taou (Yang-sang) bowed to him with his head to the ground, and said, "You are one who does what is right. If you approve of me, not a single great officer shall go into exile. If you do not approve of me, let not a single son of the late ruler go into exile. Where right is let us advance; where it is not, let us recede. I dare not but follow you, and you only, in everything. Let the displacing or the new appointment be made without disorder; this is what I desire." Paou-tse said, "Which of you is not a son of our [late] ruler?" and with this he took the covenant.

'[After this, duke Taou] sent Hoo Ke [a concubine of duke King] with the child Gan (T'oo) to Lae; sent away Yuh Sze (T'oo's mother); put to death Wang K'eh; put K'ang Yueh under restraint; and imprisoned Wang Paou at the hill of K'eu-tow. He then sent Choo Maou to say to Ch'in-tse, "But for you,

I should not have attained to this position. But a ruler is not an article of furniture. There cannot be two rulers. Two articles of furniture are a safeguard against want, but two rulers give rise to many difficulties. I venture to represent this to you." He-tse [at first] gave no reply, but then he wept and said, "Must our rulers all have no trust in their officers? Because the State of Ts'e was in distress [through famine], and that distress gave rise to other anxieties, and no counsel could be taken with a ruler who was so young, I therefore sought for one who was grown up, hoping that he would exercise forbearance with his officers. If he cannot do so, with what offence is that child chargeable?" Maou returned with this answer, which made the duke repent [that he had sent the message]. Maou, however, said to him, "Your lordship can ask Ch'in-tse about great matters, but small matters you can determine yourself." The duke then sent him to remove the child to T'ae; but before they arrived at that place, Maou put him to death in a tent in the country, and buried him at Shoo-maou-tun.

Kung-yang gives a different account of the way in which Ch'in-tse brought about the elevation of Yang-sang to the marquisate, and relates a story about his being suddenly presented from a sack to the great officers, whom Ch'in-tse had called together to a sacrificial feast. This account, being more dramatic, is followed, as we might expect, in the 'History of the Various States,' Ch. lxxx.

Par. 9. This was a sequel to the walling of Choo-h'ia mentioned in par. 1.

Par. 10. See on III. v.

### Seventh year.

曹冬來西秋夏衛晉師七年  
鄭駟弘帥師救宋人圍曹以邾子益公會吳于鄆晉魏曼多帥師侵鄭  
七年春宋皇瑗帥



左傳曰：七年，春，宋師侵鄭，鄭叛晉，故也。晉師侵衛，衛不服也。

夏，公會吳于鄆。吳來徵百牢，子服景伯對曰：「先王未之有也。」吳人曰：「宋百牢，我魯不可以後宋，且魯、宋、晉大夫過十，吳王百牢，不亦可乎？」景伯曰：「晉范鞅貪而棄禮，以大國懼敝邑，故敝邑十一牢之。君若以禮命於諸侯，則有數矣。若亦棄禮，則有淫者矣。」周之王也，制禮上物，不過十二，以爲天之大數也。今棄周禮，而曰：「必百牢，亦唯執事。」吳人弗聽。景伯曰：「吳將亡矣，棄天而背本，不與必棄疾於我，乃與之。」大宰嚭召季康子，康子使子貢辭，大宰嚭曰：「國君道長，而大夫不出門，此何禮也？」對曰：「豈以爲禮？畏大國也。大國不以禮命於諸侯，苟不以禮，豈可量也？寡君既共命焉，其老豈敢棄其國？大伯端委以治周禮，仲雍嗣之，斷髮文身，贏以爲飾，豈禮也哉？有由然也。反自鄆，以吳爲無能爲也。」

季康子欲伐邾，乃饗大夫以謀之。子服景伯曰：「小所以事大，信也。大所以保小，仁也。魯、大國不信，伐小國，不仁。民保於城，城保於德，失二德者，危將焉保？」孟孫曰：「二三子以爲何如？」惡賢而逆之。對曰：「禹合諸侯於塗山，執玉帛者萬國，今其存者無數十焉，唯大不字小，小不事大也。知必危，何故不言？」魯德如邾，而以衆加之，可乎？不樂而秋伐邾，及范門，猶聞鐘聲。大夫諫，不聽。茅成子請告於吳，不許。曰：「魯擊柝聞於邾，吳二千里，不三月不至，何及於我？」且國內豈不足？成子以茅叛，師遂入邾，處其公宮，衆掠邾衆保於繹，師宵掠，以邾子益來，獻於魯社。囚諸負瑕，負瑕故有繹。邾茅夷鴻，以束帛乘韋，自請救於吳，曰：「魯弱晉而遠吳，馮恃其衆，而背君之盟，辟君之執事，以陵我小國，邾非敢自愛也，懼君威之不立，君威之不立，小國之憂也。若夏盟於鄆，秋而背之，成求而不違，四方諸侯，其何以事君？且魯賦八百乘，君之貳也，邾賦六百乘，君之私也，以私奉貳，唯君圖之。」吳子從之。

宋人圍曹，鄭桓子思曰：「宋人有曹，鄭之患也，不可以不救。」冬，鄭師救曹，侵宋，初，曹人或夢衆君子立於社宮，而謀亡曹，曹叔振鐸請待公孫彊，許之。旦而求之，曹無之，戒其子曰：「我死，爾聞公孫彊爲政，必去之。」及曹伯陽即位，好田弋，曹鄙人公孫彊好弋，獲白鴈，獻之，且言田弋之說，說之，因訪政事，大說之，有寵，使爲司城，以聽政。夢者之子乃行，彊言霸說於曹伯，曹伯從之，乃背晉而奸宋，宋人伐之，晉人不救，築五邑於其郊，曰：「黍丘、揖丘、大城、鐘。」

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, Hwang Yuen of Sung made an incursion, with a force, into Ch'ing.  
 2 Wei Man-to of Tsin made an incursion, with a force, into Wei.  
 3 In summer, the duke had a meeting with Woo in Ts'ang.  
 4 In autumn, the duke invaded Choo. In the eighth month, on Ke-y'ew, he entered [the capital of] that State, and brought Yih, viscount of Choo, back with him to Loo.  
 5 A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'aou.  
 6 In winter, Sze Hwang of Ch'ing led a force to relieve Ts'aou.

Par. 1. Tso-she says this attack of Ch'ing was 'because of its revolt from Tsin'; but the K'ang-he editors retrench so much of the Chuen, thinking the attack was not to be so accounted for. Comparing par. 6, we may conclude that it was because of a confederation between Ch'ing and Ts'aou, on the destruction of which latter State Sung was bent.

Par. 2. In the 5th year Tsin invaded Wei, but that State still held out against it; hence this incursion.

Par. 3. For 鄆 Kuh-liang has 繹;—see IX. i. 3. Both here and in par. 5 of last year, we must understand that the meeting was with the viscount of Woo. The Chuen says, 'In summer, when the duke had a meeting with Woo in Ts'ang, [messengers] came from Woo, demanding from us a hundred sets of animals. Tsze-fuh King-pih replied that the ancient kings had never made a rule enjoining such contributions; but they said, "Sung gave us a hundred, and Loo must not be behind Sung. Moreover, Loo gave more than ten to a great officer of Tsin (See on X. xxi. 2); is it not proper that the king of Woo should receive 100?" King-pih rejoined, "Fan Yang of Tsin was greedy, and threw aside all rules of propriety. He frightened our poor State with his great one, and therefore we gave him 11 sets. If your ruler will require from the States what is enjoined by those rules, there is a definite number laid down. If he will also throw them aside, the demand is excessive. The kings of

Chow, according to the statutes, require only 12 of this great-class offering, considering that to be the great number [indicated by the division] of the heavens. When [your ruler] sets aside the rules of Chow, and says that he must have 100 sets of animals, it is simply the decision of his officers." The men of Woo would not listen to this remonstrance, and King-pih said, "Woo will go to ruin, casting away [the rule of] heaven and going against [the example of] its own ancestral House. If we do not give [these animals], it will vent its enmity on us." Accordingly they gave them.

P'ei, the grand-administrator [of Woo], called Ke K'ang-tsze to him, and K'ang-tsze sent Tsze-kung to excuse his not going. "The ruler of your State," said P'ei, "takes a long journey, and his great officer will not cross his door; what sort of propriety is this?" Tsze-kung replied, "Why should this be viewed from the point of propriety? We are afraid of your great State. It is laying its commands upon the States without regard to the rules of propriety, and how can we measure to what that course will go? Our ruler has obeyed your commands; but how can his old minister leave [the care of] the State? T'ae-pih (The first civilizer of Woo. See on Ana. VIII. i.), in his square-made robe and black cap, cultivated the ceremonies of Chow. Chung-yung succeeded to him, and cut off his hair and tattooed his body. Was that ornamenting of the naked body according to the rules of propriety? but there was a cause for it."

'When [the duke] returned from Tsang, it was considered that Woo could do nothing [great].'

Par. 4. Here is the consummation of Loo's hostility to Choo. The Chuen says:—'Ke K'ang-tze wished to attack Choo, and gave an entertainment to the great officers, to take counsel about it. Tze-fuh King-pih said, "It is by good faith that a small State serves a great one, and benevolence is seen in a great State's protecting a small one. If we violate [our covenant with] a great State, it will be a want of good faith; and if we attack a small State, it will be a want of benevolence. The people are protected by the walls of the cities, and the walls of the cities are preserved by virtue, but if we lose those virtues, our walls will totter;—how will it be possible to preserve them?" Mäng-sun said, "What do you say, gentlemen, to these things? How can we go against [the words of] a man of such wisdom?" [The great officers] replied, "When Yu assembled the States on mount T'oo, there were 10,000 States whose princes bore their symbols of jade and offerings of silk. Of those there are not many tens which now remain;—through the great States not cherishing the small, and the small States not serving the great. If we know this expedition must be perilous to us, why should we not say so?" [Mäng-sun rejoined], "The virtue of Loo is the same as that of Choo; and is it proper that we should fall upon it with our [superior] numbers?" They were [all] displeased, and left the feast.

'In autumn, we invaded Choo; and when we had got as far as its Fan gate, [the viscount] was still listening to the sound of his bells. His great officers remonstrated with him, but he would not hearken to them. Ch'ing-tze of Maou begged leave to carry information of their circumstances to Woo, but he would not grant it, saying, "The noise of the watchmen's rattles in Loo is heard in Choo, whereas Woo is 2,000 *le* off, and cannot come [to our relief] in less than 3 months. Of what avail can it be to us? and have we not sufficient resources in our State?" On this Ch'ing-tze revolted with Maou, and our army then entered [the capital of] Choo, and occupied the viscount's palace. The troops all plundered during the day, and then the people took refuge on [mount] Yih. The troops [also] plundered during the night, and then returned, bringing Yih the viscount with them. He was presented before the altar of Poh, and imprisoned in Foo-héa, in consequence of which there is [in that neighbourhood] a [mount] Yih.

'E-hung (Ch'ing-tze) of Maou went himself to ask assistance from Woo, carrying with him as offerings two ox-hides and a bundle of silks. "Loo," said he, "considering the weakness of Tsin and the distance of Woo, is confident in its own numbers, violates its covenant with your lordship, treats with contempt your officers, and so tyrannizes over our small State. Choo does not presume [to send to you] out of regard for itself, but it is afraid lest your lordship's majesty should not be maintained. The not maintaining of that is the subject of our small State's anxiety. If [Loo] may in the summer covenant with you in Tsang-yen, and in the autumn violate its engagements; if it accomplish what it seeks,

and no resistance [be offered to it]:—how can the States of the four quarters be expected to serve your lordship? Moreover, the levies of Loo amount to 800 chariots,—the same as your own, while those of Choo are [only] 600, [as if it were] the private possession of your lordship. To give your private possession to a State which is your equal is a matter worth your lordship's consideration." The viscount of Woo was prevailed on by these representations.'

The student will observe in this paragraph how the bringing a prisoner to Loo is described by 以來, while in many other paragraphs the carrying a prisoner to another State is described by 以歸.

Parr. 5, 6. Com. par. 1. The Chuen says:—'A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'au. Hwan Tsze-sze of Ch'ing said, "If the people of Sung get Ts'au into their possession, it will be a bad thing for Ch'ing; we must on all accounts go and help Ts'au." Accordingly, in winter, an army of Ch'ing, to relieve Ts'au, made an incursion into Sung.

'Before this, a man of Ts'au dreamt that a number of gentlemen were standing in the temple [adjoining the] altar of the land, and consulting about the ruin of the State, and that [among them was] Shuh of Ts'au, Chin-toh (The first earl of Ts'au; a brother of king Woo), who begged them to wait till Kung-sun K'ëang appeared;—and to this they agreed. In the morning, the man sought through the city for a person of this name, but there was no such individual. He warned his son, however, saying, "When I am dead, if you hear of the government's being in the hands of a Kung-sun K'ëang, you must then leave the State."

'When Yang became earl of Ts'au, he was fond of hunting and bird-shooting. In the borders of the State there was a man [called] Kung-sun K'ëang, who was [also] fond of bird-shooting, and having caught a white goose, presented it [to the earl], talking also with him all about hunting and bird-shooting. The earl was pleased with him, and went on to ask him about affairs of government. His answers afforded him great pleasure; and the man became a favourite, was made minister of Works, and the conduct of the government committed to him; on which the son of the dreamer took his departure. K'ëang spoke to the earl all about his becoming leader of the States, and the earl followed his advice, revolting from Tsin, and breaking the peace with Sung. The people of Sung invaded the State, and Tsin gave it no help; so they built 5 cities in the borders of the capital,—Shoo-k'ëw, Yih-k'ëw, Ta-shing, Chung, and Yu.'

*Eighth year.*

八年<sup>一章</sup>春王正月宋公入曹以曹伯陽歸<sup>二章</sup>吳伐我<sup>三章</sup>夏齊人取讜及闡<sup>四章</sup>歸邾子益于邾<sup>五章</sup>秋七月<sup>六章</sup>冬十有二月癸亥杞伯過卒<sup>七章</sup>齊人歸讜及闡。

左傳曰八年春宋公伐曹將還褚師子肥殿曹人詬之不行師待之公聞之怒命反之遂滅曹執曹伯及司城彊以歸殺之吳爲邾故將伐魯問於叔孫輒叔孫輒對曰魯有名而無情伐之必得志焉退而告公山不狃公山不狃曰非禮也君子違不讐國未惡廢鄉今子以小惡而欲覆宗國不亦難乎若使子率子必辭王將使我子張病之王問於子洩對曰魯雖無與立必有與斃諸侯將救之未可以得志焉晉與齊楚輔之是四讐也夫魯齊晉之脅亡齒寒君所知也不救何爲三月吳伐我子洩率故道險從武城初武城人或有所知也吳竟田焉拘鄆人之漚管者曰何故使吾水滋及吳師至拘者道之以伐武城克之王犯嘗爲之宰澹臺子羽之父好焉國人懼懿子謂景伯若之何對曰吳師來斯與之戰何患焉且召之而至又何求焉吳師克東陽而進舍於五梧明日舍於蠶室公賓庚公甲叔子與戰於夷獲叔子與析朱鉏獻於王王曰此同車必使能國未可望也明日舍於庚宗遂次於泗上微虎欲宵攻王舍私屬徒七百人三踊於幕庭卒三百人有若與焉及稷門之內或謂季孫曰不足以害吳而多殺國士不如已也乃止之吳子聞之一夕三遷吳人行成將盟景伯曰楚人圍宋易子而食析骸而爨猶無城下之盟我行成將盟景伯曰楚人圍宋易子而食析骸而爨猶無城下之盟我

未及虧而有城下之盟，是棄國也。吳輕而遠，不能久，將歸矣。請少待之。弗從。景伯負載造於萊門，乃請釋子服何於吳。吳人許之。以王子姑曹當之而後止。吳人盟而還。

齊悼公之來也，季康子以其妹妻之，即位而逆之。季鮒侯通焉。女言其情，弗敢與也。齊侯怒。夏五月，齊鮒牧帥師伐我，取譙及闡。

或譖胡姬於齊侯，曰：「安孺子之黨也。」六月，齊侯殺胡姬。

齊侯使如吳，請師，將以伐我，乃歸邾子。邾子又無道，吳子使犬宰子餘討之，囚諸樓臺，桎之以棘，使諸大夫奉犬子革以為政。

秋，及齊平。九月，臧賓如如齊涖盟。齊閭丘明來涖盟，且逆季姬以歸。嬖。

鮑牧又謂羣公子曰：「使安有馬千乘乎？公子愬之，公謂鮑子，或譖子，子姑居於路以察之。若有之，則分室以行。若無之，則反子之所出門，使以三分之一行。半道，使以二乘及潞，縻之以入，遂殺之。」

冬十二月，齊人歸譙及闡。季姬嬖故也。

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke of Sung entered [the capital of] Ts'aou, and carried Yang, earl of Ts'aou, back with him to Sung.
- 2 Woo invaded us.
- 3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'e took Hwan and Chen.
- 4 We sent back Yih, viscount of Choo, to his State.
- 5 It was autumn, the seventh month.
- 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, Kwo, earl of K'e, died.
- 7 The people of Ts'e returned Hwan and Chen.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"This spring, the duke of Sung attacked [the capital of] Ts'aou, and was withdrawing, while Tsze-fei, superintendent of the market-place, was bringing up the rear. Him the people of Ts'aou reviled so much that he halted. The [rest of the] army was waiting for him, and when the duke heard of the circumstance, he was angry, and ordered the troops to return to the attack. He then extinguished Ts'aou, laid hold of the earl and K'ang the minister of Works, carried them back with him to Sung, and put them to death."

The Chuen thus says expressly that Sung extinguished Ts'aou, with which the notice in the text would agree well enough, though it does not necessarily follow from what the text says that the House of Ts'aou was now extinguished. And in the time of Mencius we seem to find the State of Ts'aou still existing;—see

VI. Pt. II. ii. Perhaps, as some suppose, Sung now constituted it an "attached State" of its own, under the presidency of some other family.

Par. 2. This is a sequel to the narrative under par. 4 of last year. The Chuen says:—"Woo, being about to invade Loo in the interest of Choo, asked Shuh-sun Cheh (A refugee from Loo. See on XI. xii. 5, where it is said that Cheh and Kung-san Puh-nêw fled to Ts'e. They afterwards went to Woo) [about the enterprise]. Cheh replied, "Loo has the name [of being a great State], but not the reality. If you invade it, you are sure to get your will." When he retired [from his interview with the viscount], he told this to Kung-san Puh-nêw; who said, "You [spoke] improperly. When a superior man leaves his own State, he does not go to one that is as enmity with it. If he have not taken office in

that State, and it be invading his native one, he may hurry away to do it service, and die for it. Moreover, a man is supposed not to forego his [attachment to his] village because of his [private] animosities; and is it not a hard case that you, on account of a small animosity, should wish to overturn the State of your ancestors? If they [wish] you to lead the way for them, you must refuse, and the king will then employ me." Tsze-chang (Shuh-sun Cheh) was distressed about the matter.

"The king then asked Tsze-sêh (Kung-shan Puh-nêw) in the same way, and he replied, "Although Loo [seems to] have none to labour for its elevation, there are those who will be prepared to die for it. The other States will come to its relief, and you cannot yet get your will with it. Tsin, Ts'e, and Ts'oo will help it, and you will have 4 enemies to contend with. Loo is as it were the lips of Ts'e and Tsin. If the lips are destroyed, the teeth get cold,—as your lordship knows. What should they do but come to its help?"

"In the 3d month, Woo invaded us, Tsze-sêh acting as guide to it and purposely leading [its army] by the most difficult path, past Woo-shing. But before this, some men of that city had been taking the opportunity to hunt on the borders of Woo, and had caught rudely a man of Tsang whom they found steeping rushes, blaming him for making their water dirty. When the army [of Woo] now arrived [in the neighbourhood], the man who had been caught showed it the way to attack the city, so that it reduced it. Wang Fan (a refugee from Woo) was the commandant of Woo-shing, a friend of Tan-t'ae Tsze-yu's (The Tan-t'ae Mieh-ming of Ana. VI. xii.) father, and the people of the State were afraid of him. [thinking he might have delivered the city to Woo].

"E-tsze (Mang-sun Ho-ke) said to King-pih, "What is to be done?" and was answered, "When the army of Woo arrives, we must at once fight with it. Why be troubled about that? It is here, moreover, at our own call;—what more would you seek for? The army of Woo [next] reduced Tung-yang, from which advancing it halted at Woo-woo. Its stage next day was to Ts'an-shih. Kung-pin Kang and Kung-k'eah Shuh-tsze fought with it at E, when Shuh-tsze and Seih Choo-ts'oo were taken. When they were presented to the king, he said, "These were in the same chariot, and must have been employed as being men of ability. I cannot yet expect to gain such a State." Next day the army advanced to Kang-tsung, and halted at Sze-shang. There We Hoo wanted to attack the encampment at night, and privately collected 700 footmen whom he proved by making them take 3 jumps in the court before his tent, till their number was reduced to 300, among whom was Yêw Joh (One of Confucius' disciples). When they had arrived inside the Tseih gate, some one said to Kung-san, "They are not enow to harm Woo, and we shall lose many officers by the attempt. It had better not be made." The minister accordingly stopped them; but when the viscount of Woo heard of the project, he removed his position thrice in one night.

"Woo [now] offered to make peace, and a covenant was about to be made. King-pih said, "When the army of Ts'oo besieged [the capital of] Sung (In the 5th year of duke Seuen), the people exchanged their children and ate them, and clave the bones for fuel; and still they

would not submit to a covenant at the foot of their walls. For us, who have sustained no [great] loss, to do so, is to cast our State away. Woo is all for dispatch and is far from home. Its army cannot remain long, and will soon be returning. Let us wait a little." This advice was not taken, and King-pih carried on his back the tablets [of the covenant] to the Lae gate. [Loo] then asked that Tsze-fuh Ho (King-pih) might not be required to go to Woo as its hostage, and, this being agreed to, that the king's son, Koo-ts'aou, might be [left in Loo] on the other side. [The proposal of hostages] was then abandoned. The people of Woo made the covenant, and withdrew."

Par. 4. Hwan,—see II. iii. 6, 7, *et al.* For 闡, here and below, Kung-yang has 僎. The city was 35 *li* to the north-east of the pres. dis. city of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—"When duke Taou (Yang-sang) came [a fugitive to Loo] (In Gae's 5th year), Ke K'ang-tsze gave him his younger sister in marriage; and when he succeeded to the State, he sent for her; but [by that time] Ke Fang-how had had an intrigue with her. The lady told the truth, and [K'ang-tsze] did not dare to send her [by the messenger], which enraged the marquis of Ts'e; and in summer, in the 5th month, Paou Muh led a force, and invaded us, taking Hwan and Chen."

[The Chuen appends here some other matters about Ts'e:—"Some one slandered Hoo Ke (See the Chuen on VI. 7, 8), saying that she belonged to the party of the child Gan; and in the 6th month, the marquis of Ts'e put her to death."]

Par. 5. Loo here restores the viscount of Choo through fear of Woo and Ts'e;—not to the advantage, as we shall see, of that prince. The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Ts'e sent a message to Woo, begging [the assistance of] an army, as he was intending to invade us. On this we restored the viscount of Choo, who, however, now conducted himself in an improper manner [to Woo]. The viscount of that State, therefore, sent the grand-administrator, Tsze-yu, to punish him. He was imprisoned in a room in a high tower, which was fenced round with thorns; and Tsze-yu then made all the great officers support the viscount's eldest son Kih in the administration of the State."

Par. 6. [There are two brief narratives introduced here, both more or less relating to Ts'e.

1st. In autumn, we made peace with Ts'e, and Tsang Pin-joo went to Ts'e to make the covenant, while Leu K'ew-ming came to Loo for the same purpose on the part of Ts'e. At the same time he received Ke Ke (Ke K'ang-tsze's sister), and carried her back with him. She became a favourite with the marquis."

2d. "Paou Muh went on to say to each of the marquis's brothers, "Shall I make you possessor of a thousand chariots?" They complained of him, and the duke said to him, "Some one has slandered you. Do you go for a time and reside in [the city of] Loo, till I examine into the matter. If the thing be true, you shall forfeit one half your property, and can go to another State; and if it be not true, I will restore you to your place." As he was going out at the gate, the duke made him take only a third of his usual retinue. When he had got

half way, this was reduced to two chariots. When he got to Loo, he was obliged to enter it in confinement, and shortly after the duke put him to death.]

Par. 7. Tso-she says that the return of these places to Loo was a consequence of the favour with which the daughter of K'ang-tsze was regarded by the marquis of Ts'e.

Ninth year.

九年春王葬杞二月僖公宋皇瑗帥師取鄭師陳夏楚人伐宋公伐鄭冬十月

左傳曰九年春齊侯使公孟綽辭師於吳吳子曰昔歲寡人聞命今又革之不知所從將進受命於君鄭武子賸之嬖許瑕求邑無以與之請外取許之故圍宋雍丘宋皇瑗圍鄭師每日遷舍壘合鄭師哭子姚救之大敗二月甲戌宋取鄭師于雍丘使有能者無死以邾張與鄭羅歸夏楚人伐陳陳即吳故也宋公伐鄭秋吳城邳溝通江淮晉趙鞅卜救鄭遇水適火占諸史趙史墨史龜曰是謂沈陽可以興兵利以伐姜不利子商伐齊則可敵宋不吉史墨曰盈水名也子水位也名位敵不可干也炎帝為火師姜姓其後也水勝火伐姜則可史趙曰是謂如川之滿不可游也鄭方有罪不可救也救鄭則不可吉不知其他陽虎以周易筮之遇泰之需曰宋方吉不可與也微子啟帝乙之元子也宋鄭甥舅也社祿也若帝乙之元子歸妹而有吉祿我安得吉焉乃止冬吳子使來儆師伐齊

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke He of K'e.  
2 Hwang Yuen of Sung led a force and captured an army of Ch'ing at Yung-k'ew.  
3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.  
4 In autumn, the duke of Sung invaded Ch'ing.  
5 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. The interment of duke He thus took place in the 3d month after his death. There must have been some reason for the haste.

[The Chuen gives here a narrative preparatory to Woo's attack of Ts'e next year:—'This spring, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kung-mang Ch'oh to decline the services of the army [of which he had requested the aid] from Woo. The viscount of Woo said, "Last year I received your commands, and now you reverse them. I do not know which to follow. I will advance and receive my orders [direct] from your ruler."']

Par. 2. Yung-k'ew was in Sung,—in the pres. dis. of K'e (杞), dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'Heu H'ea, a favourite of Wootsze Ying (Han Tah), asked for a city; and there being none to give him, he asked leave to take one from another State. This was granted, and he laid siege in consequence to Yung-k'ew of Sung. [There], Hwang Yuen of Sung besieged the army of Ch'ing, every day moving forward his lines, till the intrenchments of the two armies touched. That of Ch'ing wept [in its distress]. Tsze-yaou (Han-tah), who attempted to relieve it, received a great defeat; and in the 2d month, on K'eah-seuh, Sung took it at Yung-k'ew. Hwang Yuen directed that the men of ability [among the prisoners] should not be put to death, and took K'eah Chang and Ch'ing Lo back with him'

Maou calls in question this narrative of the Chuen, which certainly does not seem to carry on it the stamp of verisimilitude. He thinks the historical facts may simply have been that Han Tah now made an expedition into Sung in retaliation for that related in VII. 1, and received a severe defeat at Yung-k'ew. The

取 in the text would seem to imply the capture of his army. See Tso's canon about the meaning of 取 in such a case on II. xi. 2;—覆而敗之曰取某師. Such a defeat is compared in the 'explanation of Tso's canons,' to the 'taking a flock of birds in a net;—as if 覆 were to be read *fow*, in the 3d tone.

Par. 3. Tso says the reason of this invasion was because Ch'in had gone over to Woo. Ts'oo had certainly done its utmost to relieve Ch'in, when that State was attacked by Woo in the duke's 6th year; but as the death of king Ch'au had rendered a retreat necessary, Woo had remained master of the field, and Ch'in had, no doubt, been obliged to submit to its terms. To punish it for this would seem to be hard treatment.

Par. 4. Not content with the capture of its army, Sung now carries the war into Ch'ing.

[The Chuen introduces here two notices. The 1st is brief, but important, in connexion with the labours of subsequent dynasties to effect a communication by water between the K'ang and the northern regions. It would require a dissertation to discuss it fully. 'This autumn, Woo walled Han (The present Yangchow), and thence formed by a channel a communication between the K'ang and the Hwae.'

2d, relating how Tsin gave up the purpose of relieving Ch'ing. 'Chaou Yang consulted the tortoise-shell about relieving Ch'ing, and got the indication of fire meeting with water. He asked an explanation of it from the historiographers Chaou, Mih, and Kwei. Kwei said, "This is called 'quenching the Yang (Light, or fire).' [On the strength of this] you may commence hostilities;—with advantage against K'ang (Ts'e), but not against Tsze-shang (Sung). You may [on this] attack Ts'e; but if you oppose Sung, the result will be unlucky.'

Mih said, 'Ying (盈; said to be the surname of Chaou Yang) is a name of water. Tsze (子, the surname of Sung) is in the position of water. To put the name and the position in antagonism is not to be attempted. The emperor Yen (Shin-nung) had his fire-master from whom the House of K'ang is descended. Water overcomes fire. According to this you may attack the K'ang.' Chaou said, "We may say of this that we have indicated the full channel of a stream, which cannot be swum through. Ch'ing is now an offender [against Tsin], and ought not to be relieved. If you go to assist Ch'ing, the result will be unlucky. This is all that I know.'

'Yang Hoo consulted the reeds on the principles of the Yih of Chow about the subject, and found the diagram T'ae (泰; ䷊), which then became the diagram Seu (需; ䷄). "Here," said he "luck is with Sung. We must not engage [in conflict] with it. K'e, the viscount of Wei (The first duke of Sung), was the eldest son of Te-yih; there have been intermarriages between Sung and Ch'ing. The 'happiness' (In the legend of the changed line) denotes dignity. If the eldest son of Te-yih by the marriage of his sister has good fortune and dignity, how can we have good fortune [in an expedition against Sung]? [The purpose of helping Ch'ing] was accordingly abandoned.'

[There is a brief notice here, connected with Woo's determination to attack Ts'e:—'In winter, the viscount of Woo sent a message, requiring our army to be in readiness to invade Ts'e.']

Tenth year.

十年春王二月邾子益來奔公會吳公宋陽生卒三月齊侯伐齊



伐陳。吳救陳。冬，楚公子結帥師。葬薛惠公。秋，葬薛夷卒。于衛。衛公孟彊自齊歸。葬齊悼公。五月，公至自伐齊。晉趙鞅帥師侵齊。伐鄭。

左傳曰：十年春，鄭隱公來奔。齊甥也，故遂奔齊。公會吳子、邾子、郕子，伐齊南鄙。師於郎，齊人弑悼公，赴於師。吳子三日哭於軍門之外。徐承帥舟師，將自海入齊，齊人敗之。吳師乃還。夏，趙鞅帥師伐齊，大夫請卜之。趙孟曰：「吾卜於此起兵，事不再令，卜不襲吉，行也。」於是乎取犂及轅，毀高唐之郭，侵及賴而還。秋，吳子使來復，傲師。冬，楚子期伐陳，吳延州來季子救陳，謂子期曰：「二君不務德而力爭，諸侯民何罪焉？」我請退，以爲子名，務德而安民。乃還。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Yih, viscount of Choo, came a fugitive to Loo.  
2 The duke joined Woo in invading Ts'e.  
3 In the third month, on Mow-seuh, Yang-säng, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
4 In summer, a body of men from Sung invaded Ch'ing.  
5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'e.  
6 In the fifth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.  
7 There was the burial of duke Taou of Ts'e.  
8 Kung-mäng K'ow of Wei returned from Ts'e to Wei.  
9 E, earl of Sëeh, died.  
10 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hwuy of Sëeh.  
11 In winter, the Kung-tsze Këeh of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'in, when Woo went to the relief of Ch'in.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This spring, duke Yin of Choo came a fugitive, to Loo. Being the son of a daughter of [the House of] Ts'e, he went on to flee to that State.' Yih must have escaped from the tower in which he was confined by order of Woo (See on VIII. 4). His taking refuge in Loo showed, says K'au K'ang, how

shameless he was. Mao thinks that he did it to excite again the enmity of Woo against Loo; but perhaps it was the only step he could take in order to get to Ts'e.

Par. 2, 3, 6. The Chuen says:—'The duke joined the viscounts of Woo, Choo (This must be the son of Yih. See VIII. 4), and T'an, and

invaded the south border of Ts'e. Their army was encamped at Seih, when the people of Ts'e murdered duke Taou, and sent word to it [of his death], on which the viscount of Woo wept for 3 days outside the gate of the camp. [At the same time] Seu Shing was conducting a fleet along the coast, intending with it to enter Ts'e, but it was defeated by the men of Ts'e, and on this the army of Woo withdrew.' There seems no good reason to question the account of the death of the marquis of Ts'e given by Tso-she. Too supposes that the report from Ts'e stated that he died from illness; and the text therefore follows that official announcement. This also may have been the case;—comp. IX. vii. 10, and the Chuen upon it. Woo Ch'ing, however, and others deny the account in the Chuen, thinking it very unlikely that a great State like Ts'e would suddenly murder its prince to avert the danger of an invasion with which it was well able to cope. They forget that that invasion was just the thing that the Ch'in family would lay hold of to further their designs against the House of Këang.

Par. 4. See on par. 4 of last year.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'The great officers begged him to consult the tortoise-shell about this expedition, but Chaou-mäng said, "I did do so, and thereon am putting the troops in motion (See the narr. after par. 4 of last year). Things must not be twice referred to the tortoise-shell; when you get a fortunate answer, the divination must not be repeated." On this they set forth, and he took Le and Yuen, threw down the walls of the suburbs of K'au-t'ang, made an incursion as far as Lae, and returned.' This account of the Chuen is prefaced by 晉趙鞅帥師伐齊, the words of the text, excepting that

we have 伐 instead of 侵. Upon this many of the critics say that Yang did thus really make an open attack on Ts'e, invading it, but in the text the invasion is reduced to an incursion; and in this misrepresentation of the fact they find the sage's condemnation of Tsin for taking advantage of the death of the marquis of Ts'e to invade his State! This is surely a strange method of exalting the character of Confucius.

Par. 8. K'ow in the 14th year of duke Ting (XI. xiv. 12) fled to Ch'ing, a partizan of Kwae-wae, and from Ch'ing he had gone on to Ts'e. Perhaps he had deserted the party of Kwae-wae, and was now restored by Ts'e to Wei. We find him, in the 15th year, when Kwae-wae regains the State, flying again to Ts'e.

Par. 9, 10. For 夷 Kung-yang has 寅. [The Chuen appends a brief note here to the effect, that this autumn the viscount of Woo sent another message to Loo to have its army ready for the field]

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'In winter Tsze-k'e of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in (See on par. 3 of last year). Ke-tsze of Yen and Chow-lae (Supposed to be Ke-chah, the youngest son of Show-mung of Woo who died in the 12th year of Sëang. See the Chuen after IX. xiv. 1, *et al.* Chah could not now be less than 90 years old) went to relieve Ch'in, and said to Tsze-k'e, "Our two rulers do not endeavour to display virtue, but are striving by force for the supremacy of the States. Of what offence have the people been guilty? Allow me to retire; it will be to the credit of your name, as endeavouring to show a virtuous kindness and seeking the tranquillity of the people." On this [both parties] withdrew [from Ch'in].'

Eleventh year.

十有一年春，齊國書帥師伐我。夏，陳轅頗出奔鄭。五月，公會吳伐齊。甲戌，齊國書帥師及吳戰于艾陵，齊師敗績，獲國書。秋，七月，辛酉，滕子虞母卒。冬，十有一月，葬滕隱公。衛世叔齊出奔宋。

髮短。東郭書曰：三戰必死，於此三矣。使問弦多以琴曰：吾不復見子矣。陳書曰：此行也，吾聞鼓而已，不聞金矣。甲戌，戰于艾陵，展如敗高子。國子敗胥門巢，王卒助之，大敗齊師，獲國書、公孫夏、閭丘明。陳書、東郭書、革車八百乘，甲首三千，以獻於公。將戰，吳子呼叔孫曰：而事何也？對曰：從司馬。王賜之甲劍，鉞曰：奉爾君事，敬無廢命。叔孫未能對，衛賜進曰：州仇奉甲，從君而拜。公使大史固歸國子之元，寘之新篋，綴之以玄纁，加組帶焉。寘書於其上曰：天若不識不衷，何以使下國。

⑤吳將伐齊，越子率其眾以朝焉。王及列士皆有饋賂。吳人皆喜，唯子胥懼曰：是豢吳也。夫諫曰：越在我心腹之疾也，壤地同而有欲於我，夫其柔服，求濟其欲也，不如早從事焉。得志於齊，猶獲石田也，無所用之。越不爲沼，吳其泯矣。使醫除疾，而曰：必遺類焉者，未之有也。盤庚之誥曰：其有顛越不共，則劓殄無遺育，無俾易種於茲邑，是商所以興也。今君易之，將以求大，不亦難乎？弗聽。使於齊，屬其子於鮑氏，爲王孫氏。反役，王聞之，使賜之屬鏹以死。將死，曰：樹吾墓，櫬可材也。吳其亡乎？三年，其始弱矣，盈必毀，天之道也。

⑥秋季，孫命修守備。曰：小勝大禍也，齊至無日矣。

冬，衛大叔疾出奔宋。初，疾娶於宋子朝，其娣嬖。子朝出，孔文子使疾出其妻而妻之。疾使侍人誘其初妻之娣，寘於犂，而爲之一宮，如二妻。文子怒，欲攻之。仲尼止之，遂奪其妻，或淫於外州。外州人奪之，軒以獻，恥是二者，故出。衛人立遺，使室孔姑。疾臣向魋，納美味焉，與之城鉏。宋公求珠，魋不與，由是得罪。及桓氏出，城鉏人攻大叔疾，衛莊公復之，使處巢，死焉。殯於郎，葬於少禘。初，晉悼公子慙亡在衛，使其女僕而田。大叔懿子止而飲之酒，遂聘之。生悼子。悼子卽位，故夏戊爲大夫。悼子亡，衛人翦夏戊。孔文子之將攻大叔也，訪於仲尼。仲尼曰：胡簋之事，則嘗學之矣。甲兵之事，未之聞也。退命駕而行，曰：鳥則擇木，木豈能擇鳥？文子遽止之，曰：圉豈敢度其私，訪衛國之難也。將止，魯人以幣召之，乃歸。

左傳曰：十一年春，齊爲郕故，國書高無平，帥師伐我。及清，季孫謂其宰冉求曰：齊師在清，必魯故也。若之何？求曰：一子守，二子從，公禦諸竟。季孫曰：不能求，曰：居封疆之間。季孫告二子，二子不可求，曰：若不可，則君無出一子帥師，背城而戰，不屬者，非魯人也。魯之羣室，衆於齊之兵車，一室敵車，優矣。子何患焉？二子之不欲戰也，宜政在季氏。當子之身，齊人伐魯，而不能戰，子之恥也。大不列於諸侯矣。季孫使從於朝，俟於黨氏之溝。武叔呼而問戰焉。對曰：君子有遠慮，小人何知？懿子強問之。對曰：小人慮材而言，量力而共者也。武叔曰：是謂我不成丈夫也。退而蒐乘。孟孺子洩帥右師，顏羽御。邴洩爲右，冉求帥左師，管周父御。樊遲爲右。季孫曰：須也弱，有子曰：就用命焉。季氏之甲七千，冉有以武城人三百爲己徒卒，老幼守宮，次於雲門之外。五日，右師從之。公叔務人見保者而泣，曰：事充政重，上不能謀，士不能死，何以治民？吾既言之矣，敢不勉乎？師及齊師戰於郊。齊師自稷曲，師不踰溝，樊遲曰：非不能也，不信子也。請三刻而踰之。如之，衆從之。師入齊軍，右師奔，齊人從之。陳瓘、陳莊涉泗，孟之側後入，以爲殿，抽矢策其馬曰：馬不進也。林不狃之伍曰：走乎？不狃曰：誰不如？曰：然則止乎？不狃曰：惡賢，徐步而死。師獲甲首八十，齊人不能師，宵謀曰：齊人遁，冉有請從之。三季孫弗許。孟孺子語人曰：我不如顏羽，而賢於邴洩。子羽銳敏，我不欲戰，而能默，洩曰：驅之。公爲與其嬖僮汪錡乘，皆死。皆殯。孔子曰：能執干戈以衛社稷，可無殤也。冉有用矛於齊師，故能入其軍。孔子曰：義也。

夏，陳轅頗出奔鄭。初，轅頗爲司徒，賦封田，以嫁公女，有餘，以爲己大器。國人逐之，故出道渴，其族轅咺進稻醴，梁糗服脯焉。喜曰：何其給也。對曰：器成而具，曰：何不吾諫？對曰：懼先行。

爲郊戰，故公會吳子伐齊。五月，克博，壬申，至於贏。中軍從王，胥門巢將上軍，王子姑曹將下軍，展如將右軍。齊國書將中軍，高無平將上軍，宗樓將下軍。陳僖子謂其弟書、爾死，我必得志。宗子陽與閭丘明相厲也。桑掩胥御國子，公孫夏曰：二子必死。將戰，公孫夏命其徒歌虞殯。陳子行命其徒具含玉。公孫揮命其徒曰：人尋約，吳

何訪焉弗聽而行又典  
在而法則季孫若欲行之  
且子田貪矣如舉其禮  
以子田貪矣如舉其禮  
而貪矣如舉其禮  
足矣如舉其禮  
薄事於禮  
度有曰不待發  
有尼子卒曰丘  
何老子卒曰丘  
三仲發卒曰丘  
仲尼卒曰丘  
使季孫訪欲以  
田賦

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, Kwoh Shoo of Ts'e led a force, and invaded us.  
2 In summer, Yuen P'ao of Ch'in fled from that State to Ch'ing.  
3 In the fifth month, the duke joined Woo in invading Ts'e.  
4 On K'eah-seuh, Kwoh Shoo of Ts'e, at the head of a force, fought with Woo at E-ling, when the army of Ts'e was disgracefully defeated and Kwoh Shoo taken.  
5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-y'ew, Yu-woo viscount of T'ang, died.  
6 In winter, in the eleventh month, there was the burial of duke Yin of T'ang.  
7 She-shuh Ts'e of Wei fled from that State to Sung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—“This spring, in consequence of the campaign of Seih (See on par. 3 of last year), Kwoh Shoo and Kaou Woo-p'ao of Ts'e led a force to invade us. When they had got as far as Ts'ing, Ke-sun said to his steward, Jen K'ew (A disciple of Confucius; see Ana. VI. x., *et al.*), “The army of Ts'e's being at Ts'ing must be with a design on Loo; what is to be done?” K'ew replied, “Let one of you three chiefs remain in charge [of the capital], and the other two follow the duke to meet the enemy on the borders.” “We cannot do so,” Ke-sun replied. “Abide the enemy then inside the borders,” advised K'ew. Ke-sun reported this proposal to the other two chiefs, but they objected to it, on which K'ew said, “If this cannot be done, then let not our ruler go forth, but let one of you three lead the army, and fight a battle with the city at their backs. Let those who do not join him not be accounted men of Loo. The [great] Houses of Loo are more than the number of the chariots of Ts'e. One House is much more than able to meet one chariot. Why should you be troubled about the matter? The two other chiefs may well not wish to fight, but the government of Loo is in the hands of the Ke family. It is now in your person, and if the people of Ts'e invade the State and you are not able to fight a battle with them, it will be a disgrace to you, and a great proof that Loo cannot take its rank among the States.”

“Ke-sun told K'ew to follow him to court, and to wait near the canal of the Chang family. Woo-shuh (Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew) called him thence, and asked him about fighting. He replied, “It is for men of rank to exercise their solicitude about what is distant; what can a small man [like me] know about it?” E-tse (Mang-sun

Ho-ke) insisted upon a reply, but he answered him, “A small man speaks according to his estimate of his ability, and contributes according to the measure of his strength.” Woo-shuh observed, “This is saying that we do not approve ourselves great men;” and with this he withdrew, and reviewed his chariots. S'eh, the younger Mang, led the army of the right, with Yen Yu as his charioteer, and Ping S'eh as spearman on the right. Jen K'ew led the army of the Left, with Kwan Chow-foo as his charioteer, and Fan Ch'e (Ana. II. v., *et al.*) as spearman on the right. Ke-sun said, “Seu (Fan Ch'e) is too young,” but Y'ew-tse (Yen K'ew) replied, “He can act according to his orders.” Ke-she's men-at-arms amounted to 7,000, and Yen Yu selected 300 men of Woo-shing to attend himself on foot. The old and the young were left to defend the palace, and [the army of the Left] took post outside the Yu gate, where it was followed in 5 days by the army of the Right.

“Kung-shuh Woo-jin (a son of duke Ch'au), when he saw the defenders [of the city], wept and said, “The duties are numerous, and the exactions are heavy. Our superiors are unable to form plans, and our officers are unable to die. How is it possible [in such circumstances] to regulate the people? I have said it, and must I not do my utmost myself?”

“The armies fought with the army of Ts'e in the suburbs, the latter coming from Tseih-k'eh. The army [of the Left] would not cross a ditch. Fan Ch'e said, “It is not that the men are unable to cross it; but they have not confidence in you. Please [gave notice that] in 3 quarters [of an hour] they must cross it.” Yen K'ew did so, and they all followed him, and penetrated the army of Ts'e.

“The army of the Right, however, took to flight, and was pursued by the men of Ts'e. Ch'in Kwan and Ch'in Chwang crossed the Sze [in the pursuit]. Mang Che-tsih was the last to enter [the city], and when it was thought that he was defending the rear, he took an arrow and whipt up his horses, saying, “They would not advance (See Ana. VI. xiii.)” The file in which Lin Puh-n'ew was proposed to fly, but he said, “For whom are we not a match?” “Then,” said the others, “shall we stay?” He answered, “That would not be an act of much worth.” They then moved slowly away, and all died.

“The army [of the Left] captured 80 of the men-at-arms, and the men of Ts'e could not keep their order. A spy brought word at night that their army was retreating, and Jen Y'ew thrice asked leave to pursue it, but Ke-sun would not permit him. The younger Mang said to some one, “I was not equal to Yen Yu, but I was better than Ping S'eh. Tsze-yu was full of spirit and earnestness. I did not want to fight, but I could be silent. S'eh said, ‘Give the reins to the horses, [and flee].’”

“Kung-wei (Duke Ch'au's son), and his favourite youth Wang E, both died, and were both put into coffins.” Confucius said [of the youth], “As he could hold spear and shield in the defence of our altars, he may be buried without abatement of ceremonies because of his youth.”

“Jen Y'ew used the spear against the army of Ts'e, and so was able to penetrate it. Confucius said, “That was righteous [courage].”

According to the above narrative this must have been a very scrambling fight. Yet a battle there was, and we may be surprised that the text does not say so. The advantage also was upon the whole with Loo, but neither, for some reason, did the sage think it proper to state this. Twenty-one invasions of Loo are recorded in the Classic, but only here and in par. 2 of the 8th year is it simply said that ‘So-and-so invaded us.’ In the other passages the border of Loo on which the invasion was made is specified. The reason of the peculiar phraseology may be that in both cases the enemy approached the capital itself, and attacked the very heart of the State.

Par. 2. For 轅 Kung-yang has 袁. The Chuen says:—“Before this, Yuen P'ao, being minister of Instruction, levied a tax on the lands of the State, to supply the [expenses of] marrying one of the duke's daughters; and there being more than was necessary, he used the residue to make some large articles for himself; in consequence of which the people drove him out of the State. Being thirsty on the way, one of his clan, Yuen Heuen, set before him rice, sweet spirits, parched grain, and slices of dried spiced meat.” Delighted, he asked him how he had such a supply, and Heuen replied that he had provided them when the articles were completed. “Why did you not remonstrate with me?” said P'ao. “I was afraid that, [if I did], I should have to go first,” was the reply.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—“In consequence of the battle of the suburbs, the duke joined the viscount of Woo in invading Ts'e. In the 5th month, they reduced Poh; and on Jin-shin,

arrived at Ying. The army of the centre followed the king; Seu-mun Ch'au (I. e., Chaou of the Seu gate) commanded the 1st army; and the king's son, Koo-ts'au, the 2d; while [on the part of Loo], Chen Joo commanded the army of the Right. On the side of Ts'e, Kwoh Shoo commanded the army of the centre; Kaou Woo-p'ei, the 1st army; and Tsung Low, the 3d.

“Ch'in He-tse said to his younger brother Shoo, “You die, and I shall [then] get my will.” Tsung Tsze-yang (Low) and L'ew-k'ew Ming stimulated each other [to fight to the death]. Sang Yen-seu drove Kwoh-tsze (Kwoh Shoo), and the Kung-sun H'ea said to them, “You must both [be prepared to] die.” When they were about to engage, Kung-sun H'ea ordered his men to sing the funeral song, and Ch'in Tsze-hang ordered his to be provided with the gems for the mouth (Used in burying). Kung-sun Hwuy ordered each of his men to carry a string 8 cubits long, because the men of Woo wore their hair short. Tung Kwoh-shoo said, “In 3 battles a man is sure to die. This will be my third.” He then sent his lute to H'een To with a message that he would not see him again. Ch'in Shoo said, “In this engagement I will hear the drum only (The signal for advance); I will not hear the gong (The signal for retreat).”

“On K'eah-seuh, the battle was fought at E-ling. Chen Joo defeated Kaou-tsze. Kwoh-tsze defeated Seu-mun Ch'au; but the king then went to Ch'au's help, and the army of Ts'e received a great defeat. Kwoh Shoo, Kung-sun H'ea, L'ew-k'ew Ming, Ch'in Shoo, and Tung-kwoh Shoo, were all taken, along with 800 chariots of war, and 3000 men-at-arms; and these were all presented to the duke.

“Just as they were about to engage, the viscount of Woo called Woo-shuh to him, and asked him what duty he had to do. He replied, “Whatever the marshal orders.” The viscount then gave him a buff-coat, a sword, and a long spear, saying, “Discharge your duty to your ruler. Be reverent, and do not neglect his commands.” Shuh-sun was not able to reply; but Ts'ze of Wei (Tsze-kung) advanced to him, and said, “Chow-k'ew, take up the buff-coat, follow the viscount, and make your acknowledgments to him.”

“The duke made the grand-historiographer Koo send back the head of Kwoh-tsze [to Ts'e]. It was placed in a new casket, laid upon some folds of dark silk, with strings upon it. On the casket was written, “If Heaven had not known that he was not sincere, how should he have been sent to our inferior State?”

[The Chuen appends here a narrative to show the danger that was threatening Woo amidst its apparent success:—“When Woo was about to attack Ts'e, the viscount of Yueh came with a large retinue to its court, and the king and all the officers about the court received gifts and bribes. The people of Woo were all delighted, but Tsze-seu was afraid, and said to himself that this was feeding Woo [for the shambles]. He then remonstrated, saying, “While Yueh exists, we have a disease in our vitals. Its land and ours are of the same character, and it has designs against us. By its mildness and submission it is trying to further those designs. Our best plan is first to take measures against it. You may get your will with

Ts'e, but that is like getting a stony field, which can be of no use. If [the capital of] Yueh be not reduced to a lake, Woo will perish. There never was such a thing as employing a doctor to cure a disease, and telling him to leave some of it. In the Announcement of Pwan-k'ang it is said (Shoo, IV. vii. Pt. ii. 16), 'If there be those who are precipitously or carelessly disobedient to my orders, I will cut off their noses or exterminate them, and leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this city.' It was in this way that Shang rose to prosperity. You are now pursuing a different method; but will you not find it difficult to gain the greatness thereby for which you seek?"

'The viscount would not listen to him, and sent him on a mission to Ts'e. There he entrusted his son to the care of the Head of the Paou family, and changed his surname to Wang-sun. When the king heard of this, on his return from his expedition [against Ts'e], he caused the sword Chuh-leu to be given him to kill himself with. When he was about to die, he said, "Plant *k'ea* trees by my grave. The *k'ea* furnishes wood [for coffins]. Woo is likely [soon] to perish. In 3 years it will begin to be weak. When anything has reached its fulness, it is sure to go on to be overthrown. This is the way of Heaven.'" ]

Par. 5. [The Chuen introduces a brief notice here:—'This autumn, Ke-sun gave orders to put all the defences of the State in good repair, saying, "When a small State vanquishes a great one, it is a calamity. Ts'e will be here any day."']

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'In winter T'ae-shuh Tsih (She-shuh Ts'e) of Wei fled from that State to Sung. Before this, Tsih had married a daughter of Tsze-chau of Sung, but one of her cousins [who had followed her to the harem] was his favourite. But when Tsze-chau left the State (Probably in Gae's 2d year), K'ung Wan-tsze made Tsih put away his wife, and marry a daughter of his own. Tsih, however, made one of his attendants induce the cousin of Tsih's former wife to come to him, and placed her in Le, where he built a palace for her, so that he had, as it were, two wives. Wan-tsze was angry, and wanted to attack him, but Confucius stopped him from doing this. However, he took his wife away. Tsih having an intrigue with some lady in Wae-chow, the people of that place took away from him his carriage by force, and presented it [to the marquis]. Disgraced by these two things he left the State. In Wei, they appointed [his brother] E in his place, and made him take K'ung K'ei (Wan-tsze's daughter) as his wife.

Tsih became [in Sung] an officer of H'ang Tui, and presented him with a beautiful pearl,

on which the [city of] Shing-ts'oo was given to him. The duke of Sung asked for the pearl, and Tui, refusing to give it to him, was held to be an offender; and when he was obliged to leave the State, the people of Shing-ts'oo attacked T'ae-shuh Tsih. [After this], however, duke Chwang recalled him to Wei, and assigned him a residence in Ch'aou, where he died. He was confined at Yun, and buried at Shaou-te.'

'At an earlier period, when Yin, son of duke Taou of Tsin, became a refugee in Wei, he made his daughter drive his chariot when he went to hunt. T'ae-shuh E-tsze detained them to drink with him, and asked the lady in marriage. The fruit of their union was Taou-tsze (Tsih). When he succeeded to his father (As minister), H'ea Mow (Probably a son of Yin) was made a great officer; and when he fled from the State, the people of Wei deprived Mow of his city.

'When K'ung Wan-tsze was intending to attack T'ae-shuh, he consulted Chung-ne, who said to him, "I have learned all about sacrificial vessels, but I have not heard about buff-coats and weapons (Comp. Ana. XV. i.); and on retiring, he ordered his carriage to be yoked, and prepared for his departure from the State, saying, "The bird chooses its tree; the tree does not choose the bird." Wan-tsze hurriedly endeavoured to detain him, saying, "How should I dare to be considering my private concerns? I was consulting you with reference to the troubles of the State." He was about to stay, when messengers from Loo arrived with offerings to invite him there, and he returned [to his native State].'

[There is here appended a note about a project of Ke-sun's for a re-arrangement of the taxation of Loo:—'Ke-sun wanted to lay a tax upon the lands, and sent Jen Y'ew to ask Chung-ne about the subject, who replied that he did not know about it. This was his answer thrice given to inquiries pressed upon him. At last [Ke-sun sent] to say, "You are an old officer of the State. I am now waiting for your opinion to act;—how is it that you will not give expression to it?" Chung-ne gave no reply, but he said privately to Jen Y'ew, "The conduct of a superior man is governed by the rules of propriety. In his benefactions, he prefers to be liberal; in affairs [of government], he seeks to observe the right Mean; in his taxation, he tries to be light. According to this, the contribution required by the *k'ew* ordinance (See on VIII. i. 4) is sufficient. If [Ke-sun] be not governed by the rules of propriety, but by a covetous daring and insatiableness, though he enact this taxation of the lands, it will still not be enough. If you and Ke-sun wish to act according to the laws, there are the statutes of the duke of Chow still existing. If you wish to act in an irregular manner, why do you consult me?" His advice was not listened to.]

Twelfth year.

十有二年春用  
田賦。夏五月甲辰孟  
子卒。公會吳于橐臯。  
秋公會衛侯宋  
皇瑗于鄆。宋向巢帥師伐  
鄭。冬十有二月螽。

左傳曰：十二年春，王正月，用田賦。夏五月，昭夫人孟子卒。昭公娶於吳，故不書姓。死，不赴，故不稱夫人。不反哭，故不言葬。小君孔子與弔。適季氏，季氏不絕，放經而拜。公會吳于橐臯。吳子使大宰嚭請尋盟。公不欲，使子貢對曰：盟，所以周信也。故心以制之，玉帛以奉之，言以結之，明神以要之。寡君以為苟有盟焉，弗可改也。已若猶可改，日盟何益？今吾子曰：必尋盟，若可尋也，亦可寒也。乃不尋盟。

吳徵會於衛。初，衛人殺吳行人且姚而懼，謀於行人子羽。子羽曰：吳方無道，無乃辱吾君，不如止也。子木曰：吳方無道，國無道，必棄疾於人。吳雖無道，猶足以患衛，往也。長木之斃，無不標也。國狗之瘵，無不噬也。而況大國乎？秋，衛侯會吳于鄆。公及衛侯、宋皇瑗盟，而卒辭吳盟。吳人藩衛侯之舍，子服景伯謂子貢曰：夫諸侯之會，事既畢矣。侯伯致禮，地主歸餼，以相辭也。今吳不行禮於衛，而藩其君舍以難之，子盍見大宰，乃請束錦以行。語及衛故，大宰嚭曰：寡君願事衛君，衛君之來也，緩寡君懼，故將止之。子貢曰：衛君之來，必謀於其衆，其衆或欲或否，是以緩來。其欲來者，子之黨也，其不欲來者，子之讐也。若執衛君，是墮黨而崇讐也。夫墮子者，得其志矣，且合諸侯而執衛君，誰敢不懼？墮黨崇讐，而懼諸侯，或者難以霸乎？大宰嚭說，乃舍衛侯。衛侯歸，效夷言，子之尚幼，曰：君必不免，其死於夷乎？執焉。



流壘丘問冬救岳殺宋之自是宋暢焉宋固而  
 司者聞諸十救岳十元向城蕭及人岳日鄭矣  
 歷畢之仲二月丙公巢岳奔宋為弔彌鄭之  
 過今火尼月申之伐戈鄭平成錫作間有  
 也火伏仲蠡圍鄭孫取九人勿產丘隙  
 猶而尼季宋罕遂錫月為族有與玉地  
 西後日孫師達圍錫月為族有與玉地

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, he imposed a tax upon the lands.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on K'eah-shin, M'ang Tsze died.  
 3 The duke had a meeting with Woo in T'oh-kaou.  
 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Wei and Hwang Yuen of Sung in Yun.  
 5 H'ang Ch'au of Sung led a force, and invaded Ch'ing.  
 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, there were locusts.

Par. 1. It were to be wished that Tso-she had given us the particulars of this enactment; and the paragraph has been and is a *locus vexatus* to the critics. Kuh-l'ang seems to think it was the exaction of a second tithe of the produce of the lands; but we have seen that that was required by duke Seuen in his 15th year (See on VII. xv. 8); and from the Ana. XII. ix., we learn that at this time the regular revenue of the government consisted of two tenths of the produce, of which Gae complained as being insufficient. Too thinks the new law was an alteration of the K'ew and buff-coat ordinance of duke Ch'ing (See on VIII. i. 4), and he is probably correct; but whether it required 2 horses and 6 oxen instead of 1 horse and 3 oxen, as he thinks, we cannot tell. Indeed our information about Ch'ing's ordinance is far from being certain and exact. The distinction however, between 稅 and 賦 should here be pressed, the former denoting the general contribution of the produce of the land, and the latter the contribution for military purposes. The land was now burdened in some way with some contribution to the military levies of the State. The student may consult the 國語, Pt. II. ii. Art. 18, where there is another version of the narrative at the end of last year; but it does not throw light on the nature of the ordinance in the text.

Par. 2. This M'ang Tsze had been the wife of duke Ch'au; and should be mentioned as M'ang Ke, and not M'ang Tsze as if she had belonged to the House of Sung. From the Ana. VII. xxx., it appears that Ch'au had himself called her 'M'ang Tsze,' to conceal the offence which he had committed against the

rules of propriety in marrying a lady of the same surname as himself. The historiographers and Confucius conceal the offence in the same way in the text. There is no record of her burial, because then it would have been necessary to give the surname, and the lie would have been more conspicuous than it is here; or it may be, as Tso-she seems to intimate, that Ke K'ang-tsze carried out his father's hostility to duke Ch'au, and prevented the regular ceremonies from being observed at M'ang Ke's burial.

The Chuen says:—'In the 5th month, M'ang Tsze, wife of duke Ch'au, died. He had married a daughter of Woo, and therefore her [proper] surname is not given. Notice of her death was not sent to the various States, and therefore she is not called his "wife." The ceremony of weeping on returning from her burial was not observed, and therefore the burial of her as the duchess is not recorded. Confucius was present at the ceremony of condolence, and [then] went to Ke-she's. Ke-she did not wear a mourning cap, on which Confucius put off his head-band, and so they bowed to each other.'

Par. 3. T'oh-kaou was a city of Woo,—60 *le* northwest from the pres. dis. city of Ch'au (巢), dep. Leu-chow (廬州), Gan-hwuy. The Chuen says:—'At this meeting, the viscount of Woo sent his grand-administrator P'ei to request that the covenant (Between Woo and Loo;—see on VIII. 2) might be renewed. The duke did not wish this, and sent Tsze-kung to reply, saying, "A covenant is for the confirmation of faith. Therefore its conditions are first determined according to the mind of the parties;

gems and offerings of silk are presented with it [to the Spirits]; it is summarily expressed in words, and an appeal is made to the Spirits to bind it. Our ruler considers that, if a covenant be once made, it cannot be changed. If it can be changed, of what advantage would a covenant every day be? You now say that the covenant must be made hot again, but if it can be made hot, it may also be made cold." Accordingly the covenant was not renewed.'

[Throughout the Chuen, the renewal of a covenant is commonly expressed by 尋盟.

This usage of 尋 is explained by 溫, 'to warm.' The above narrative illustrates the significance of the term.]

Par. 4. Yun was in Woo,—in the east of the pres. dis. of Joo-kaon, T'ung Chow (通州), K'ang-soo.

The Chuen says:—'Woo summoned Wei to attend a meeting; but before this the people of Wei had put to death Tseu Yaou, a messenger of Woo, and they were now afraid. Consulting about the matter with Tsze-yu, a messenger of their own, he said, "Woo is now pursuing an unprincipled course, and is sure to disgrace our ruler. The best plan will be for him not to go." Tsze-muh, however, said, "Woo indeed is now pursuing an unprincipled course, but a State which does so is sure to vent its hatred on others. Although Woo have no principle, it is still able to distress Wei. Let [our ruler] go. When a tall tree falls, it strikes all within its range; when there is a mad dog in the city, he bites every body [whom he meets]; how much more will a great State, [like Woo, do violent things]!"

'In autumn, the marquis of Wei had a meeting with Woo in Yun. The duke made a covenant [privately] with the marquis of Wei and Hwang Yuen; and in the end, they declined a covenant with Woo. The men of Woo having enclosed the encampment of the marquis of Wei, Tsze-fuh King-pih said to Tsze-kung. "The princes have met and their business is completed. The presiding prince has discharged his ceremonies, and the lord of the ground has contributed his animals;—they have performed their complaisances to one another. But now Woo is not behaving with ceremony to Wei, and has enclosed the encampment of its ruler, putting him in difficulties. Why should you not go and see the grand-administrator about it?" [Tsze-kung] accordingly asked for a packet of embroidered silks, and went to see the grand-administrator P'ei, making the conversation turn to the affair of Wei. P'ei said, "My ruler wished to do service to the ruler of Wei, but the latter came to the meeting late. My ruler is afraid, and therefore intends to detain him." Tsze-kung said, "The ruler of Wei must have taken counsel about coming to the meeting with all his [officers]. Some of them would wish him to come, and others would object; and in this way his arrival was late. Those who wished him to come would be your partisans, and those who wished him not to come would be your enemies. If you seize the ruler of Wei, you will be overthrowing your partisans and exalting your enemies; and [thus] those who would overthrow you will get their will. Moreover, if, having assembled the States, you seize

the ruler of Wei, what prince is there but will be frightened? Let me suggest that Woo will find it difficult to get the presidency of the States by overthrowing its partisans, exalting its enemies, and frightening the princes." The grand-administrator was pleased, and the marquis of Wei was in consequence let go. When he returned to Wei, he imitated the speech of the rude people of the east (I. e. of Woo). Tsze-che (The Kung-sun Me-mow, or W'an-tsze; (公孫彌牟, 文子), who was still quite young, said, "The ruler will not escape [an evil fate]. He is likely to die among those eastern people. Though they seized him, he is pleased with their speech;—he must be firmly bent on following them."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'Between Sung and Ch'ing there was a tract of neutral ground [containing 6 hamlets], called Me-tsch, K'ing-k'ew, Yuh-ch'ang, Yen, Ko, and Yang, concerning which Tsze-ch'an and the people of Sung had made an agreement, that neither of them should have it. When the families descended from [dukes] P'ing and Yuen of Sung fled from S'auou to Ch'ing (In the 15th year of Ting), the people of Ch'ing walled for them Yen, Ko, and Yang. [Now], in the 9th month, H'ang Ch'au of Sung attacked Ch'ing, took Yang, where he killed the grandson of duke Yuen, and then laid siege to Yen. In the 12th month, Han Tai of Ch'ing proceeded to relieve Yen, and on Ping-shin, he had the army of Sung surrounded in a State of siege.'

Maou is very doubtful of the accuracy of this narrative.

Par. 6. 螽, see II. vi. 8. The Chuen says:—'Ke-sun asked Chung-ne about this phenomenon, who replied, "I have heard that when the Ho star no more appears, those insects are not to be found. But now the Ho star still appears descending to the west. The officers of the calendar must have made a mistake."

Starting from this saying of Confucius, Too Yu makes it out that there had been an omission to insert an intercalary month this year, which would carry the 12th month back to the 9 month of H'ea, when the Ho star ceased to appear; but there really could be no intercalation this year. Both the sage and Too themselves fell into error. The K'ang-he editors say, 'Tso-she gives here the words of Confucius, and Too-she considers that an intercalation was omitted. But at this time, within the space of two years, Loo thrice sent notice to the other States of locusts, so that the plague of them must have been very great. In consequence of this many scholars have called in question Too's opinion, and we have preserved both their views and his.'

## Thirteenth year.

十有三年春鄭罕達帥師取  
宋師于岳夏許男成卒  
公會晉侯及吳子于黃池  
楚公子申帥師伐陳  
於越入吳秋公至自會  
晉魏曼多帥師侵衛  
葬許元公九月螽  
冬十有一月有星孛于東方  
盜殺陳夏區夫  
十有二月螽

左傳曰十三年春宋向魋救其師鄭子賤使徇曰得桓魋者有賞魋也逃歸遂取宋師于岳獲成讎郕延以六邑爲虛  
夏公會單平公晉定公吳夫差于黃池  
六月丙子越子伐吳爲二隧嚮無餘謳陽自南方先及郊吳犬子友王子地王孫彌庸壽於姚自泓上觀之彌庸見姑蔑之旗曰吾父之旗也不可以見讐而弗殺也犬子曰戰而不克將亡國請待之彌庸不可屬徒五千王子地助之乙酉戰彌庸獲嚮無餘地獲謳陽越子至王子地守丙戌復戰大敗吳師獲犬子友王孫彌庸壽於姚丁亥入吳吳人告敗於王王惡其聞也自到七人於幕下  
秋七月辛丑盟吳晉爭先吳人曰於周室我爲長晉人曰於姬姓我爲伯趙鞅呼司馬寅曰日旰矣大事未成二臣之罪也建鼓整列二臣死之長幼必可知也對曰請姑視之反曰肉食者無墨今吳王有墨國勝乎犬子死乎且夷德輕不忍久請少待之乃先晉人吳人將以公見晉侯子服景伯

對使者曰王合諸侯則伯帥侯牧以見於王伯合諸侯則侯帥子男以見於伯自王以下朝聘玉帛不同故敝邑之職貢於吳有豐於晉無不及焉以爲伯也今諸侯會而君將以寡君見晉君則晉成爲伯矣敝邑將改職貢魯賦於吳八百乘若爲子男則將半邾以屬於吳而如邾以事晉且執事以伯召諸侯而以侯終之何利之有焉吳人乃止既而悔之將囚景伯曰何也立後於魯矣將以二乘與六人從遲速唯命遂囚以還及戶牖謂犬宰曰魯將以十月上辛有事於上帝先王季辛而畢何世有職焉自襄以來未之改也若不會祝宗將曰吳實然且謂魯不共而執其賤者七人何損焉犬宰輒言於王曰無損於魯而祇爲名不如歸之乃歸景伯吳申叔儀乞糧於公孫有山氏曰佩玉榮兮余無所繫之旨酒一盛兮余與褐之父晚之對曰梁則無矣麋則有之若登首山以呼曰庚癸乎則諾王欲伐宋殺其丈夫而囚其婦人大宰輒曰可勝也而弗能居也乃歸冬吳及越平

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, Han Tah of Ch'ing, at the head of a force, captured the army of Sung at Yen.  
2 In summer, Ch'ing, baron of Heu, died.  
3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the viscount of Woo at Hwang-ch'e.  
4 The Kung-tsze Shin of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'in.  
5 Yu-yueh entered [the capital of] Woo.  
6 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting at Hwang-ch'e.  
7 Wei Man-to of Tsin, at the head of a force, made an incursion into Wei.  
8 There was the burial of duke Yuen of Heu.  
9 In the ninth month, there were locusts.  
10 In winter, in the eleventh month, a comet was seen in the east.  
11 A ruffian killed Hēa Gow-foo of Ch'in.  
12 In the twelfth month, there were locusts.

Par. 1. The Chuen continues here the narrative under par. 5 of last year, from which it appears that Han Tah had 'led his force' in the previous autumn. It may be therefore that the 帥師 in many paragraphs should be translated 'had led,' and not simply 'led' a force. —'This spring, Hēang Tuy of Sung endeavoured to relieve the army [which was held in siege before Yen], but Tsze-ying (Han Tah) of Ch'ing issued a proclamation, offering a reward to him who should take Hwan Tuy; and Tuy upon this withdrew and returned to Sung. [Han Tah] then captured the army of Sung at Yen, and took [its two leaders] Ch'ing Hwan and Kuh Yen. [It was agreed] that the six hamlets should be neutral ground.' It would appear that Hēang Ch'au must have left the

force, after laying siege to Yen the preceding autumn. If he had been now with it, his capture would have been specially mentioned.

Par. 2, 8. See on XI. vi. 1. This baron Ch'ing or duke Yuen must have been re-instated by Ts'oo. Kung-yang has 戊 for 成.

Par. 3. We might translate 于黃池, by 'near the pool of Hwang.' The place was in Wei,—in the southwest of the pres. dis. of Fung-k'ew (封丘), dep. K'ae-fung. The Chuen says:—'In summer, the duke had a meeting with duke Ping of Shen, duke Ting of Tsin, and Foo-ch'ae of Woo, at Hwang-ch'ie.' There was thus a royal commissioner present at the meeting, and this may be the reason why we have Foo-ch'ae mentioned as 'the viscount of Woo.' Too says, 'Foo-ch'ae wished to take the leadership of the States of the kingdom, and honour the son of Heaven; he therefore laid aside his usurped title [of king], and called himself "viscount" in sending his notices and orders to the various States; and it was thus that the historiographers received and wrote the title.' See further on the narrative appended to par. 5.

Par. 4. Under the last par. of the 10th year, it seemed to be agreed upon by Ts'oo and Woo that Ch'in should be left alone. Ts'oo, however, now takes advantage of Woo's being engaged in the north to attack Ch'in.

Par. 5. Here Yueh repays, and more than repays, Woo for its defeat at Foo-ts'au;—see the narrative after the 2d par. of the 1st year. The Chuen says:—'In the 6th month, on Ping-tsze, the viscount of Yueh invaded Woo by two ways. Chow Woo-yu and Gow Yang, coming [on land] from the south, arrived at the suburbs of the capital first, and were observed by Y'ew, the heir-son of Woo, the king's son Te, the Wang-sun Me-yung, and Show Yu-yau from [a height near] the Hung. Me-yung, seeing the flag of [the men of] Koo-n'eh, said, "There's my father's flag. I must not see those enemies [who slew him], and not slay them." The heir-son said, "If we fight and do not gain the victory, we shall cause the ruin of the State. Please let us wait." Me-yung, however, would not do so, and collected his followers, amounting to 5,000 men. The king's son Te assisted him; and on Yih-y'ew they fought a battle, when Me-yung captured Chow Woo-yu, and Te captured Gow Yang. The viscount of Yueh, however, arrived soon after. Te then remained in the city to defend it, but another battle was fought on Ping-seuh, when the viscount inflicted a great defeat on the army of Woo, and captured the heir-son Y'ew, the Wang-sun Me-yung, and Show Yu-yau. On Ting-hae, he entered the capital. The people of Woo sent information of their defeat to the king, who so disliked the intelligence, that he himself cut the throats of 7 men about his tent (To prevent their spreading the news).

[The Chuen now gives the sequel of par. 3.—'In autumn, in the 7th month, on Sin-ch'ow, a covenant was made, when Woo and Tsin disputed about the precedence. They said on the side of Woo, "In relation to the House of Chow, we are the eldest branch (As being descended from T'ae-pih, see Ana. VIII. i.)." On the side of Tsin they said, "We have the

presidency of all the K'es." Chaou Yang called the marshal Yin to him, and said, "The day is declining, and this great matter is not yet settled; it is the fault of us two. Set up the drums, and put the ranks in order. We will die in the struggle, and the right and the wrong (lit; the old and the young) shall be clearly known." The marshal begged Yang to let him go in the meantime and see the viscount. When he returned, he said, "Those who eat flesh should have no black [under their eyes]. But now the king of Woo has such blackness. Has his capital been conquered? Or has his eldest son died? Moreover, the nature of those eastern tribes is light; they cannot hold out long. Let us wait a little for their decision." Accordingly [Woo] gave precedence to Tsin.

'The people of Woo wanted to go with the duke and present him to the marquis of Tsin, but Tsze-fuh King-pih replied to their messenger, "When the king assembles the States, the leading prince conducts the other princes and pastors to present them to him. When a leading prince assembles the States then the [pastor-] marquis leads the viscounts and barons and presents them to him. From the king down, the symbols of jade and offerings of silk at the court and complimentary visits to other States are different. Hence the contributions of our poor States to Woo are larger [now] than to Tsin, embracing everything, because we consider [the lord of Woo] to be the leading prince. The States are now assembled, and your ruler wishes to present ours to the ruler of Tsin, whose position as the ruling prince will thus be settled. Our State must change its contributions. The levies with which Loo follows Woo are 800 chariots. If our ruler be reduced to the rank of a viscount or baron, then he will follow Woo with half the levies of Choo, and do service to Tsin with [an amount equal to] the whole levies of Choo. Moreover, your officers called the States to this meeting by the authority of the leading prince; if you end it by taking the position of a marquisate, what advantage have you?" The people of Woo on this desisted from their purpose; but afterwards they repented that they had done so, and were going to imprison King-pih, who said, "I have appointed my successor in Loo. I will follow you with two chariots and six men. Let it be sooner or later according as you command." They were then returning with him as a prisoner, but when they got to Hoo-y'ew, he said to the grand-administrator, "Loo has a sacrifice on the first Sin-day of the 10th month to God and the ancient kings, which is finished on the last Sin-day, and at which I have duties to perform, hereditary in my family. There has been no change in them since the time of [duke] S'ang. If I am not present, the priests and temple-keeper will say [to the Spirits] that Woo is the cause of my absence. Suppose, moreover, that Loo has behaved disrespectfully, what loss does it sustain in your holding seven individuals who are of small rank in it?" The grand-administrator represented to the king that their prisoners were no loss to Loo, and only gave themselves a [bad] name, so that they had better send them back; and they accordingly sent King-pih back.'

'S'in Shuh-e (Of Woo) begged some food from Kung-sun Y'ew-shan (Of Loo), saying,

"Stones for my girdle I have, all complete,  
But no girdle to which I can tie them;  
And a vessel of spirits clear and sweet,  
But with this hair-clad man I but eye them."

Y'ew-shan replied, "I have no [good] millet, but I have some coarse. If you get up mount Show, and cry out, *K'ang, Kwei!* then I will do what you ask."

'The king wanted to attack Sung, and to put its males to death, and take its women prisoners. The grand-administrator, P'ei, said, "You may vanquish [Sung], but you cannot occupy it." Accordingly they returned to Woo.'

The Chuen says that at this meeting and covenant the precedence was given to Tsin, and so the text would seem to say, —公會晉侯

及吳子. Kung-yang, however, says that Woo presided over the meeting (主會), and

in the chapter about Woo, in the 國語, or 'Narratives of the States (Bk. VII. art. 7),' it is expressly said that 'the duke of Woo took the precedence at the covenant (吳公先歆

晉侯亞之),' to which Tsin was obliged to consent by a demonstration of an intention to proceed to hostilities on the part of Woo, Tsin glossing over its humiliation by getting the viscount to give up for the time his assumed title of king.

The K'ang-he editors say on the subject, 'Former scholars have taken different sides on this question, some agreeing with Tso-she, and others with the Narratives of Woo. If we consider the case of the covenant of Sung, how, when Tsin was still in the possession of its strength, it yet conceded the precedence to Ts'oo, it appears reasonable to say that Ting of Tsin could not now take precedence of Woo. But again when we consider how, while Woo was at this meeting, news was brought to the king of the danger the State was in from Yueh, and how in his alarm he cut the throats of 7 men who brought the news, it also appears reasonable to say that, with such a reason for apprehension, he would not dare to contest the precedence any longer. There is a connexion in the narrative of the Ch'un Ts'ew, and it appears to be matter of fact. The view of Chaou K'wang, that Woo and Tsin met on equal terms, just as when host

and guest now drink to each other, so that the historians of Tsin represented that Tsin had the precedence, while those of Woo assigned it to Woo, each side supporting its own ruler, seems also to be reasonable; and we therefore give it a place.' I do not think that there are sufficient grounds for a positive decision in the matter. The meeting was, no doubt, called by Woo, as assuming to take the lead in the States; but the intelligence of the invasion by Yueh may have emboldened Tsin to claim the precedence at the covenant, and obliged Woo to yield it.

As to the question about the title, 'viscount of Woo,' in the text, no doubt that was the title used on this occasion by the chief of that State, as he had got the royal sanction for calling the princes together. Still, we find the 'viscount of Woo' in previous paragraphs;—see XI. iv. 14, et al.

Par. 7. Kung-yang leaves out the 曼 in the name. 'Tsin,' says Heu Han, 'could now do nothing more than "make incursions." Its prestige was gone. The three great families in it were eager only for their own advantage, and careless of the common weal or glory of the State.'

Par. 9, 12. See on the last par. of last year. Wang T'auou proposes to transfer to the 12th par. of this year the Chuen which appears there. 'There was,' he says, 'an intercalary month this year, so that the 12th month of Chow was the 9th month of H'ea, and the Ho star had not disappeared from the heavens. Bring that narrative to its proper place, and all doubts are resolved. Confucius might correctly say that the Ho star was still in the west, for there it was. The officers of the calendar might make a mistake; but he did not do so.'

Par. 10. 星孛—see VI. xiv. 5; X. xvii. 5. In those two passages we have the constellation or space of the heavens where the comet appeared specified. There being no such specification here, but only that it was in the eastern quarter, is taken as a proof that it was visible in the morning. Many scholars tell us that its appearance in the east portended the approaching downfall of Woo, the great eastern Power.

Par. 11. Kung-yang has 區 for 區. None of the Chuen give any particulars of this event. It is the 4th instance which we have in the text of a death perpetrated by the hands of ruffians, either really nameless, or purposely left so.

Fourteenth year.

麟。獲狩西春年，四有十。

取也。之仲賜不麟，鉏之叔於春，十左  
之。然曰，尼虞祥，以商車孫大西四傳  
後麟觀人，以爲獲子氏野，狩年，曰，

XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, [some] hunters in the west captured a *lin*.

The Chuen says:—“This spring, they were hunting westwards in Ta-yay, and Ts'oo-shang, one of Shuh-sun's waggons, captured a *lin*. Thinking the thing was inauspicious, he gave [the creature] to the forester. Chung-ne went to see it and said, “It is a *lin*,” on which they took it, [and carried it away to the capital].”

The Chuen enables us to determine the *西* in the text as meaning the west of Loo. Ta-yay was the name of a marsh,—in the pres. dis. of Keu-yay (鉅野), dep. Ts'au-chow. *狩* is the name of the winter hunt, used here appropriately, because the greater portion of the spring of Chow was really in the natural winter, or that of Hêa. The winter hunt was such a regular thing, that we can suppose it to be mentioned here only because of the unusual circumstance of the finding the *lin*.

The finding of this *lin* has so important a place in the accounts of the composition of the Ch'un Ts'ew, that it may be well to give here the account of it, which we find in the ‘Family Sayings,’ or as we may term the work, ‘The apocryphal Analects;’ the more especially as it agrees a good deal with what we find in Kung-yang.—‘A waggoner of Shuh-sun's, Tsze-ts'oo-shang, was gathering firewood in Ta-yay, when he found a *lin*. Having broken its fore left leg, he carried it home with him in a carriage. Shuh-sun thinking it inauspicious, threw it away outside the suburbs, and sent a messenger to tell Confucius of it, saying, “What is it? It is an antelope and horned.” Confucius went to see it, and said, “It is a *lin*. Why has it come? Why has it come?” He took the back of his sleeve and wiped his face, while his tears wet the lapel of his coat. When Shuh-sun heard what it was, he sent and had it brought [to the city]. Tsze-kung asked the master why he wept, and Confucius said, “The *lin* comes [only] when there is an intelligent king. Now it has appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected.” See the 家語, at the end of the 16th chapter. (叔孫氏之車士曰子鉏商探薪於大野獲麟焉折其前左足載以歸叔孫以爲不祥棄之於郭外使人告孔子曰有麇而角者何也孔子往觀之曰麟也胡爲來哉胡爲來哉反袂拭面涕泣沾衿叔孫聞之然後取之子貢問曰夫子何泣爾

孔子曰麟之至爲明王也出非其時而見害吾是以傷焉)

What was the *lin*? The earliest mention of it is in the She, I. i. ode XI., where the sons of king Wán are compared to its feet, its forehead, and its horn; but neither there, nor anywhere else in the classics, is there a description of it, by which we might be able to identify it. The Urh-ya describes it as having the body of an antelope, the tail of an ox, and one horn. The Shwoh-wán, the earliest dictionary, published A.D. 100, says, ‘The k'e-lin (麒麟; k'e is the name of the male, and *lin* that of the female) is a benevolent animal, having a horse's body, an ox's tail, and a horn of flesh.’ As early as the beginning of the Christian era, the *lin* had thus become the name of a fabulous animal. Later accounts, as we might expect, improve on the Urh-ya and Shwoh-wán. See Medhurst on the character 麟. Williams says, ‘*Lin*,—the female of the unicorn. The idea of the Chinese unicorn may have been derived from a one-horned Tibetan equine animal.’

All this does not help us to a satisfactory answer to the question of what the *lin* was. We may be sure there never was such an animal as the lexicographers and scholars of China describe and delight to dwell upon. If Confucius saw any animal at all, we can only suppose it was some sort of antelope, uncommon in Loo. For my part, I doubt whether this paragraph be from him at all.

The importance attaching to it arises from the circumstance that with it the Ch'un Ts'ew, so far as it is the work of Confucius, is all but universally believed to terminate. The editions by Kung-yang and Kuh-lêng, indeed, end with this; but Tso-she continued his labours on to the 4th year of duke Taou, who followed Gae; and up to the day Ke-ch'ow of the 4th month of Gae's 16th year, the regular form of all the preceding annals is preserved, the disciples having digested, it is said, the records of Loo, as their master had done, down to the day of his death, and Tso-she continuing his labours on them, and on subsequent years in his own fashion. Having determined to translate all of Tso-she's collections in this work, I proceed to do so. The difference between the disciples' supplement and the previous text will be marked by the small type of the original and the translation.

A few remarks are still necessary on the connexion which has been and is maintained between the appearance of the *lin*, and the composition of the text. Confucius, say Too and a host of followers, was so impressed by

seeing the *lin*, that he immediately formed the purpose to compile the Ch'un Ts'ew. Ho Hêw, the glossarist of Kung-yang, followed also by many others, says that he had finished the work to the end of Gae's 13th year, and abandoned his *stylus*, when he saw the *lin*. Both sides have nothing but their own conjectures to go upon. The K'ang-he editors intimate their dissent from the former view, and quote with approbation the opinion of Choo He:—“I do

not dare to pronounce any decision whether it was the completion of the book which moved the *lin* to come, or whether it was the appearance of the *lin* which moved Confucius to compose the book. It may, indeed, be presumed, that the appearance of the creature at a time not proper for it, and its then being killed, was altogether an inauspicious thing; and if the sage then laid his *stylus* aside, we may be assured he meant thereby to intimate something!



# 附錄經傳

小邾射以句繹來奔。  
夏四月，齊陳恒執其君，寘于舒州。  
庚戌，叔還卒。  
五月，庚申朔，日有食之。  
陳宗豎出奔楚。  
宋向魋入于曹以叛。  
莒子狂卒。  
六月，宋向魋自曹出奔。  
衛宋向巢來奔。  
齊人弑其君壬于舒州。  
秋，晉趙鞅帥師伐衛。  
八月，辛丑，仲孫何忌卒。  
冬，陳宗豎自楚復入于陳。  
陳人殺之。  
陳轅買出奔楚。  
有星孛。  
饑。

宋桓魋之寵害於公，使夫人驟請享焉，而將討之，未及。魋先謀公，請以較易薄。公曰：「不可，薄宗邑也。」乃益較七邑，而請享公焉。以日中爲期，家備盡往。公知之，告皇野曰：「余長魋也，今將禍余，請即救。」司馬子仲曰：「有臣不順神之所惡也，而況人乎？敢不承命，不得左師，不可。」請以君命召之。左師每食，擊鐘聞鐘聲，公曰：「夫子將食，既食，又奏。」公曰：「可矣。」以乘車往。曰：「迹人來告曰：逢澤有介麋焉。」公曰：「雖魋未來，得左師，吾與之田，若何？」君憚告子野曰：「嘗私焉。」君欲速，故以乘車逆子。與之乘，至，公告之故，拜不能起。司馬曰：「君與之言。」公曰：「所難子者，上有天下有先君，對曰：魋之不共，宋之禍也，敢不唯命是聽。」司馬請瑞焉，以命其徒攻桓氏。其父兄故臣曰：「不可，其新臣曰：從吾君之命，遂攻之。」子頑騁而告桓司馬，司馬欲入子車止之，曰：「不能事君，而又伐國民，不與也，祇取死焉。」向魋遂入于曹以叛。

六月，使左師巢伐之，欲質大夫以入焉，不能，亦入于曹，取質。魋曰：「不可，既不能事君，又得罪於民，將若之何？」乃舍之。民遂叛之。向魋奔衛，向巢來奔。宋公使止之，曰：「寡人與子有言矣，不可以絕向氏之祀。」辭曰：「臣之罪大，盡滅桓氏，可也。若以先臣之故，而使有後，君之惠也。若臣則不可以入矣。」司馬牛致其邑與珪焉，而適齊。向魋出於衛地，公文氏攻之，求夏后氏之璜焉，與之他玉而奔齊。陳成子使爲次卿，司馬牛又致其邑焉，而適吳。吳人惡之，而反。趙簡子召之，陳成子亦召之，卒於魯郭門之外。阮氏葬諸丘輿。  
甲午，齊陳恆弑其君壬于舒州。孔丘三日齊，而請伐齊。三，公曰：「魯爲齊弱久矣，子之伐之，將若之何？」對曰：「陳恆弑其君，民之不與者半，以魯之衆，加齊之半，可克也。」公曰：「子告季孫。」孔子辭退，而告人曰：「吾以從大夫之後也，故不敢不言。」

初，孟孺子洩將圉馬於成，成宰公孫宿不受，曰：「孟孫爲成之病，不圉馬焉。」孺子怒，襲成，從者不得入，乃反。成有司使孺子鞭之。秋，八月，辛丑，孟懿子卒，成人奔喪，弗內。袒免哭於衢，聽共，弗許，懼不歸。

小邾射以句繹來奔，曰：「使季路要我，吾無盟矣。」使子路，子路辭。季康子使冉有謂之曰：「千乘之國，不信其盟，而信子之言，子何辱焉？」對曰：「魯有事於小邾，不敢問故，死其城下，可也。彼不臣而濟其言，是義之也，由弗能。」

齊簡公之在魯也，闕止有寵焉，及即位，使爲政。陳成子憚之，驟顧諸朝，諸御鞅言於公曰：「陳闕，不可並也。君其擇焉。」弗聽。子我夕，陳逆殺人，逢之，遂執以入。陳氏方睦，使疾而遺之潘沐，備酒肉焉。饗守囚者，醉而殺之，而逃。子我盟諸陳於陳宗。初，陳豹欲爲子我臣，使公孫言己已有喪而止。既而言之，曰：「有陳豹者，長而上僂，望視，事君子必得志，欲爲子我臣，吾憚其爲人也，故緩以告。」子我曰：「何害？是其在我也。」使爲臣。他日與之言政，說遂有寵，謂之曰：「我盡逐陳氏，而立汝，若何？」對曰：「我遠於陳氏矣，且其違者，不過數人，何盡逐焉？」遂告陳氏。子行曰：「彼得君，弗先，必禍子。」子行舍於公宮。夏五月，壬申，成子兄弟四乘如公，子我在幄，出逆之，遂入，閉門，侍人禦之。子行殺侍人，公與婦人飲酒於檀臺。成子遷諸寢，公執戈將擊之。大史子餘曰：「非不利也，將除害也。」成子出舍於庫，聞公猶怒，將出，曰：「何所無君？子行抽劍曰：『需事之賊也，誰非陳宗？』所不殺子者，有如陳宗。」乃止。子我歸，屬徒攻闕與大門，皆不勝，乃出。陳氏追之，失道於奔中，適豐丘。豐丘人執之，以告，殺諸郭關。成子將殺大陸子方，陳逆請而免之，以公命取車於道，及郕，衆知而東之，出雍門。陳豹與之車，弗受，曰：「逆爲余請豹與余車，余有私焉。」事子我，而有私於其讐，何以見魯衛之士？東郭賈奔衛。庚辰，陳恆執公于舒州。公曰：「吾早從缺之言，不及此。」

## SUPPLEMENT OF TSO-SHE.

- XIV. 2 Yih of Little Choo came a fugitive to Loo, transferring to it [the city of] Kow-yih.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, Ch'in Hāng seized his ruler, and placed him in Shoo-chow.
- 4 On Kāng-seuh, Shuh Seuen died.
- 5 In the fifth month, on Kāng-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 6 Tsung Shoo of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 7 Hēang Tuy of Sung entered Ts'aou, and held it in revolt.
- 8 K'ing, viscount of Keu, died.
- 9 In the sixth month, Hēang Tuy of Sung fled from Ts'aou to Wei; and Hēang Ch'aou of Sung came a fugitive to Loo.
- 10 The people of Ts'e murdered their ruler Jin in Shoo-chow.
- 11 In autumn, Chaou Yang of Ts'in led a force, and invaded Wei.
- 12 In the eighth month, on Sin-ch'ow, Chung sun Ho-ke died.
- 13 In winter, Tsung Shoo of Ch'in entered Ch'in again from Ts'oo, and the people of Ch'in put him to death.
- 14 Yuen Mae of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 15 There was a comet.
- 16 There was famine.

Par. 2. Kow-yih,—see on XII. 1. Too gives it there as belonging to Choo, while here we have Yih of Little Choo betraying or surrendering it to Loo. We can easily suppose that, during the troubles through which Choo had passed since the 2d year of Gae, Little Choo had managed to appropriate this place.

The Chuen says:—"When Yih came a refugee, offering to surrender Kow-yih, he said, 'Send Tsze-loo to make an agreement with me; I will have no covenant.' It was proposed to Tsze-loo that he should go, but he refused. Ke K'ang-tze then sent Jen Yēw to say to him, 'Why should you think the thing a disgrace to you, since he will put confidence in your words, while he will not do so in a covenant with our State of 1000 chariots?' Tsze-loo replied, 'If Loo have hostilities with Little Choo, I will die before its capital, without presuming to ask any questions about the cause of the quarrel. But Yih is acting a traitor's part, and to give effect to his words would be to treat him as if he were righteous. I cannot do it.'"

Par. 3. 舒州 appears in the 'Historical Records' as 徐州. It was a city of Ts'e, in the south-east of the pres. dis. of T'āng, dep. Yen-chow.

The Chuen says:—"When duke Kēen of Ts'e was in Loo (He was, then, simply Jin, the son of Yang-sāng; see on XI. 9, *et al.*), K'an Che became a favourite with him; and when he succeeded to the State, he employed Che as his chief minister. Ch'in Ch'ing-tze (Ch'in Hāng) was afraid of him, and was constantly turning his head round to look at him in the court. Yang, [chief of] the charioteers, said to the duke, 'Ch'in and K'an cannot continue together.

You must choose between them.' The duke, however, did not listen to him.

'When Tsze-go (K'an Che) was going his rounds at night, he met Ch'in Yih (The Tsze-hāng of the battle of I-ling, XI. 2) who had killed a man, seized him, and carried him into [the court]. At the time the Ch'in-clan was all harmonious, so that [the chief] made Yih say that he was ill, and sent rice water to wash his head with, and at the same time spirits and meat. With the latter he feasted his keeper, made him drunk, killed him, and effected his escape; and upon this Tsze-go imposed a covenant with the Ch'in in the house of one of their principal elders.

'Before this, Ch'in P'aou had wished to get an office under Tsze-go, and had employed one of the Kung-suns to speak for him. A death taking place in his family, the thing was stopped for a time, but afterwards the Kung-sun said to Tsze-go, 'There is Ch'in P'aou, tall but humpbacked, with a look to the sky. If he serve you, you are sure to be pleased with him. He wishes to be an officer with you, but I have been afraid of the man, and delayed informing you of his wish.' "What harm can he do?" said Tsze-go; "he will be at my disposal." Accordingly he employed him as one of his officers. Before long, he talked with P'aou about [the affairs of] the government, and being pleased with him, made him a favourite. [One day] he asked him what he thought of his driving out Ch'in-she and his adherents, and getting him appointed in his place. P'aou replied, "My connexion with Ch'in-she is remote, and they who are opposed to you are only a few individuals; why should you drive them all out?" He then informed Ch'in-she [of what

Tsze-go was intending], when Tsze-hāng (Ch'in Yih) said, "He has got the ruler. If you do not take the initiative, he will bring calamity on you." Tsze-hāng then took up his quarters [privately] in the duke's palace.

'In summer, in the 5th month, on Jin-shin, Ch'ing-tze and his brothers went in 4 chariots to the duke's. Tsze-go was in his tent (His office), and came out to meet them, but they entered the palace, and shut the door [against him]. [One of] the attendants attempted to withstand them, but he was killed by Tsze-hāng. The duke and his wife were drinking in the T'an tower, but Ch'ing-tze removed him to the [state-] chamber. The duke laid hold of a spear, intending to strike him with it, but Tsze-yu, the grand-historiographer said, "There is nothing intended injurious to you. He means to remove all harm from you." Ch'ing-tze then quitted the palace, and took up his quarters in the treasury. Hearing there that the duke was still enraged, he proposed leaving the State, saying, "Where shall I not find a ruler?" but Tsze-hāng drew his sword, and said, "Delay is the thief of business. Who is there that is not to be regarded as belonging to the Ch'in clan? By the ancestors of the Ch'in I will kill you, [if you go]." On this Ch'ing-tze stopped.

'Tsze-go returned home, and collected his followers, with whom he attacked the great gate and a small gate of the palace. Unsuccessful in both attempts, he left the city and was pursued by Ch'in-she, when he lost his way in a narrow pass, and went to Fung-k'ew, the people of which seized him, and informed [Ch'in-she of the capture] and he was then put to death at the Kwoh barrier-gate. Ch'ing-tze was about to put to death Tsze-fang of Ta-luh, but Ch'in Yin interceded for him, and his life was spared. He then, as if by the duke's orders, took a carriage which was on the road, and drove off; but when he had got to Urh the people all knew the truth, on which he turned to the east, and left the city by the Yung gate. Ch'in P'aou offered him a carriage, but he would not receive it, saying, "Yin interceded for my life, and P'aou would now give me a carriage;—as if I had a private understanding with them. Having served Tsze-go, if I should have a private understanding with his enemy, how should I be able to see the officers of Loo and Wei?" Tung-kwoh Kēa (Tsze-fang) then fled to Wei.

'On Kāng-shin, Ch'in Hāng confined the duke in Shoo-chow, when the duke said, "If I had followed early the advice of Yang, I should not have come to this."

Parr. 7, 9. Sung had extinguished the State of Ts'aou in the spring of Gae's 8th year, so that its capital was now only a city of Sung. Hēang Tuy, it has been observed before, was the same as the Hwan Tuy of the Ana. VII. xxii., a younger brother of Hēang Ch'aou, whose name has occurred recently several times. The Hēangs of Sung were all Hwans, as being descended from duke Hwan, whose death is mentioned in V. ix. 1. One of his sons was called Hēang-foo Heih (向父髀), and from him came the Hēang clan, one of his grandsons, Hēang Seuh, playing, as we saw, a very considerable part in public affairs in the time of duke Sēang.

The Chuen here says:—"The favour which was shown to Hwan Tuy of Sung proved injurious to the duke, who purposed to take Tuy off, and with that object made the duchess [-dowager] frequently invite him. Before he could execute his purpose, however, Tuy took the initiative by plotting against the duke, and asked that [his city of] Gan might be exchanged for Poh. This the duke refused, on the ground that he had an ancestral temple at Poh, but he added to Gan seven [other adjacent] towns, on which Tuy invited the duke to an entertainment there. The time was to be at mid-day, and Tuy brought to the place all the men-at-arms of his family. The duke got knowledge of this, and informed Hwang Yay of it, saying, "I have cherished Tuy, and now he is going to do evil. Let me ask your immediate help." The marshal Tsze-chung (Yay) replied, "An insubordinate subject is hated by spiritual Beings; how much more must he be so by men! How should I presume not to obey your command? But it is necessary that we should get the aid of the master of the Left (Ch'aou, Tuy's elder brother). Let me call him here by an order from you." Now, whenever the master of the Left was going to take a meal, he had a bell struck; and [just then] they heard the sound of it. "He is going to his meal," said the duke. After the meal, they heard the music strike up [again], and the duke said, "Now you can go." Yay then drove to the master, and said, "The tracers have come with word that there are [some] large deer at the Fung marsh, and the duke said to me, 'Although Tuy has not come yet, what would you say to getting the master of the Left, and hunting them with him?' He shrank, however, from sending you word, and I resolved to try and get you to go myself. The duke is in haste, and I came for you in my carriage." The master got into the carriage with him; and when they arrived [at the palace], the duke told him the whole affair, on which he prostrated himself, and was unable to rise up. "Speak to him," said the marshal; and the duke swore by Heaven above, and by [the Spirits of] the dukes, his predecessors, that he would not injure him. The master then replied, "The insubordination of Tuy is a calamity to Sung. I will not presume not to be entirely obedient to your orders." The marshal then asked from him his symbol of office, and proceeded with it to order his followers to attack Hwan-she. The elders of the clan and old officers objected, but the new officers said that they would obey the orders of their ruler. Accordingly they attacked the mansion. Tsze-k'e dashed off in a chariot to inform Tuy, who wished to enter the city. Tsze-keu, however, stopped him, saying, "You have been unable to serve the ruler, and would now attack the capital;—the people will not be with you, and you would only invite your death." He then entered Ts'aou, and held it in revolt.

'In the 6th month, Ch'aou, master of the Left, was sent to attack Ts'aou; and [being unsuccessful], he wished to get some of the great officers as hostages [for his safety] before he would [re-]enter [the capital]. Not being able to do this, he also entered Ts'aou, and seized some people there to hold as hostages. Tuy said to him "You should not do that. We have not been able to serve our ruler; and if we

also trespass against the people, what shall we do?" On this he let them go, and then the people revolted from them, on which Tui fled to Wei, and Ch'au to us in Loo. The duke of Sung sent to stop the latter, saying, "I made an engagement with you. I will not extinguish the sacrifices of the Hêng family." Ch'au however, declined to return, and said, "My offence is great, and would justify you in extinguishing the family of Hwan. If from regard to my fathers, you suffer the family to be perpetuated, it will be an act of your kindness; but as for me, I cannot enter Sung." Sze-ma Nêw (A brother of Tui and Ch'au, and a disciple of Confucius; see Ana. XII. iii., iv., v.) surrendered his city and badge of authority, and went to Ts'e. As Tui was quitting the territory of Wei, the chief of the Kung-wân family attacked him, and asked from him the *hwang-gem* of the sovereigns of Hêa. Tui gave him a different gem, and fled to Ts'e, where Ch'in Ch'ing-tse appointed him a minister of inferior rank, on which Nêw gave back the city [which he had received in Ts'e], and went to Woo. The people of Woo hating him, he came back from that State, and received invitations from Ch'au Kên-tse and Ch'in Ch'ing-tse; but he died outside the gate of the suburbs of the capital of Loo, and was buried by K'ang-she at K'êw-yu.

Par. 10. Continuing the narrative under par. 3, the Chuen here says:—On Kêah-woo, Ch'in l'ang of Ts'e murdered his ruler Jin in Shoo-chow. K'ung K'êw fasted 3 days, and then begged [the duke] that he would invade Ts'e. Thrice he made the request, and the duke said, "Loo has long been kept in a state of weakness by Ts'e. If we should invade Ts'e, as you [propose], what could we do?" K'ung K'êw replied, "There are one half of the people of Ts'e who do not agree with Ch'in Hâng in his murder of his ruler. If with all the force of Loo we attack one half of that of Ts'e, we shall conquer it." The duke asked him to lay the matter before Ke-sun, but Confucius declined to do that, retired, and said to some one,

"Having followed in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to speak of such a matter."

See in the Ana., XIV. xxii., an account of the conduct of Confucius on this occasion, somewhat different from that which the Chuen gives here.

The House of T'ên (田) is represented by many historians as from this year the ruling House of Ts'e. The Chuen on III. xxii. 3, mentions how the Kung-tse Hwan (完) of Ch'in, styled King-chung, (敬仲) took refuge in Ts'e, and the Historical Records say that he adopted the clan-name of T'ên (田氏); though in Tso-she his descendants always appear as Ch'ins (陳). A brother of duke Kên nominally succeeded to him as marquis of Ts'e, and the House of Kêang was represented till B.C. 390, when Ho, (和), a great-grandson of Ch'in or T'ên Hâng put an end to the farce, and was acknowledged by king Gan, in B.C. 385, as ruler of Ts'e.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—'Before this, [Ho-ke's] son Mâng Sêh was going to keep his horses in Ch'ing, but the Kung-sun Suh, commandant of Ch'ing, refused to admit him, saying, 'Mâng-sun does nothing but distress Ch'ing. We will not keep his horses for him.' The young man in a rage surprised the place; but his followers not being able to enter it, he returned. An officer was sent from Ch'ing [to explain the circumstances], but the young chief had him scourged. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Sin-ch'ow, wheu Mâng E-tze died, officers of Ch'ing hurried to be present at the death-rites, but they were not admitted; and they wept in the street, with sackcloth on their heads and the upper part of their bodies bare, wanting to be allowed to take part in the services, which was not accorded to them. They were afraid in consequence to return to Ch'ing.'

Fifteenth year.

|          |      |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |      |
|----------|------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------|
| 出奔齊      | 衛公孟彊 | 及齊平      | 鄭        | 冬        | 晉侯伐      | 師伐衛      | 晉趙鞅帥     | 雲        | 秋        | 鄭伯伐宋     | 奔北燕      | 高無平出     | 夏五月齊     | 成叛       | 春王正月     | 十有五年 |
| 左傳曰十五年春成 | 克遂城輪 | 吳及桐汭陳侯使公 | 孫貞子弔焉及良而 | 卒將以尸入吳子使 | 大宰嚭勞且辭曰以 | 水潦之不時無乃廩 | 然隕大夫之尸以重 | 寡君之憂寡君敢辭 | 上介芋尹蓋對曰寡 | 君聞楚爲不道薦伐 | 吳國滅厥民人寡君 | 使蓋備使弔君之下 | 吏無祿使人逢天之 | 感大命隕隊絕世於 | 良廢日共積一日遷 |      |

次今君命逆使人曰無以尸造於門是我寡君之命委於草莽也且臣聞之曰事死如生禮也於是乎有朝聘而終以尸將事之禮又有朝聘而遭喪之禮若不以尸將命是遭喪而還也無乃不可乎以禮防民猶或踰之今大夫曰死而棄之是棄禮也其何以爲諸侯主先民有言曰無穢虐士備使奉尸將命苟我寡君之命達於君所雖隕於深淵則天命也非君與涉人之過也吳人內之

○秋齊陳璫如楚過衛仲由見之曰天或者以陳氏爲斧斤既斲喪公室而他人有之不可知也其使終饗之亦不可知也若善魯以待時不亦可乎何必惡焉子玉曰然吾受命矣子使告我弟

冬及齊平子服景伯如齊子贛爲介見公孫成曰人皆臣人而有背人之心況齊人雖爲子役其有不貳乎子周公之孫也多饗大利猶思不義利不可得而喪宗國將焉用之成曰善哉吾不早聞命陳成子館客曰寡君使恆告曰寡人願事君如事衛君景伯揖子贛而進之對曰寡君之願也昔晉人伐衛齊爲衛故伐晉冠氏喪車五百因與衛地自濟以西禱媚杏以南書社五百吳人加敝邑以亂齊因其病取讎與闡寡君是以寒心若得視衛君之事君也則固所願也成子病之乃歸成公孫宿以其兵甲入於贏

○衛孔圉取大子蒯聵之姊生慚孔氏之豎渾良夫長而美孔文子卒通於內大子在戚孔姬使之焉大子與之言曰苟使我入獲國服冕乘軒三死無與與之盟爲請於伯姬閏月良夫與大子入舍於孔氏之外圃昏二人蒙衣而乘寺人羅御如孔氏孔氏之老嬖寧問之稱姻妾以告遂入適伯姬氏既食孔伯姬杖戈而先大子與五人介輿輶從之迫孔慚於廁強盟之遂劫以登臺嬖寧將飲酒炙未熟聞亂使告季子召獲駕乘車行爵食炙奉衛侯輒來奔季子將入遇子羔將出曰門已閉矣季子曰吾姑至焉子羔曰弗及不踐其難季子曰食焉不辟其難子羔遂出子路入及門公孫敢門焉曰無入爲也季子曰是公孫也求利焉而逃其難由不然利其祿必救其患有使者出乃入曰大子焉用孔慚雖殺之必或繼之且曰大子無勇若燔臺半必舍孔叔大子

與之伐公。不果。欲盡去之。先謂公。莊公害故政。死矣。孔惺立莊。柴也其來。由也。孔子聞衛亂。曰。路曰。君子死。冠不免。結纓而死。戈擊之。斷纓。子孟壓。敵子路。以聞之。懼。下石乞。

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Ch'ing revolted.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, Kaou Woo-p'ei of Ts'e fled from that State to North Yen.
- 3 The earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung.
- 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force and invaded Wei.
- 6 In winter, the marquis of Tsin invaded Ch'ing.
- 7 We made peace with Ts'e.
- 8 Kung-māng K'ow of Wei fled from that State to Ts'e.

Par. 1. This revolt of Ch'ing was a consequence of the events related under par. 12. of last year. The Chuen says:—'This spring, Ch'ing revolted to Ts'e. Woo-pih (The son of Ho-ke, and now the Head of the Māng-sun clan. His name was Che—竟) attacked it, but without success; on which he fortified Shoo.'

Parr. 2—6. [Tso-she introduces here two narratives:—

1st.' In summer, Tsze-se and Tsze-k'e of Ts'oo invaded Woo, as far as the bend of the T'ung. The marquis of Ch'in sent condolences on the occasion to Woo by the Kung-sun Ching-tsze, who died on the way at Lēang. [The assistant-commissioner] proposed to proceed with his body to the court of Woo, but the viscount sent the grand-administrator P'ei to present to him the customary offerings and messages on the toils of his journey, and to decline [his further progress], saying, "Considering the unseasonable rise of the waters, it is to be feared they will toss about and overwhelm the body of the commissioner, and thereby increase the sorrow of my ruler. He therefore ventures to decline the further progress of your excellency." The Woo-director, K'ae (Being the assistant-commissioner), replied, "My ruler having heard of the unreasonable conduct of Ts'oo in repeating its invasions of Woo, and destroying your people, appointed me assistant in this mission, to condole with the officers of your ruler. Unfortunately, the [chief-] commissioner encountered the anger of Heaven, so that our great business fell [for a time] to the ground, and he took his leave of the world at Lēang. Some days have been lost in collecting what was necessary for his remains, but a day hence I should have advanced to another station. But now your ruler's orders have met me, telling me not to approach with the body to his gate;—my ruler's commission must thus be thrown away among the grass. I have heard, however, that it is a rule of propriety to serve when dead as we serve when living. Hence there is the rule, that if [a commissioner] dies when engaged on a court or a complimentary visit, the business

should be discharged with his corpse, and also there is the rule about the course to be pursued when the death occurs of him to whom the visit is being made. If now I do not accomplish the mission with the body, I shall return as if the death [of your ruler] had taken place;—which surely would be improper. The use of the rule serves to prevent people's indifference, though they may still sometimes transgress it; but now your Excellency says, 'He is dead, and you may neglect it:—this is to put the rule away. How can your ruler thus become lord of the States? The ancients had the saying, 'Inflict no stain on a deceased officer.' I, the assistant-commissioner, propose to carry my chief's body to discharge his commission. If the commission of our ruler can only reach your ruler's place, although [the body] should fall into the deep gulf, it will be the doing of Heaven, and through no fault of your ruler or of the ferry-men." Upon this the people of Woo received K'ae, [as he proposed].

2d.' In autumn, Ch'in Kwan of Ts'e passed by [the capital of] Wei on his way to Ts'oo, when Chung Yēw (Tsze-loo) went to see him, and said, 'Heaven perhaps is using Ch'in-she as its axe. He has cut down the ducal House of Ts'e, but we cannot know whether some other man may not possess it. Nor can we know whether he shall not in the end enjoy it himself. Would it not be well to treat Loo well, and wait for the time [to come]? Why should you show hatred to it?' Tsze-yuh (Ch'in Kwan) said, "Yes. I have received your orders. Do you send some one to lay the thing before my brother (Ch'in Hāng, or Ch'ing-tsze)."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'In winter, we made peace with Ts'e, and Tsze-fuh King-pih went to that State, with Tsze-kung as assistant-commissioner. The latter went to see the Kung-sun Ch'ing (Who had been commandant of Ch'ing), and said to him, "All men who are in the service of others [should be faithful], but they [often] show a false heart; how much more may the people of Ts'e, though they are [for the present] doing service to you, be expected to

play double! You are a descendant of the duke of Chow, and enjoyed great advantages [in Loo], but still your thoughts have been on unrighteousness. Why have you adopted such a course as is likely to ruin the State of your ancestors, when you could not get an advantage [which you desired]?" Ch'ing replied, "Good! Alas that I did not earlier hear your instructions!"

'Ch'in Ch'ing-tsze assigned their lodging to the guests, and said to them, "My ruler has sent me to say to you that he wishes to do service to your ruler as he has done to the ruler of Wei." King-pih made a sign to Tsze-kung to advance and reply, which he did, saying, "This is the desire of our ruler. Formerly, when the people of Tsin invaded Wei (In the 8th year of Ting), Ts'e on account of Wei attacked [the city] Kwan-she of Tsin, and lost 500 chariots. Notwithstanding, it made a grant of territory to Wei, and assigned it in writing 12,500 families on the west of the Tse, and the south of Ch'oh, Me, and Hāng. When the people of Woo attacked our poor State (In Gae's 8th year), Ts'e took advantage of our distress to take Hwan and Shen; in consequence of which our ruler became cold to it. If indeed you will deal with him as you have dealt with the ruler of Wei, this is what we desire." Ch'ing-tsze was pinched by this address, and restored Ch'ing, on which Kung-sun Suh (*i. q.* Kung-sun Ch'ing) entered Ying with his military stores.'

[Tso-she here relates a revolution in Wei, and the death of Tsze-loo:—'K'ung Yu of Wei' (See XI. iv. 12) married an elder sister of Kwae-wae (See II. 5, *et al.*), the eldest son of the marquis, by whom he had a son, Kwei. His attendant, Hwān Lēang-foo, was tall and handsome, and after the death of Wān-tsze (Yu) had an intrigue with his mistress. When her brother was in Ts'eih (II. 5), she sent this Lēang-foo to him, and the prince then said to him, "If you can bring it about that I enter the capital and get the State, you shall have the cap and the carriage of a great officer, and 3 capital offences shall be forgiven you." They covenanted together, and the attendant made request for the other to Pih-ke (The lady).

'In the intercalary month, Lēang-foo and the prince entered the capital, and stopped in an outer orchard of the K'ung family. At night, disguised as women, they were driven by a eunuch to the house. The steward Lwan Ning asked who they were, and admitted them on being told that they were ladies related to the family. They then went to the apartments of Pih-ke; and, when they had eaten, that lady went before, carrying a spear, and followed by

the prince and 5 men-at-arms, and [two men carrying] a pig. They found K'ung Kwei in the privy, and there forced him to make a covenant with the prince, after which they violently carried him up into a tower. Lwan Ning was making ready to drink; but before the meat was fully roasted, he heard of the revolution which was being made, and sent information of it to Ke-tsze (Tsze-loo). [At the same time], Shaou Hwoh had the horses put to a carriage, sent the cup round, partook of roast meat, and then carried off Cheh, the marquis of Wei, with him to Loo for refuge. Ke-tsze was going to enter the city, when he met Tsze-kaou (Also a disciple of Confucius; see Ana., XI. xxiv.) about to leave it, who said to him, "The gate is shut." "But I wish to try to go there," replied Ke-tsze. "It was not your doing," said Tsze-kaou; "you need not share in the chief's misfortunes." "I have eaten his pay," rejoined the other, "and I will not try to escape from his difficulties." Tsze-kaou then quitted the city, and Tsze-loo entered it. When he got to the gate of the K'ung family, Kung-sun K'an was keeping it, and told him that he could not enter. Ke-tsze said, "You are a grandson of a former duke. You seek what gain you can get, and shrink from encountering the difficulties of the State. I am not such an one. Having got the benefit of the pay of the State, I will try to save it in its difficulties." Just then a messenger came out at the gate, and Tsze-loo entered. "Of what good," said he, "is it for the prince to deal thus with K'ung Kwei? Though you put him to death, there will be some one to continue [his duty to the State]." He also said, "The prince has no courage. If we burn half the tower, he is sure to let K'ung Shuh go." When the prince heard this, he was afraid, and sent down Shih K'eih and Yu Yen to resist Tsze-loo, whom they struck with their spears, cutting also the strings of his cap. "The superior man," said he, "does not let his cap fall to the ground when he dies;" and with this he tied the strings again and died.

'When Confucius heard of the disorder in Wei, he said, "Ch'ae will come [here safe]; but Yēw will die." (Comp. Ana., XI. xii.)" K'ung Kwei then raised duke Chwang (Kwae-wae) to the marquise. He did what harm he could to the old ministers, and wanted to remove them all. He began by saying to Mwan Ch'ing, the minister of Instruction, "I have had long experience of distress abroad. Do you now make a trial of it." Ch'ing retired, and communicated this to Pe, superintendent of the market, and wished with him to attack the duke. But the scheme did not take effect.]

Sixteenth year.

丘卒。己丑。夏四月。宋成衛。二。奔。侯。于。自。子。卯。正。年。十。  
卒。丑。四。奔。還。月。輒。于。戚。子。蒯。衛。卯。正。年。十。  
孔。月。宋。成。衛。二。月。來。衛。入。蒯。世。己。王。六。



爲威惕，不洩人言以求媚者，去之。吳人伐慎，白公敗之，請以戰備獻，許之，遂作亂。秋七月，殺子西。子期於朝，而劫惠王。子西以袂掩面而死。子期曰：昔者吾以力事君，不可以弗終。抉豫章以殺人而後死。石乞曰：焚庫弑王，不然不濟。白公曰：不可。弑王不祥，焚庫無聚，將何以守矣？乞曰：有楚國而治其民，以敬事神，可以得祥，且有聚矣。何患弗從？葉公在蔡，方城之外，皆曰：可以入矣。子高曰：吾聞之，以險徼幸者，其求無饜，偏重必離。聞其殺齊管修也，而後入。白公欲以子閭爲王，子閭不可，遂劫以兵。子閭曰：王孫若安靖楚國，匡正王室，而後庇焉，敢之願也，敢不聽從。若將專利，以傾王室，不顧楚國，有死不能，遂殺之，而以王如高府。石乞尹門，圍公陽穴宮，負王以如昭夫人之宮。葉公亦至，及北門，或遇之曰：君胡不胄？國人望君，如望慈父母焉。盜賊之矢，若傷君，是絕民望也。若之何不胄？乃胄而進。又遇一人曰：君胡不望？國人望君，如望歲焉。日月以幾，若見君面，是得艾也。民知不死，其亦夫有奮心，猶將旌君以徇於國，而又掩面以絕民望，不亦甚乎？乃免胄而進。遇箴尹固帥其屬將與白公，子高曰：微二子者，楚不國矣。棄德從賊，其可保乎？乃從葉公。使與國人以攻白公。白公奔山而縊，其徒微之，生拘石乞，而問白公之死焉。對曰：余知其死所，而長者使余勿言。曰：不言將烹。乞曰：此事也，克則爲卿，不克則烹，固其所也。何害？乃烹石乞。王孫燕奔，頰黃氏。沈諸梁兼二事，國寧，乃使寧爲令尹，使寬爲司馬，而老於葉。衛侯占夢，嬖人求酒於犬叔僖子，不得，與卜人比，而告公曰：君有大臣在西南隅，弗去，懼害。乃逐犬叔遺。遺奔晉。

衛侯謂渾良夫曰：吾繼先君，而不得其器，若之何？良夫代執火者而言曰：疾與亡君，皆君之子也，召之而擇材焉，可也。若不材，器可得也。暨告犬子，犬子使五人輿輶從己，劫公而強盟之，且請殺良夫。公曰：其盟免三死。曰：請三之後，有罪殺之。公曰：諾哉。

左傳曰：十六年春，瞞成，褚師比出奔宋。衛侯使鄢武子告於周，曰：蒯聵得罪於君父君母，逋竄於晉，晉以王室之故，不棄兄弟，寘諸河上，天誘其衷，獲嗣守封焉，使下臣肸敢告執事。王使單平公對曰：肸以嘉命來告，余一人往，謂叔父，余嘉乃成，世復爾祿，次敬之哉。方天之休，弗敬弗休，悔其可追。

夏四月己丑，孔丘卒。公誄之曰：旻天不弔，不憇遺一老，俾屏余一人以在位，煢煢余在疚，嗚呼哀哉。尼父，無自律。子貢曰：君其不沒於魯乎？夫子之言曰：禮失則昏，名失則愆，失志爲昏，失所爲愆，生不能用，死而誄之，非禮也。稱一人，非名也。君兩失之。

六月，衛侯飲孔悝酒於平陽，重酬之。大夫皆有納焉，醉而送之。夜半而遣之，載伯姬於平陽而行，及西門，使貳車反，而於西門。子伯季子初爲孔氏臣，新登於公，請追之，遇載祏者，殺而乘其車。許公爲反祏，遇之曰：與不仁人爭，明無不勝，必使先射，射三發，皆遠許爲，許爲射之殪，或以其車從，得祏於橐中。孔悝出奔宋。

楚大子建之遇讒也，自城父奔宋，又辟華氏之亂於鄭。鄭人甚善之，又適晉，與晉人謀襲鄭，乃求復焉。鄭人復之如初。晉人使謀於子木，請行而期焉。子木暴虐於其私邑，邑人訴之。鄭人省之，得晉謀焉，遂殺子木。其子曰勝，在吳。子西欲召之，葉公曰：吾聞勝也詐而亂，無乃害乎？子西曰：吾聞勝也信而勇，不爲不利，舍諸邊竟，使衛藩焉。葉公曰：周仁之謂信，率義之謂勇。吾聞勝也好復言，而求死士，殆有私乎？復言，非信也。期死，非勇也。子必悔之。弗從。召之，使處吳竟，爲白公。請伐鄭，子西曰：楚末節也，不然，吾不忘也。他日又請許之，未起師。晉人伐鄭，楚救之，與之盟。勝怒曰：鄭人在此，讐不遠矣。勝白厲劍，子期之子平見之，曰：王孫何自厲也？曰：勝以直聞，不告汝庸爲直乎？將以殺爾父。平以告子西，曰：勝如卵，余翼而長之。楚國第我死，令尹司馬非勝而誰？勝聞之，曰：令尹之狂也，得死，乃非我。子西不悛。勝謂石乞曰：王與二卿士皆五百人當之，則可矣。乞曰：不可得也。曰：市南有熊宜僚者，若得之，可以當五百人矣。乃從白公而見之，與之言說，告之故辭，承之以劍，不動。勝曰：不爲利詔，不

- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-maou, K'wae-wae, heir-son of Wei, entered the capital from Ts'eih, and Cheh, marquis of Wei, came to Loo a fugitive.
- 2 In the second month, Tsze-seuen Ch'ing of Wei fled from that State to Sung.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ke-ch'ow, K'ung K'ew died.

Parr. 1, 2. The Chuen says:—"In the 16th year, in spring, Mwan Ch'ing (The Tsze-seuen Ch'ing of the text) and Pe, superintendent of the market-place (See the narrative at the end of last year), fled from Wei to Sung. The marquis of Wei sent Yen Woo-tsze to announce [his restoration] at [the court of] Chow, saying, "K'wae-wae, having offended against the marquis his father and the marchioness his mother, was obliged to flee for refuge to Tsin. That State from regard to [his connexion with] the royal House, and mindful of him as thereby connected with itself, placed him near the Ho. By the secret influence of Heaven upon his mind, he has [now] obtained the inheritance of his State, and has sent his humble servant Heih, to inform the king's ministers thereof." The king caused duke P'ing of Shen to return this reply, "Heih has come with his admirable message, and laid it before me, the One man. Let him go, and say to my uncle, 'I rejoice in your success, and restore to you and your descendants your emoluments and rank. Be reverent! Heaven is now blessing you; but if you are not reverent, it will not bestow its blessing; and repentance then will be of no avail.'"

Par. 3. With this par. ends the continuation of Confucius' Work by his disciples. Henceforth there is no more text of the Ch'un Ts'ew, real or supplementary. 'The sage having been born,' says Too Yu, 'in the 22d year of duke S'ang (But see the note at the end of IX. xxi.), was now 73 years old. In the 4th month of this year, the 18th day was Yih-ch'ow (乙丑). There was no Ke-ch'ow in it. Ke-ch'ow was the 12th day of the 5th month; so that there is an error in the text either of the month or of the day.' Too is wrong here. Ke-ch'ow was the 11th day of the 4th month of this year.

The Chuen says:—"The duke pronounced his eulogy, saying, "Compassionate Heaven vouchsafes me no comfort, and has not left me the aged man, to support me, the One man, on my seat. Dispirited I am, and full of distress. Woe is me! Alas! O Ne-foo! There is none [now] to be a rule to me!" Tsze-kung said, "The ruler is not likely to die in Loo. The master said, 'Error in a point of ceremony shows darkness of mind; error in the use of a name is a fault.' Failure of the mind is darkness; a fault is failure in one's position. The duke could not use the master when alive; in eulogizing him when dead, he has transgressed the rules of ceremony. In calling himself 'the One man,' he has assumed a name which does not belong to him. In both things the ruler has erred."

Though the supplementary text of the Ch'un Ts'ew stops with the above paragraph, Tso-she continues his narratives for several years, and we shall continue to follow the stream of Chinese history as far as we have his guidance.

1. 'In the 6th month of this year, the marquis of Wei entertained K'ung Kwei to drink with him at P'ing-yang, when he bestowed large gifts upon him, while all the great officers also received presents. He escorted him away when he had well drunk, and at midnight sent him [an order to go] away from the State. [Kwei] took [his mother] Pih-ke in the carriage with him from P'ing-yang, and took his way. When he had got to the west gate, he sent an attendant carriage back to Se-poo to bring away the stone spirit-tablets of his temple. Tsze-pih Ke-tsze, who had formerly been an officer in the K'ung household, but had lately been promoted to the service of the marquis, begged leave to pursue him; and, meeting with the carriage and the tablets, he killed the individual in charge of it, and mounted the carriage. Heu Kung-wei had come back to see about the tablets, and now met with Ke-tsze. "In a struggle," said he to himself, "with so bad a man, I am sure to conquer. I will make him shoot first." [Ke-tsze] discharged 3 arrows, which all went wide of the mark. Heu Wei then shot the other dead, and one of his attendants found the spirit-tablets in a bag. K'ung Kwei then fled to Sung.'

2. 'When K'een, the eldest son of the fifth count of Ts'oo, was slandered (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of X. xix., that after par. 3; and the 2d at the beginning of X. xx.) he fled from Shing-foo to Sung. Afterwards, he went from Sung to Ch'ing to avoid the disorders caused by members of the Hwa family. The people of Ch'ing were very fond of him; but he went on to Tsin. There he took counsel with some officers of Tsin who wished to surprise [the capital of] Ch'ing, and [to aid them] asked that he might be recalled to that State, which was done; and he was treated as he had been at first. [By and by], the people of Tsin sent a spy to him (He was styled Tsze-muh), to ask him to fix the time for their enterprize. He had been harsh and tyrannical in the city assigned to himself, so that the people accused him; and in the course of an investigation, this spy was detected, and Tsze-muh was put to death. His son, called Shing, was [now] in Woo, from which Tsze-se wished to recall him to Ts'oo. The duke of Sheh said, "I have heard that Shing is deceitful and insubordinate;—will not such a step turn out ill?" Tsze-se, however, said, "I have heard that Shing is a man of good faith and bold; to recall him will only be advantageous. We can place him on the borders, and employ him as a bulwark to the State." He of Sheh observed, "I call it good faith when a man cultivates the friendship of the virtuous, and I call it boldness when a man follows a

course of righteousness. I have heard that Shing wishes always to make his words good, and seeks to get around him braves who are not afraid of death. It is to be feared he has private aims of his own. To make good one's words is not good faith, and to be speculating about death is not boldness. You will repent of this measure."

'Tsze-se did not follow this counsel, but called Shing [back to Ts'oo], and stationed him near the borders of Woo, where he became duke of Pih. [Ere long], he asked leave to invade Ch'ing; but Tsze-se said, "The ordinances of Ts'oo are not yet fully arranged. But for this, [the thing should be done]. I will not forget the matter. By and by he made the same request, and leave was given to him; but before he had raised his forces, the people of Tsin invaded Ch'ing, and Ts'oo relieved it, and made a covenant with it. Shing was angry, and said, "Here is a man of Ch'ing. My enemy is not far off;" and he then proceeded to sharpen his sword. P'ing, the son of Tsze-k'e, seeing him so engaged, said to him, "King's grandson, what are you doing that for?" Shing replied, "I have the reputation of being straightforward. If I do not tell you, how can I be called so? It is to kill your father." P'ing reported this to Tsze-se, who said, "Shing is like an egg which I have hatched. I have brought him up under my wings. According to the order of the State of Ts'oo, when I die, no other but he will be chief minister or marshal." When Shing heard this, he said, "The chief minister is mad. If he die a natural death, it will be my condemnation." Still Tsze-se did not repent of what he had done. Shing said to Shih K'eih, "If we meet the king and the two high ministers with 500 men in all, the thing may be done." K'eih replied, "The men cannot be got," and he added, "At the south of the market place there is one Heung E-l'eaou. If you can get him, he will be equal to 500 men." They then went together to the place, and saw the man. The duke of Pih talked, and was pleased, with him; but when he told him his object, E-l'eaou refused [to engage in it]. Shing then threatened him with his sword, but he made no movement. "The offer of gain," said Shing, "could not flatter him; threatening could not terrify him. He is not one who will seek to get favour by letting out my words;" and with this he left him.

'A body of men from Woo having attacked Shin, the duke of Pih defeated them, and begged leave to present [in the court] the spoils of the battle. This was granted him, and he took the opportunity to make an insurrection. In autumn, in the 7th month, he killed Tsze-se and Tsze-k'e in the court, and made king Hwuy a prisoner. Tsze-se covered his face with his sleeve, as he was dying; but Tsze-k'e said, "Heretofore I have used my strength in the service of our ruler; I must now end in the same way." With this he tore up a large log of a camphor wood tree, killed a man with it, and died. Shih K'eih advised Shing to burn the treasury and murder the king, for if he did not do so, his enterprize would not succeed. The duke, however, said, "No. To murder the king would be inauspicious. And if I burned the treasury, I should have no stores. Wherewith should I maintain myself?" K'eih replied, "Holding the State of Ts'oo, and ruling its people, and at the same

time reverently serving the Spirits, you will not be without good auspices and sufficient stores. You need not be anxious lest the people should not follow you."

'[At this time], the duke of Sheh was in Ts'ae, and all the people outside the barrier wall advised him to advance upon the capital. He replied, however, "I have heard that when a man puts his fortune to the risk by hazardous ways, he is insatiable in his desires, and falls from his place [like a vessel] made too heavy on one side." When he heard that Shing had put to death Kwan S'ew [who was sprung] from Ts'e, then he advanced.

'The duke of Pih wished to make Tsze-leu king, but that prince refused, on which the duke carried him off by force of arms. Tsze-leu said, "If you, a king's grandson, will secure the peace of the State of Ts'oo, and will correct and regulate the royal House, and afterwards extend your shelter over it, this is what I desire. Shall I presume not to obey and follow you? If animated by a desire for your own exclusive advantage, you proceed to overthrow the royal House, and do not regard the State of Ts'oo, though I die, I cannot follow you." The duke on this put him to death, and proceeded with the king to the High treasury, the gate of which was kept by Shih K'eih. Kung-yang, an equerry, however, dug through the wall, and carried the king on his back to the place of [his mother], the queen Ch'aou. At the same time, the duke of Sheh drew near. When he arrived at the north gate, some one met him and said, "Why are you without your helmet? The people are looking for you as for an indulgent parent. If the arrows of the rebels wound you, it will destroy the hope of the people;—how is it that you are not helmeted?" The duke on this assumed his helmet and advanced. Shortly he met another man, who said to him, "Why are you wearing your helmet? The people are looking for you as they look for a good year. Daily are they expecting your arrival. If they [once] see your face, they will feel at rest. When they [thus] know that they will not die, their souls will all be on fire; and they will, as it were, point you out as a mark throughout the whole city. Is it not too bad in you to cover your face, and destroy the hope of the people?" At this speech, the duke took off his helmet and advanced without it.

'[As he went on], he met Koo, the director of Remonstrances, who was leading his followers to join the duke of Pih. Tsze-kaou (The duke of Sheh was so styled) said to him, "If it had not been for the two ministers [who have been put to death], Ts'oo would have ceased to be a State. Is it to be preserved by abandoning the virtuous and following the rebellious? The director on this followed the duke of Sheh, who sent him, with the people of the city, to attack the duke of Pih. That leader fled to a hill, and strangled himself; and his followers concealed his body. Shih K'eih was taken alive, and questioned about the duke's death. "I know," replied he, "the place where he died, but he told me not to tell it." "If you do not tell it," he was told, "we will boil you." He said, "If our enterprize had succeeded, I should have been minister. That I should be boiled on its failure is the natural consequence. What harm can it do me?" Accordingly he was

boiled. Shing's brother Yen fled to K'wae-hwang. Shin Choo-lêng (The duke of Sheh) took the offices of both the murdered ministers; but when the State was composed, he made Ning (Son of Tse-se) chief minister, and K'wan (Son of Tse-k'e) minister of War; and remained himself to old age in Sheh.

[This Tse-kaou or Shin Choo-lêng is the duke of Sheh of the Analects, VII. xviii.; XIII. xvi.].

3. A favourite of the marquis of Wei, who interpreted dreams, having asked for some spirits from T'ae-shuh He-tsze, and being refused them, he joined with the diviner, and said to the marquis, "Your lordship has a great minister in the south-west corner who, we are afraid, will injure you, if you do not send him away." On this [the marquis] drove out T'ae-shuh E (He-tsze), who fled to Tsin.

4. The marquis of Wei said to Hwan Lêng-foo, "I have now succeeded to my father, but I am not in possession of his [valuable] articles (Which duke Cheh had carried away with him);—what is to be done? Lêng-foo took the place of the torch-bearer, and said, "Tsih and the exiled marquis are both your sons. Call the latter back, and then choose the abler of the two [to succeed you]. If he be not the abler, the articles [which he carried away] can thus be got. An attendant told this to Tsih, who made five men follow him with a pig, seized the marquis, and forced him to make a covenant with him, requesting him also to put Lêng-foo to death. "I covenanted with him," said the marquis, "to forgive him three capital offences." "But," urged Tsih, "I ask that you will put him to death, for the next offence after those three." To this the marquis agreed.

### Seventeenth year.

左傳曰十七年春衛侯爲虎幄於藉圃成求令名者而與之始食焉犬子請使良夫良夫乘東甸兩牡紫衣狐裘至袒裘不釋劍而食犬子使牽以退數之以三罪而殺之三月越子伐吳吳子禦之笠澤夾水而陳越子爲左右句卒使夜或左或右鼓譟而進吳師分以禦之越子以三軍潛涉當吳中軍而鼓之吳師大亂遂敗之晉趙鞅使告於衛曰君之在晉也志父爲主請君若犬子來以免志父不然寡君其曰志父之爲也衛侯辭以難犬子又使榘之夏六月趙鞅圍衛齊國觀陳瑾救衛得晉人之致師者子玉使服而見之曰國子實執齊柄而命瑾曰無辟晉師豈敢廢命子又何辱簡子曰我卜伐衛未卜與齊戰乃還楚白公之亂陳人恃其聚而侵楚楚既寧將取陳麥楚子問帥於大師子穀與葉公諸梁子穀曰右領差車與左史老皆相令尹司馬以伐陳其可使也子高曰率賤民慢之懼不用命焉子穀曰觀丁父郤俘也武王以爲軍率是以克州蓼服隨唐大啟羣蠻彭仲爽申俘也文王以爲令尹實縣申息朝陳蔡封畛於汝唯其任也何賤之有子高曰天命不謬令尹有憾於陳天若亡之其必令尹之子是與君盍舍焉臣懼右領與左史有二俘之賤而無其令德也王卜之武城尹吉使帥師取陳麥陳人御之敗遂圍

陳秋七月己卯楚公孫朝帥師滅陳王與葉公枚卜子良以爲令尹沈尹朱曰吉過於其志葉公曰王子而相國過將何爲他日改卜子國而使爲令尹衛侯夢於北宮見人登昆吾之觀被髮北面而譟曰登此昆吾之虛綿綿生之瓜余爲渾良夫叫天無辜公親筮之胥彌赦占之曰不害與之邑寘之而逃奔宋衛侯貞卜其繇曰如魚窺尾衡流而方羊裔焉大國滅之將亡闔門塞竇乃自後踰冬十月晉復伐衛入其郭將入城簡子曰止叔向有言曰怙亂滅國者無後衛人出莊公而與晉平晉立襄公之孫般師而還十一月衛侯自鄆入般師出初公登城以望見戎州問之以告公曰我姬姓也何戎之有焉翦之公使匠人欲逐石圃未及而難作辛巳石圃因匠氏攻公公閉門而請弗許踰於北方而隊折股戎州人攻之犬子疾公子青踰從公戎州人殺之公入於戎州己氏初公自城上見己氏之妻髮美使髡之以爲呂姜髡既入焉而示之璧曰活我吾與女璧己氏曰殺女璧其焉往遂殺之而取其璧衛人復公孫般師而立之十二月齊人伐衛衛人請平立公子起執般師以歸舍諸濫公會齊侯盟於蒙孟武伯相齊侯稽首公拜齊人怒武伯曰非天子寡君無所稽首武伯問於高柴曰諸侯盟誰執牛耳季羔曰節衍之役吳公子姑曹發陽之役衛石魋武伯曰然則虺也宋皇瑗之子麋有友曰田丙而奪其兄劉般邑以與之劉般愠而行告桓司馬之臣子儀克子儀克適宋告夫人曰麋將納桓氏公問諸子仲初子仲將以杞妘之子非我爲子麋曰必立伯也是良材子仲怒弗從故對曰右師則老矣不識麋也公執之皇瑗奔晉召之

XVII. 1. 'In the [duke's] 17th year, the marquis of Wei made a tent adorned with paintings of tigers in his own peculiar garden; and when it was finished, he sought for men of the best reputation, to feast with them in it at its opening. The heir-son [Tsih] begged him to get Lêng-foo to be present. That officer came in the carriage of a minister of the 2d degree, with 2 horses; and in a purple robe, with a jacket of fox-fur over it. On his arrival, he threw open the fox-fur, but did not take off his sword. The heir-son ordered him to be dragged away, set forth to him his 3 offences, and put him to death.'

2. 'In the 3d month, the viscount of Yueh invaded Woo, and was met by the viscount of Woo at the marsh of Leih. Their forces were drawn up over against each other on either side of the water. The viscount of Yueh formed two bodies in files of five on his left and right, and made them during the night, with a noise of drums, advance now on the right and now on the left. The army of Woo divided to meet them, on which the viscount of Yueh stole through the water, right against the centre of that of Woo, which was thrown into great confusion, and defeated.'



3. 'Chau Yang of Tsin sent a message to the marquis of Wei, saying, "When your lordship was in Tsin, I (志父) was a name of Yang) was your host. I beg you or your eldest son now to come [to Tsin], that I may escape being incriminated. If you do not do so, my ruler will say that your not coming is my doing." The marquis of Wei declined to go to Tsin on the ground of the difficulties in which he was, and his eldest son made representations injurious to him. In summer, in the 6th month, Chau Yang laid siege to the capital of Wei, to the relief of which came Kwoh Kwan and Ch'in Kwan of Ts'e. An officer of Tsin, who had come with a challenge to battle, having been made prisoner, Tsze-yuh (Ch'in Kwan) caused him to be clothed in his proper dress, and then went to see him. "Kwoh-tsze," said he to the prisoner, "has the govt. of Ts'e in his hands, and he ordered me not to avoid the army of Tsin. How should I presume to disobey his command? and why should your leader take the trouble to send a challenge?" K'een-tsze said, "I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Wei, and not about fighting with Ts'e;" and on this he withdrew.'

4. 'During the troubles of Ts'oo caused by the duke of Pih, the people of Ch'in, relying on their accumulated stores, made an incursion into it. When the State was tranquillized, it was resolved to carry off the wheat crop of Ch'in, and the viscount consulted the grand-tutor Tsze-kuh, and Choo-l'ang duke of Sheh, about a leader for the expedition. Tsze-kuh said, "Ch'ae-ken, commander of the Right, and Laou, historiographer of the Left, both attended the chief minister and the marshal in a former attack of Ch'in; they may be employed now." Tsze-kaou said, "When the leaders are of low rank, the people despise them. I am afraid the orders of those officers will not be obeyed." Tsze-kuh replied, "Kwan Ting-foo was a captive of Joh; but our king Woo employed him as the general of the army, and thence came the conquest of Chow and Léaou, the subjugation of Suy and T'ang, and a great opening up of all the Man tribes. P'ang Chung-shwang was a captive of Shin; but our king Wán employed him as his chief minister, and he made Shin and Seih districts of our State. The bringing Ch'in and Ts'ae to our court, and the enlargement of our boundaries to the Joo, were his achievements. What has lowness of rank to do in this matter?" Tsze-kaou rejoined, "The decree of Heaven does not waver. The [late] chief minister had ground of indignation with Ch'in. If Heaven be [now] minded to destroy it, the work will be assigned to the chief minister's son. Why should the ruler not pass over those officers? I am afraid that the commander of the Right and the historiographer of the Left have the lowness of rank of the two captives [you have mentioned], without their excellent virtue." The king consulted the tortoise-shell, which indicated that the choice of the commandant of Woo-shing would be fortunate (He was the son of Tsze-se, the late chief-minister). He was sent therefore with a force to carry off the wheat crop of Ch'in. The people of that State withstood him, and were defeated, on which he laid siege to its capital city. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Ke-maou, he, - the

Kung-sun Chau of Ts'oo,—at the head of his force, extinguished Ch'in (See the Chuen on X. ix. 3).

'The king and the duke of Sheh consulted the tortoise-shell about Tsze-l'ang, whether he should be appointed chief minister. Choo, commandant of Shin, said, "The indication is that the appointment will be fortunate, but that he will go beyond your expectations." "A son of our [former] king and prime-minister, if he go beyond our expectations, what will he proceed to?" said the duke. Shortly after, they consulted the shell about Tsze-kwoh, and appointed him chief-minister.

5. 'The marquis of Wei dreamt in the north palace, that he saw a man mounting the tower of Keun-woo. His hair was dishevelled; and with his face to the north, he cried out, saying,

"I mount here in the old site of Keun-woo;  
The gourds are only commencing their growth.  
I am Hwán L'ang-foo;  
I appeal to Heaven in assertion of my innocence."

The marquis himself consulted the reeds about the dream, and Seu Me-shay interpreted the result to the effect that there was no harm in it, on which a city was given to him, which he left, making his escape to Sung. The marquis again consulted the tortoise-shell, the interpretation of the indications of which was,

"He is like a fish with a red tail,  
Tossed cross-wise, and driven to the side.  
Far from the great State,  
He will be extinguished and flee.  
His gate and all his openings shut,  
He will get over behind."

'In winter, in the 10th month, Tsin again invaded Wei, and entered its outer suburbs. When the army was about to enter the capital, K'een-tsze said, "Let us stop. Shuh-h'ang said that he who took advantage of its disorder to extinguish a State would have no posterity." The people of Wei then drove out duke Chwang, and made peace with Tsin, which raised Pan-sze, a grandson of duké S'ang, to be marquis, and then withdrew its army. In the 11th month, the [expelled] marquis again entered the capital from Keuen, and Pan-sze fled.

'Before this, duke [Chwang] had been [on one occasion] taking a view from the city-wall, and observed [the place called] Jung-chow. Having inquired about it, and been told [its name], he said "Our surname is Ke. What have any Jung to do here?" and he proceeded to plunder the place.

'He had employed the workmen for a long time, and wished to expel Shih Poo; but before he could do so, an insurrection broke out, and on Sin-sze, Shih Poo, supported by the workmen, attacked him. He shut his gate, and begged for terms, which were refused him; and in getting over the wall on the north, he fell and broke his thigh, when the men of Jung-chow attacked him. His sons Tsih and T'ing got over it after him, and were killed by them. He then entered the house of Ke of Jung-chow.

'Before this, he had seen, from the wall of the city, the wife of this Ke, how beautiful her hair was, and had caused it to be cut off, to make a

wig for [his wife] Leu-k'ang. When he now entered Ke's house, he showed him a peih, saying, "If you save my life, I will give you this peih." Ke said, "If I kill you, where will the peih go to?" On which he killed him, and took the peih. The people of Wei recalled Kung-sun Pan-sze and made him marquis.

'In the 12th month, a body of men from Ts'e invaded Wei, the people of which begged for peace. The invaders raised the Kung-tsze K'e to the marquise, carried Pan-sze back with them, and placed him in Loo.'

6. 'The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, and made a covenant in Mung. M'ang Woo-pih was with the duke as director of the ceremonies. The marquis bowed with his head to the ground, but the duke only bowed, on which the people of Ts'e were angry; but Woo-pih said, "Only to the son of Heaven does our ruler bow with his head to the ground." Woo-pih asked Kaou Ch'ae who held the bull's ear when princes were covenanting, and was answered, "At the affair of Ts'ang-yen, the

Kung-tsze Koo-ts'au of Woo held it (See VII. 3); at the affair of Fah-yang (XII. 4), Shih Tuy of Wei did it." Woo-pih said, "Then, I may do it now."

7. 'Keun, the son of Hwang Yuen of Sung, had a friend called T'een Ping, to whom he gave the city of his elder brother Tsan-pan, taking it away from the latter. Tsan-pan went away in indignation, and told Tsze-e K'ih, an officer of the marshal Hwan of it. On this K'ih went to Sung, and told the duchess that Keun was going to restore Hwan-she. The duke asked Tsze-chung about the matter.

'Now Tsze-chung had wished, before this, to appoint Fei-go, his son by K'e-sze, his successor, but Keun had said that he must appoint Fei-go's elder brother, as being a man of good ability. Tsze-chung was angry, and did not follow the advice; and now he replied to the duke, "The master of the Right is too old for such a thing; but I do not know about Keun." The duke on this seized Keun, and Hwang Yuen fled to Tsin, from which the duke recalled him'.

### Eighteenth year.

左傳曰十八年春宋殺皇  
瑗公聞其情復皇氏之族  
使人伐楚圍鄭初右司馬  
子國之卜也觀瞻日如志  
故命之及巴師至將卜帥  
王曰寧如志何卜焉使帥  
師而行請承王曰寢尹帥  
尹勤先君者也三月楚公  
孫寧吳由于薳固敗巴師  
於鄭故封子國於析君占  
曰惠王知志夏書曰官占  
唯能蔽志昆命於元龜其  
是之謂乎志曰聖人不煩  
卜筮惠王其有焉  
夏衛侯石圃逐其君起奔  
齊衛侯輒自齊復歸逐石  
圃而復石魋與犬叔遺

XVIII. 1. 'In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, Sung put to death Hwang Yuen. When the duke heard all the circumstances [of the case], he recalled the various members of the Hwang clan, and made Hwang Hwan master of the Right.'

2. 'A body of men from Pa invaded Ts'oo, and laid siege to Y'ew. Formerly, when the tortoise-shell was consulted about Tsze-kwoh's being made marshal of the Right, Kwan Chen said, 'He will answer to your wishes;' and he was appointed. Accordingly, when the army of Pa now entered the country, it was proposed to consult the tortoise-shell about a leader to oppose it; but the king said, "It was intimated that Ning would succeed according to our wishes. Why should we divine any further?" He was therefore sent with a force against the invaders. He requested assistant-commanders; and the king said, "The officer of the bed-

chamber and the officer of Works did good service to my predecessor (See on XI. iv. 15)." Accordingly, in the 3d month, the Kung-sun Ning, Woo Y'ew-yu, and Wei Koo defeated the army of Pa at Y'ew, in consequence of which Tsze-kwoh was invested with Seih. The superior man will say that king Hwuy knew his mind. In him was an illustration of what is said in one of the Books of H'ea (Shoo, II. ii. 18), "The officer of divination, when the mind is made up on a subject, then refers it to the great tortoise." In the History it is said, "A sage does not trouble the tortoise-shell and reeds." So it was with king Hwuy.'

3. 'In summer, Sheh Poo of Wei drove out his ruler K'e, who fled to Ts'e. The marquis Cheh then returned to Wei from Ts'e, drove out Shih Poo, and restored Shih Tuy and T'ae-shuh E.'



## Nineteenth year.

左傳曰：十九年春，越人侵楚，以楚公子夏、楚公子慶、楚公子道、楚公子冥、楚公子還、楚公子秋、楚公子梁、楚公子三夷、楚公子及、楚公子於、楚公子冬、楚公子京、楚公子崩故也。

XIX. 1. 'In the [duke's] 19th year, in spring, a body of men from Yueh made an incursion into Ts'oo, in order to delude Woo.'

2. 'In summer, the Kung-tszé K'ing of Ts'oo and the Kung-sun K'wan pursued the army of Yueh as far as Ming, could not come up with it, and returned.'

3. 'In autumn, Shin Choo-läng of Ts'oo invaded the rude tribes of the east (To punish Yueh). The men and women of 3 tribes covenanted with the army of Ts'oo at Gaou.'

4. 'In winter Shuh Ts'ing (The son of Shuh Seuen) went to the capital, on occasion of the death of king King.'

[This date of the death of king King is very much contested.]

## Twentieth year

左傳曰：二十年春，齊人來徵會。夏，會於廩丘，爲鄭故，謀伐晉。鄭人辭諸侯。秋，師還。吳公子慶忌驟諫吳子曰：「不改，必亡。弗聽。」出居於艾，遂適楚。聞越將伐吳，冬，請歸平越，遂歸。欲除不忠者，以說於越。吳人殺之。

十一月，越圍吳。趙孟降於喪，食。楚隆曰：「三年之喪，親暱之極也。主又降之，無乃有故乎？」趙孟曰：「黃池之役，先主與吳王有質，曰：『好惡同之。』今越圍吳，嗣子不廢舊業，而敵之，非晉之所能及也。吾是以爲降。楚隆曰：『若使吳王知之，若何？』趙孟曰：『可乎？』隆曰：『請嘗之。』乃往。先造於越軍，曰：『吳犯閭上國多矣，聞君親討焉。諸夏之人莫不欣喜，唯恐君志之不從。請入視之。』許之。告於吳王，曰：『寡君之老無恤，使陪臣敢展謝，其不共。黃池之役，君之先臣志父得承齊盟，曰：『好惡同之。』今君在難，無恤不敢憚勞，非晉國之所能及也。使陪臣敢展布之王拜稽首，曰：『寡人不佞，不能事越，以爲大夫憂，拜命之辱。與之一簞珠，使問趙孟曰：『句踐將生憂寡人，寡人死之不得矣。』王曰：『溺人必笑，吾將有問也。』史黯何？以得爲君子。』對曰：『黯也，進不見惡，退無謗言。』王曰：『宜哉！』

XX. 1. In the [duke's] 20th year, in spring, an officer of Ts'e came to call the duke to a meeting, which was held in summer at Lin-k'üw. It was on account of Ch'ing, to lay plans for the invasion of Tsin. The people of Ch'ing, however, declined the action of the States; and in autumn our army returned.'

2. 'The Kung-tszé K'ing-ke of Woo remonstrated frequently with the viscount, telling

him that, if he did not change his course, ruin must be the result.' The viscount would not listen to him, on which he left and resided in E, going afterwards to Ts'oo. When he heard that Yueh was going to invade Woo, he begged leave to return and try to bring about a peace with Yueh. He then returned, and wished to take off the unfaithful [officers] in order to

satisfy Yueh. The people of Woo, however, put him to death.'

3. 'In the 11th month, Yueh laid siege to [the capital of] Woo. Chaou-mäng (Chaou Woo-seuh, or Sëang-tsze, son of Chaou Yang of Tsin, for whom he was now in mourning) diminished the quantity and quality of his mourning diet [in consequence]. Ts'oo Lung said to him, "The three years' mourning is the greatest expression [of grief for the loss] of relatives; and yet you are now going beyond it;—have you not a reason for this?" Chaou-mäng replied, "At the meeting of Hwang-ch'e (XIII. 3), my father made a covenant with the king of Woo, that [Tsin and Woo] should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Now Yueh is besieging the capital of Woo. If I, as my father's heir, do not make void his engagement, I ought to oppose Yueh, but this is what Tsin is not able to do; and I therefore have diminished my diet." Lung said, "Suppose you should send and make the king of Woo acquainted with the circumstances." Can it be done?" asked the minister. "Allow me to try it," said the other; and he took his way to the scene of strife. First he went to the army of Yueh, and said [to the viscount of that State], "Many have been the attacks and injuries committed by Woo on your superior State, and the people of our [northern] States have all been glad to hear that your lordship is now punishing it in person. I am only afraid

that your desire may not get its satisfaction, and beg your leave to enter the city that I may see." Permission was granted to him; and he then said to the king of Woo, "Woo-seuh, the minister of my ruler, has sent me, his servant Lung, to venture to explain and apologize for his not coming to your assistance. His father Che-foo, the former minister of our ruler, undertook the engagement of the covenant at Hwang-ch'e, that Tsin and Woo should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Your lordship is now in difficulties. Woo-seuh would not dare to shrink from the toil; but Tsin is not able to make the effort, and he has sent me to venture to represent to you his case." The king bowed with his head to the earth, and said, "Through my incapacity I have not been able to serve Yueh, and have thus caused sorrow to your minister. I acknowledge the condescension of his message." He then gave Lung a small basket of pearls which he sent to Chaou-mäng, saying, "Kow-tsëen will cause me grief while I live; I would die, but death will not come. I would now ask you a question as with the laugh of a drowning man:—how was it that your historiographer Gan (The Mih of the Chuen on X. xxxii. 2), got his reputation of wisdom?" "Gan," said Lung, "when he advanced, incurred no hatred, and when he retired, was followed by no reviling." "His character was deserved," rejoined the king.'

## Twenty-first year.

左傳曰：二十一年夏，五月，越人始來。秋，八月，公及齊侯、邾子盟於顧。齊人責稽首，因歌之曰：『魯人之皇，數年不覺，使我高蹈，唯其儒書，以爲二國憂。』是行也，公先至於陽穀，齊閭丘息曰：『君辱舉玉趾，以在寡君之軍，羣臣將傳遽以告寡君。』比其復也，君無乃勤，爲僕人之末次，請除館於舟道。辭曰：『敢勤僕人。』

XXI. 1. 'In the [duke's] twenty-first year, an officer from Yueh first came to our court.'

2. 'In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Ts'e, and the viscount of Choo in Koo. The people of Ts'e, to express their condemnation [of the duke] for not bowing with his head to the ground (XVII. 6), made the following song about it,

"How slow are they of Loo!  
They wake not, though years go,  
And make us travel so,  
'Tis their scholars with their books,  
That thus trouble our two States."

At this time the duke arrived before either of the others at Yang-kuh. Leu-k'üw Seih of Ts'e said to him, "You have condescended to direct your steps here, and are now in the army of my ruler. We will send word with the most rapid despatch to him. But will it not be a trial of your patience till the messenger returns? As our workmen have not yet prepared the station [for the meeting], allow us to prepare a lodging-house for you in Chow-taou." The duke declined the offer, saying that he would not presume to trouble their workmen.'

## Twenty-second year.

左傳曰：二十二年夏四月，鄭隱公自齊奔。越曰：吳爲無道，執父立子，越人歸之。犬子革奔越。冬十一月，丁卯，越滅吳。請使吳王居甬東。辭曰：「孤老矣，焉能事君？」乃縊。越人以歸。

XXII. 1. In the [duke's] 22d year, in summer, in the 4th month, duke Yin of Choo fled from Ts'e to Yueh (Yih, the viscount of Choo, of VIII. 4, and X. 1, see the Chuen on which), and said, 'Woo, in its unprincipled course, made me, the father, a prisoner, and appointed my son in my stead.' The people of Yueh restored him to Choo, and his eldest son Kih fled to Yueh.'

2. 'In winter, in the 11th month, on Ting-maou, Yueh extinguished Woo, and proposed to the king of it to reside in Yung-tung. He declined, saying, "I am old; how can I serve your lordship?" And with this he strangled himself. They carried his body back to Yueh.'

## Twenty-third year.

左傳曰：二十三年春，宋景曹卒。季康子使冉有弔，且送葬。曰：「敝邑有社稷之事，使肥與有職，競焉。是以不得助執紼，使求從與。」人曰：「以肥之得備彌甥也，有不腆先人之產，馬使求薦諸夫人之宰，其可以稱旌繁乎？」夏六月，晉荀瑤伐齊，高無平帥師。御之。知伯視齊師，馬駭，遂驅之。曰：「齊人知余旗，其謂余畏而反也。」及壘而還，將戰。長武子請卜，知伯曰：「君告於天子，而卜之以守龜於宗祧，吉矣。吾又何卜焉？且齊人取我英丘君命瑤，非敢耀武也。治英丘也，以辭伐罪，足矣。何必卜？」壬辰，戰於鞌。丘齊師敗績。知伯親禽顏庚。秋八月，叔青如越，始使越也。越諸缺來聘，報叔青也。

XXIII. 1. 'In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, King Ts'au of Sung died (This King Ts'au was the wife of duke Yuen of Sung, and mother of the wife of Ke P'ing-tsze, mentioned in the Chuen on X. xxv. 1. She was consequently great-grand-mother to K'ang-tsze who was now head of the Ke-sun family.) Ke K'ang-tsze sent Jen Y'ew to Sung on a visit of condolence, and to attend her funeral, with this message, "Our poor State is occupied with affairs of importance, which keep me, Fei, and the other ministers in a State of excitement, so that I am unable to attend and help in drawing the bier; and I have sent K'ew to follow the others [who perform that office]." There was also this other message [to duke King], "Since I am in the position of the son of your sister's son, I have sent K'ew to present some poor horses which were bred by my father to the steward of your [deceased] mother. Perhaps they may be allowed to bear the plumes and girths [at her funeral]."

2. 'In summer, in the 6th month, Seun Yaou of Ts'in invaded Ts'e, and was met by Kaou Woo-p'ei at the head of a force. Che Pih (Seun Yaou) had gone to observe the army of Ts'e,

when his horses got frightened, and he galloped them forwards saying, "The men of Ts'e know my flag. They will say that I return because I am afraid of them." Accordingly he went on to the entrenchments [of Ts'e], and then withdrew.

'When the two armies were about to fight, Ch'ang Woo-tsze begged leave to consult the tortoise-shell, but Che Pih said, "Our ruler gave notice [of the expedition] to the son of Heaven, and consulted the tortoise-shell of the State about it in the ancestral temple. The result was fortunate, and why should I divine any further? Moreover, the people of Ts'e took Ying-k'ew. The ruler's commission to me was not for the display of our military prowess, but to deal with that matter of Ying-k'ew. It is enough that I was charged to punish a crime;—why should I [now] divine?" A battle was fought on Jin-shin at Le-k'ew, when the army of Ts'e was entirely defeated. Che Pih himself captured Yen K'ang.'

3. 'In autumn, in the 8th month, Shuh Ts'ing went to Yueh;—the first complimentary mission to that State. Choo Yang of Yueh, came to Loo on a similar mission, in return for that of Shuh Ts'ing.'

## Twenty-fourth year.

左傳曰：二十四年夏四月，晉侯將伐齊，使來乞師，曰：「昔臧文仲以楚師伐齊，取穀，宣叔以晉師伐齊，取汶陽。寡君欲徵福於周公，乞靈於臧氏。臧石帥師會之，取廩丘。軍吏令繒將進，萊章曰：「君卑政暴，往歲克敵，今又勝都，天奉多矣。又焉能進？是躰言也。役將班矣。」晉師乃還。餼臧石牛，犬史謝之曰：「以寡君之在行，牢禮不度，敢展謝之。」邾子又無道，越人執之以歸，而立公子何。何亦無道。公子荆之母嬖，將以爲夫人，使宗人釁夏獻其禮。對曰：「無之。」公怒曰：「女爲宗司，立夫人，國之大禮也。何故無之？」對曰：「周公及武公娶於薛，孝惠娶於商，自桓以下，娶於齊，此禮也。則有若以妾爲夫人，則固無其禮也。公卒立之，而以荆爲犬子，國人始惡之。」閏月，公如越，得犬子適郢，將妻公，而多與之地。公孫有山使告於季孫，季孫懼，使因犬宰誦而納賂焉，乃止。

XXIV. 1. 'In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in summer, in the 4th month, the marquis of Ts'in, intending to invade Ts'e, sent an officer to ask the aid of an army from us, saying, "Formerly Tsang Wan-chung, with an army of Ts'oo, invaded Ts'e, and took Kuh (See V. xxvi. 5, 7); Seuen-shuh with an army of Ts'in, invaded Ts'e, and took Wan-yang (VIII. ii. 4, 7). My ruler [now] wishes to seek the blessing of the duke of Chow, and desires to beg the help of the power of the Tsang family." Tsang Shih [was sent to] join him with a force, when they took Lin-k'ew. The officers of the army gave orders to make everything ready for advancing; but Lae Chang said, "The ruler is reduced low, and the ministers are oppressive. Last year Ts'in vanquished its opponents, and now it has taken a great city. It has received much favour from Heaven; how should it be able to advance further? That is a mistake. The expedition will now withdraw." The army of Ts'in did accordingly withdraw. Some oxen were given alive to Tsang Shih, and the grand historiographer [of Ts'in] apologized to him, saying, "Because our ruler is on march, this gift of oxen is not according to the rule. I venture to set forth our apologies to you."

2. 'The viscount of Choo again pursued an unreasonable course, on which an officer of Yueh seized him, and carried him to that State, appointing his son Ho in his stead. Ho also acted in the same unreasonable way.'

3. 'The mother of the duke's son King was his favourite, and he proposed to raise her to the position of his wife. Having told the director of ceremonies Hin H'ea to present those appropriate for such a proceeding, that officer replied that there were none such. The duke said to him in a rage, "You are an officer of the ancestral temple, and the appointment of the ruler's wife is a great ceremony of the State. Why do you say that there are no rules for it?" "The duke of Chow," was the reply, "and duke Woo married daughters of S'eh. H'eaou and Hwuy, daughters of Sung; from Hwan downwards, our rulers have married daughters of Ts'e. For such marriages there are the appropriate ceremonies; but for the constituting a concubine the wife there are none." The issue, however, was that the duke carried out his purpose, and declared that King should be his successor. From this time the people began to hate the duke.'

4. 'In the intercalary month, the duke went to Yueh, and won the friendship of Seih-ying, the heir-apparent, who proposed giving a wife to him, and much territory. Kung-sun Y'ew-shan sent word of this to Ke-sun, who was frightened by the prospect, and sent bribes which he got presented through the grand-administrator Pei. The plan was then dropped.'

## Twenty-fifth year.

左傳曰：二十五年夏五月庚辰，衛侯出奔宋。衛侯爲靈臺於藉圃，與諸大夫飲酒焉。褚師聲子饒而登席，公怒，辭曰：「臣有疾，異於人，若見之，君將設之，是以不敢。」公愈怒。大夫辭之不可，褚師出，公執其手曰：「必斷而足。」聞之，褚師與司寇亥乘曰：「今日幸而後亡，公之入也，奪南氏邑，而奪司寇亥政。」公使侍人納公文懿子之車於池。初，衛人翦夏丁氏，以其帑賜彭封彌子。彌子飲公酒，納夏戊之女嬖，以爲夫人。其弟期，犬叔疾之從孫甥也，少畜於公，以爲司徒。夫人寵衰，期得罪，公使三匠人，公使優狡盟拳彌，而甚近信之，故褚師比，公孫彌牟，公文要，司寇亥，司徒期，因三匠與拳彌以作亂，皆執利兵，無者執斤，使拳彌入於公宮，而自犬子疾之宮，譟以攻公。郵子士請禦之，彌援其手曰：「子則勇矣，將若君何？不見先君乎？君何所不逞欲？且君嘗在外矣，豈必不反？當今不可，衆怒難犯，休而易聞也。」乃出，將適蒲。彌曰：「晉無信，不可。」將適鄆。彌曰：「齊晉爭我，不可。」將適洽。彌曰：「魯不足與，請適城鉅，以鈎越。」越有君，乃適城鉅。彌曰：「衛盜不可知也，請速自我始。」乃載寶以歸。公爲支離之卒，因祝史揮以侵衛，衛人病之。懿子知之，見子之，請逐揮。文子曰：「無罪。」懿子曰：「彼好專利而妄，夫見君之入也，將先道焉，若逐之，必出於南門，而適君所，夫越新得諸侯，將必請師焉，揮在朝，使吏遣諸其室，揮出，信弗內。」五日，乃館諸外里，遂有寵，使如越請師。六月，公至自越。季康子孟武伯逆於五梧，郭重僕見二子曰：「惡言多矣，君請盡之。」公宴於五梧，武伯爲祝，惡郭重曰：「何肥也？」季孫曰：「請飲。」郭重也，以魯國之密邇仇讐，臣是以不獲從君，克免於大行，又謂重也肥。公曰：「是食言多矣，能無肥乎？」飲酒不樂，公與大夫始有惡。

XXV. 1. 'In the [duke's] 25th year, in summer, in the 5th month, on Käng-shin, Cheh, marquis of Wei, fled from that State to Sung. The marquis had made a marvellous tower in his own peculiar garden, and was drinking in it with all his great officers. Among them was Shing-tsze, superintendent of the markets, who ascended and took his place on his mat, with his stockings on. The duke being angry, he

excused himself on the ground that he had a peculiar disease [in his feet], which would make the duke vomit, if he saw it. The duke was still more angry, and could not be appeased by the apologies of the [other] great officers. The superintendent then left the tower, the duke threatening him with his fist as with a javelin, and saying that he would cut off his feet. This was heard by Shing-tsze, who got into a carriage,

with Hëae the minister of Crime, and said, "To-day I am fortunate that my death is deferred till another day."

'When the duke [re-] entered the State, he took away his city from Nan-she, and his powers from Hëae, the minister of Crime. He [also] caused one of his attendants to push the carriage of Kung-wän E-tsze into a pond.

'Before this, when the people of Wei deprived the officer Hëa Ting of his possessions (See the narrative on XI. 7; 丁 here should, probably,

be 戊), his household and property were given to Päng-fung Me-tsze, who entertained the duke in consequence, and presented to him the daughter of Hëa Mow. She became his favourite, and was put in the position of his wife. Her brother K'e was grandson of the sister of T'ae-shuh Tsih, and, when young, had been brought up in the palace. He was afterwards made minister of Instruction; but when the favour of the lady declined, he was made guilty of some offence. The duke kept employing the workmen of the 3 departments for a great length of time. He also made Këaou, a player, covenant with K'euen Me, kept him near to himself, and very much trusted him.

'In consequence of all these things, Pe superintendent of the markets, Kung-sun Me-mow, Kung-wän Yaou, Hëae minister of Crime, and K'e minister of Instruction, took advantage of [the dissatisfaction of the] workmen and of K'euen Me, to raise an insurrection. Armed with sharp weapons, and those of them who were not so provided with axes, they sent K'euen Me into the duke's palace; and beginning to make a great noise at the palace of the [late] eldest son, Tsih, they attacked the duke. Keuen Tsze asked leave to oppose them; but Me held his hand, and said, "You are bold indeed; but what good can you do to the duke? Do you not see the case of the late ruler? Let the marquis go wherever he pleases. He has, moreover, already been abroad; why should he not return? At present [resistance is of no use]. The anger of the multitude is not to be encountered. Let it pass away, and it will be easy to find an opportunity." The duke accordingly left the city. [At first] he proposed going to P'oo; but Me said, "Tsin is not to be trusted; don't go there." He then proposed going to Keuen, but Me said, "No. Ts'e and Tsin will

be quarrelling about us." Next he proposed going to Ling; but Me said, "Loo is not sufficient to have any dealings with. Let us go to Shing-ts'oo, to draw the notice of Yueh, which now has a ruler." Accordingly, the duke went on the way to Shing-ts'oo. Me said, "The robbers of Wei must not get to know [where we are]; let us make haste. I will go first;" and he thus carried the valuables which they had with them in his chariot and returned.

'The duke [by and by] formed his men into separate bands, and, by means of a correspondence with the prayer-maker Hwuy, made incursions into Wei, to the distress of the people. E-tsze knew of the circumstance, went to see Tsze-che, (The Kung-sun Me-mow) and begged that he would drive out Hwuy. Wän-tsze said, "He has committed no offence." E-tsze replied, "He loves to monopolize all profit, and is lawless. You would see, if the duke returned to the capital, that he would be the first to lead the way. If you drive him out, he will escape by the south gate, and go where the duke is. Yueh has recently got the control of the States; they will be sure to go there, and ask the assistance of an army." When Hwuy was in the court, an officer was sent to send away all the members of his household. He went out [after them], stopped outside 2 nights without being recalled; and on the 5th day lodged in Wae-le. He then became a favourite [with the duke], and advised him to go to Yueh to ask the help of a force.'

2. 'In the 6th month, the duke arrived from Yueh. Ke K'ang-tsze and Mäng Woo-pih met him at Woo-woo. Kwoh Ch'ung drove the duke's carriage; and when he saw the two ministers, he said, "They speak much evil. Let your lordship pay particular attention to them."

'The duke took refreshment at Woo-woo, and Woo-pih presented him with the cup of congratulation. Disliking Kwoh Ch'ung, he said, "How stout he is!" Ke-sun then asked that Woo-pih should be made to drink [a cup of spirits], adding, "In consequence of Loo's being so near its enemies, we were not able to follow your lordship, and so escaped so great a journey; but why should he say that Ch'ung has got fat?" "Can one who eats many of his words," said the duke, "escape getting fat?" They drank [in this way] without any pleasure, and enmity now commenced between the duke and his great officers."

## Twenty-sixth year.

左傳曰：二十六年夏五月，叔孫舒帥師會越畢如后庸，宋樂茂納衛侯，文子欲納之，懿子曰：「君愾而虐，少待之，必毒於民，乃睦於子矣。」師侵外州，大獲出禦之，大敗掘犛師，定子之墓，焚之於平莊之上。文子使王孫齊私於皇如曰：「子將大滅衛乎？」抑納君而已乎？皇如曰：「寡君之命無他，納衛君而巳。」文子致衆而問焉，曰：「君以蠻夷伐國，國勿納。」彌牟亡而有

益請自北門出。衆曰：勿出。重賂越人，申開守陴，而納公。公不敢入。師還，立悼公。南氏相之，以城鉏與越人。公曰：期則爲此。令苟有怨於夫人者，報之。司徒期聘於越，公攻而奪之幣。期告王，王命取之。期以衆取之，公怒，殺期之甥之爲犬子者，遂卒於越。

宋景公無子，取公孫周之子得，與啟，畜諸公宮。未有立焉。於是皇緩爲右師，皇非我爲大司馬，皇懷爲司徒，靈不緩爲左師，樂茂爲司城，樂朱鉏爲大司寇，六卿三族降聽政。因大尹以達，大尹常不告，而以其欲稱君命以令國人惡之。司城欲去大尹，左師曰：縱之使盈其罪，重而無基，能無敝乎？冬十月，公游於空澤，辛巳，卒於連中。大尹與空澤之士千甲，奉公自空桐入，如沃宮，使召六子，曰：聞下有師，君請六子畫。六子至，以甲劫之，曰：君有疾病，請二三子盟，乃盟於少寢之庭，曰：無爲公室不利。大尹立啟，奉喪殯於犬宮。三日，而後國人知之。司城茂使宣言於國曰：大尹惑蠱其君，而專其利，今君無疾而死，死又匿之，是無他矣。大尹之罪也。得夢啟北首而寢於廬門之外，已爲烏而集於其上，味加於南門，尾加於桐門，曰：余夢美，必立。大尹謀曰：我不在盟，無乃逐我，復盟之乎？使祝爲載書，六子在唐孟，將盟之，祝襄以載書告皇非我，皇非我因子潞，門尹得，左師謀曰：民與我，逐之乎？皆歸授甲，使徇於國曰：大尹惑蠱其君，以陵虐公室，與我者救君者也。衆曰：與之。大尹徇曰：戴氏，皇氏，將不利公室，與我者無憂不富。衆曰：無別。戴氏，皇氏，欲伐公，樂得曰：不可，彼以陵公有罪，我伐公，則甚焉。使國人施於大尹。大尹奉啟以奔楚，乃立得。司城爲上卿，盟曰：三族共政，無相害也。

衛出公自城鉏，使以弓問子贛，且曰：吾其入乎？子贛稽首受弓，對曰：臣不識也。私於使者曰：昔成公孫於陳，甯武子、孫莊子爲宛濮之盟，而君入，獻公孫於齊。子鮮、子展爲夷儀之盟，而君入。今君再在孫矣，內不聞獻之親，外不聞成之卿，則賜不識所由入也。詩曰：無競惟人，四方其順之。若得其人，四方以爲主，而國於何有？

XXVI.1. 'In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in summer, in the 5th month, Shuh-sun Shoo, at the head of a force, joined Kaou Joo and How Yung of Yueh, and Yoh Fei of Sung, in an expedition to restore the marquis of Wei. Wán-tsze wished to receive him; but E-tsze said to him, "The ruler is obstinate and oppressive. Wait a little. He is sure to vent his poison on the people, who will consequently be of one mind with you." [In a little], the [invading] army made an incursion on Wae-chow, [on behalf of the marquis of] Wei, and obtained great spoil; and the troops which went forth to resist them were greatly defeated. [On this, the marquis] dug up the grave of Ting-tsze, superintendent of the markets, and burned his body on the top of P'ing-chwang. Wán-tsze sent Wang-sun Ts'e privately to ask Kaou Joo whether he meant utterly to extinguish Wei, or simply to restore the marquis. Kaou Joo said that his ruler's orders to him were simply that he should restore the ruler; and on this Wán-tsze assembled the people, and put the thing to them, saying, "The ruler has now attacked the city with those wild people of the south and east, till it is nearly destroyed. Let us receive him back." They said, "Don't receive him." He went on, "It will be a benefit to you if I go away. Allow me to go out at the north gate." "You shall not go out," all urged. They then sent great bribes to the officers of Yueh, threw open the gates, manned the parapets, and [offered] to receive the duke. He, however, did not venture to enter the city; and, the armies withdrawing, the people of Wei raised duke Taou to the marquise. Nan-she (*I. q.* Wán-tsze) acted as minister to him, and made over Shing-ts'oo to Yueh. The [expelled] duke said, "This is K'e's doing;" and he told all [the ladies] who had any quarrel with his wife (K'e's sister) to vent their spite on her. K'e having been sent on a complimentary mission to Yueh, the duke attacked him, and carried off his offerings. K'e laid the matter before the king, who ordered him to retake the things, which, with the assistance of a large body of men, he did. The duke was angry, put to death the son of K'e's sister whom he had declared his successor, and afterwards died in Yueh.'

2. 'Duke King of Sung had no son, but took Tih and K'e, the sons of Kung-sun Chow, and brought them up in his palace, without appointing either of them, however, to be his successor. At this time Hwang Hwan was master of the Right; Hwang Fei-go, grand marshal; Hwang Hwae, minister of Instruction; Ling Puh-hwan, master of the Left; Yoh Fei, minister of Works; and Yoh Choo-ts'oo, grand-minister of Crime. These 6 ministers belonging to three clans conducted the government with harmony. They should have communicated with the duke through Ta-yin; but that minister constantly kept back their representations, and gave them commands according to his pleasure, pretending that they were from the duke. The people hated him, and the minister of Works wanted to take him off; but the master of the Left said, "Let him alone, till he fill up the measure of his iniquity. When he is like a heavy vessel without any foundation, is it possible he should not be overthrown?"

'In winter, in the 10th month, the duke was taking relaxation by the marsh of K'ung; and on Sin-sze, he died in Lēn-chung. Ta-yin raised 1000 men-at-arms from the soldiers near the marsh, and conveyed the duke's [body] from K'ung-t'ung to the capital. Having gone with it to the Yuh palace, he sent to call the six ministers, saying there was a report that there were enemies in the State, and that the ruler wished them to frame measures for the emergency. When they arrived, he made the men-at-arms seize them, and said to them, "The ruler is very ill, and asks you to make a covenant;" and accordingly they covenanted in the courtyard of the small chamber, that they would do nothing disadvantageous to the ducal House. Ta-yin then declared K'e to be the successor to the State, bore the coffin to the ancestral temple, and set it forth there; but it was not till the 3d day that the thing was known in the city. Fei, the minister of Works, spread it abroad through the city, that Ta-yin had deceived the ruler and sought to monopolize all gain to himself; that the duke had now died without any illness; that Ta-yin had concealed his death; and that things could not be accounted for on any other ground but the crime of Ta-yin.

'Tih dreamt that K'e was lying outside the Loo gate with his head to the north, and that he himself was a bird which was settled upon him. His beak reached to the south gate, and his tail to the T'ung gate. "I have dreamt," said he, "a beautiful dream. I shall succeed to the State." Ta-yin then considered that, as he was not in the covenant, and they might drive him out, he had better impose a second covenant on the ministers; and he therefore ordered the priest to prepare the writings. The ministers were then in T'ang-yu; and just as the time for the covenant was at hand, the priest S'ang told Hwang Fei-go of the writing, Fei-go consulted with Tsze-loo, Tih the overseer of the gates, and the master of the Left, whether they could not get the people to drive him out for them. They then returned to their houses, and gave out their armour, sending notice round the city to this effect, "Ta-yin keeps the ruler in a State of delusion, and insolently oppresses the ducal House. Those who side with us will be saviours of the ruler." The multitude responded, "Let us side with them." Ta-yin, [on his part], sent round a notice, saying, "The clans of Tae and Hwang (The Yoh were descended from duke Tae) wish to injure the ducal House. Those who side with me need have no trouble about not becoming rich. The multitude said, "It is not different [from a ducal notice]."

'Tae-she and Hwang-she wished to attack the duke, but Yoh Tih said, "No. He is a criminal because of his violent proceeding with the duke; but if we attack the duke, our conduct will be more violent than his." They then made the people hold Ta-yin as the offender, and that officer fled to Ts'oo, taking K'e with him. They then raised Tih to be duke, with the minister of Works as chief minister. They made a covenant that the members of their three clans should all share in the government and not injure one another.'

3. 'Duke Ch'uh of Wei sent a messenger with a bow from Shing-ts'oo to Tsze-kung, to



ask him whether he would re-enter Wei again. Tsze-kung bowed his head to the ground, received the bow, and replied, "I do not know." [Afterwards], he said privately to the messenger, "Formerly, duke Ch'ing withdrew to Ch'in (V. xxviii. 7); but, through the covenant of Yuen-puh, brought about by Ning Woo-tze and Sun Chwang-tze, he entered again. Duke H'een withdrew to Ts'e (IX. xiv. 4); but through the covenant of E-e, brought about by Tsze-s'een and Tsze-chen, he entered again (IX. xxvi. 3). Your ruler has now twice withdrawn from his

State. I have not heard of his having relatives like those of H'een, or ministers like those of Ch'ing;—I do not know by what means he is to re-enter. It is said in the ode (She, IV. i. Pt. i. ode IV. 3),

"Nothing gives strength like the employment of right men;  
All throughout the State obey them."

If he [only] had the men, and the four quarters of the State regarded him as their lord, what difficulty would there be with the capital?"

### Twenty-seventh year.

左傳曰：二十七年春，越子使后庸來聘，且言邾田。封於駘上。二月，盟於平陽。三子皆從。康子病之，言及子贛曰：「若在此，吾不及此。」武伯曰：「然何不召？」曰：「固將召之。」文子曰：「他日請念。」  
夏四月己亥，季康子卒，公弔焉，降禮。  
晉荀瑤帥師伐鄭，次於桐丘。鄭駟弘請救於齊。齊師將興，陳成子屬孤子，三日朝，設乘車兩馬，繫五邑焉。召顏涿聚之子晉曰：「隰之役，而父死焉，以國之多難，未及恤也。今君命汝以是邑也，服車而朝，毋廢前勞。」乃救鄭。及留舒，違穀七里，穀人不知及濮，雨不涉。子思曰：「大國在敝邑之宇下，是以告急。今師不行，恐無及也。」成子衣製杖戈，立於阪上，馬不出者，助之鞭之。知伯聞之，乃還曰：「我卜伐鄭，不卜敵齊，使謂成子曰：『大夫陳子，陳之自出，陳之不祀，鄭之罪也。故寡君使瑤察陳東焉。』謂大夫其恤陳乎？若利本之顛，瑤何有焉？」成子怒曰：「多陵人者皆不在。知伯其能久乎？」中行文子告成子曰：「有自晉師告寅者，將為輕車千乘，以厭齊師之門，則可盡也。」成子曰：「寡君命恆亡，無及寡，無畏衆，雖過千乘，敢辟之乎？」將以子之命告寡君。文子曰：「吾乃今知所以亡。君子之謀也，始衷終皆舉之，而後入焉。今我三不知而入之，不亦難乎？」  
公患三桓之侈也，欲以諸侯去之。三桓亦患公之妄也，故君臣多間。公游於陵阪，遇孟武伯於孟氏之衢，曰：「請有間於子，余及死乎？」對曰：「臣無由知之。」三問卒辭不對。公欲以越伐魯而去三桓。秋八月甲戌，公如公孫有陘氏。因孫於邾，乃遂如越。國人施公孫有山氏。

XXVII. 1. In the [duke's] 27th year, in spring, the viscount of Yueh sent How Yung on a complimentary mission to Loo, and to speak about the lands of Choo, that the boundary between it and Loo should be T'ae-shang. In the 2d month, a covenant was made at Ping-yang, in which the 3 ministers all followed the envoy. K'ang-tze was vexed about this, and spoke about Tsze-kung, saying, "If he had been here, I should not have come to this." "Why then did you not call him?" asked Woo-pih. "I was indeed going to call him," was the reply. Wän-tze (Shuh-sua) said, "Pray, think of it another time."

2. 'In summer, in the 4th month, on Ke-hae, Ke K'ang-tze died. The duke went to offer his condolences; but his ceremonies were not what the occasion required.'

3. 'Seun Yaou of Tsin led a force against Ch'ing, and halted at Tung-k'ew, while in the meantime Sze Hwang of Ch'ing went to beg assistance from Ts'e. When the army of Ts'e was being raised, Ch'in Ch'ing-tze assembled the sons of officers who had died in battle for the State, and presented them for 3 days in the court, giving also to each a carriage with two horses, and assigning to him 5 cities (=hamlets). He called to him Tsin, the son of Yen Choh-tseu, and said to him, "In the action at Seih (The Le-k'ew of XXIII. 2), your father died. In consequence of the many troubles of the State we were not able to think of you before. But now the ruler confers on you these cities, and to appear at court with these robes and this carriage. Do not make void the service of your father."

'After this [Ch'ing-tze] proceeded to the relief of Ch'ing. When he arrived at L'ew-shoo, and was [only] 7 *li* from Kuh, the people of that place were not aware of his approach. When he got to the Puh, it had rained so that they could not cross. Tsze-sze said, "[The troops of] the great State are quite close to our poor capital, and therefore we sent to tell you of our distress. But now your army does not go on, and I am afraid it will not be in time." Ch'ing-tze having on a [rain-] cloak, and leaning on a spear, stood upon the bank, and now helped forward, now whipt on, the horses which were unwilling to proceed. When Che Pih heard of this, he withdrew, saying, "I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Ch'ing, and not about fighting with Ts'e." [At the same time] he sent a message to Ch'ing-tze, saying, "You Sir, are a son of Ch'in, sprung from the House of Ch'in. That Ch'in has lost its sacrifices (Having been extinguished by Ts'oo; see XVII. 4) was owing to the crime of Ch'ing. My ruler therefore sent me to examine into the justice of [the fate of] Ch'in, thinking that, possibly, you would have a regard for Ch'in. If you consider that the overthrow of your root is an advantage to you, what is it to me?" Ch'ing-tze, in a rage, said, "All who have heaped insults on others have [soon] passed away;—can Che Pih continue long?"

'Chung-häng Wän-tze (A refugee in Ts'e) told Ch'ing-tze, saying, "One from the army of Tsin informed me that they were going with 1000 light chariots to attack the gate of the army of Ts'e, which might thus be entirely destroyed." Ch'ing-tze replied, "My ruler charged me that

I should not fall on a small force, nor fear a large one. Though they come with more than 1000 chariots, I should not avoid them. I will inform my ruler of your communication." Wän-tze said, "Now I know the [folly] of my leaving Tsin. A superior man, in forming his plans, considers every thing,—the beginning, the middle, and the end,—and then he enters on his course. But now I took mine, without knowing any one of these;—is it not hard?"

4. 'The duke was distressed and annoyed by the arrogance of the three Hwans, and wished for the help of the other princes to take them off. The three Hwans were in like manner distressed and annoyed by the rudeness of the duke, and thus there arose many differences between him and them. The duke had been rambling in Ling-fan, and met Mäng Woo-pih in the street of Mäng-she. "Let me ask you," said he to him, "if I shall [be permitted to] die [a natural death]." Woo-pih replied that he had no means of knowing. Thrice the duke put the question, till the minister declined to give any answer. The duke then wished, with the help of Yueh, to attack Loo, and take off the three Hwans. In autumn, in the 8th month, he went to Kung-sun Y'ew-hing's, and thence he withdrew to Choo, from which he went on to Yueh. The people attributed the blame of this to Kung-sun Y'ew-shan (I. q. Y'ew-hing).'

[With this year ended the rule and life of duke Gae. Tso-she does not mention his death, but we may conclude from the above narrative that it took place in Yueh. Considering the saying of Tsze-kung which Tso-she has given under XVI. 4, there can be no doubt that he believed that the duke did not die in Loo. Sze Ma Ts'een, however, in his History of Loo (史記, 三十三), says that "the people of the State brought him back from Yueh, and he died in the house of Y'ew-shan-she." This account is adopted in the T'ung k'een Kang-muh (通鑑綱目) of Choo He; but it appears to me more than doubtful. However, there is no doubt that duke Gae died in this year, B.C. 467.

It may be well to give here a list of the succeeding marquises of Loo.

Gae was succeeded by his son Ning (寧), known as duke Taou (悼), B.C. 466—480.

Taou was succeeded by his son K'ea (嘉), known as duke Yuen (元公), B.C. 429—409.

Yuen was succeeded by his son H'een (顯), known as duke Muh (穆公), B.C. 408—376.

Muh was succeeded by his son Fun (奮), known as duke Kung (共公), B.C. 375—353.

Kung was succeeded by his son Shun (屯), known as duke K'ang (康公), B.C. 353—343.

K'ang was succeeded by his son Yen (偃), known as duke King (景公), B.C. 342—315.

King was succeeded by his son Shuh (叔), known as duke P'ing (平公), B.C. 314—293.

P'ing was succeeded by his son K'ea (賈), known as duke W'an (文公), B.C. 292—270.

W'an was succeeded by his son Ch'ow (讐), known as duke K'ing (頃公), B.C. 269—248.

In B.C. 248 Loo was extinguished by king K'au-l'eh of Ts'oo, and duke K'ing reduced to the position of a private man. Thus from the duke of Chow to duke K'ing there had been thirty-four marquises in Loo, embracing a period of 874 years. The history of the State, however, after duke Gae is almost a blank.]

After the above year, there is a blank in Tso-she's chronicles, and he gives only one other narrative under the 4th year of duke Taou.

## Fourth year.

左傳曰：悼之四年，晉荀  
瑤帥師圍鄭，未至，鄭駟  
弘曰：知伯愎而好勝，早  
下之，則可行也。乃先保  
南里以待之。知伯入南  
里，門於桔柣之門。鄭人  
俘鄆魁壘，賂之以知政。  
閉其口而死。將門，知伯  
謂趙孟入之，對曰：主在  
此，知伯曰：惡而無勇，何  
以為子？對曰：以能忍恥，  
庶無害趙宗乎？知伯不  
悛。趙襄子由是甚知伯，  
遂襲之。知伯貪而愎，故  
韓、魏反而襲之。

悼公

'This year, Seun Yaou of Tsin led a force to lay siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing. Before he arrived, Sze Hwáng of that State said, "Che Pih is obstinate, and fond of victory. If we tender our submission early, he will take his departure." He therefore in the first place put Nan-le (A place outside the walls) in a state of defence, and waited for the approach of Yaou. He entered Nan-le, and attacked the Keih-t'ieh gate. On the side of Ch'ing they made prisoner He Kwei-luy, and tried to bribe him by offering him a share in the government. He kept his mouth shut, however, and submitted to death.

"Che Pih said to Chaou-mäng, "Do you enter the city;" but that minister replied, "You are here yourself; [do you enter it]." "Ugly and without courage as you are, how were you made chief of the Chaou?" said Yaou. "As I am able," rejoined Chaou-mäng, "to submit to such a disgrace [from you], perhaps I shall not cause any injury to the House of Chaou." Che Pih made no alteration in his conduct; and from this time he was an object of hatred to Chaou S'ang-tsze, and the issue was his ruin. Che Pih was greedy and self-willed, so that the

chiefs of the Han and Wei revolted from him, and [joined in] his destruction.'

[Why Tso-she ended his narratives here it is impossible to say. From the last sentence in the above relation, it is clear he could have continued them for at least ten years more. Too Yu says, 'According to the Historical Records, in the 4th year of duke E (懿公) of Tsin, and the 14th year of duke Taou of Loo, Che Pih led [the chiefs of] Han and Wei to lay siege to Chaou S'ang-tsze in Tsin-yang. There they turned against him, laid their plans with Chaou-she, and put Che Pih to death beneath the walls of Tsin-yang;—27 years after the close of the Ch'un Ts'ew.'

On the extinction of the Che or Seun family, there remained in Tsin only the three great families of Chaou, Wei, and Han, by which Tsin was ultimately dismembered. In B.C. 402, instead of the great State of Tsin we have the three marquises of Wei, Chaou, and Han, though the descendants of K'ang-shuh continued to have nominal existence as marquises of Tsin for some years longer.]

# INDEXES.

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 Kan Ching-sze, messenger of Ch'in, X. viii. 4.  
 Kan-how, a city of Ts'in, X. xxviii. 2; xxix. 1, 2; xxx. 1; xxxi. 1, 4; xxxii. 1, 5: XI. i. 2.  
 Kan-k'e, a place in Ts'oo (near Shing-foo), X. xiii. 2.  
 Kan-she, a place in Ts'e, III. ix. 5.  
 K'ang, viscount of Choo, IX. xvii. 1.  
 K'ang-yin, the duke Ch'ing's wife, IX. ii. 4.  
 Kang-yn, viscount of Keu, X. xxiii. 6.  
 Kaou, a small State, V. xx. 2.

Kaou, a place taken by Loo from Sung, I. x. 4: II. ii. 4.  
 Kaou, an officer of Ts'e, IV. ii. 6.  
 Kaou Chang, an officer of Ts'e, X. xxix. 1; xxxii. 4: XII. vi. 4.  
 Kaou Che, an officer of Ts'e, IX. xxix. 5.  
 Kaou Fah, an officer of Ts'e, X. xix. 4.  
 K'au-foo, marquis of Ts'ae, I. viii. 4.  
 Kaou He, an officer of Ts'e, III. xxii. 5.  
 Kaou How, an officer of Ts'e, IX. xvii. 4; xix. 11.  
 Kaou Woo-k'ew, an officer of Ts'e, VIII. xv. 10; xvii. 5.  
 Kaou Woo-p'ei, an officer of Ts'e, XII. xv. 2.  
 Kaou Yen, an officer of Ts'e, X. xii. 1.  
 Kaou-y'ew, a place in Ch'ing, XI. iv. 4.  
 Ke, the State of, I. ii. 5, 6, 7; vii. 1: II. v. 2; vi. 2, 6; viii. 6; ix. 1; xiii. 1; xvii. 1: III. i. 8; iii. 4; iv. 2, 4, 5; xii. 1.  
 Ke, a place in Ts'in, V. xxxiii. 8.  
 Ke, a place in Loo, III. ix. 2.  
 Ke, heir of Ts'au, III. xxiv. 8.  
 Ke, an officer of Loo, IV. i. 5.  
 K'e, the State of, I. iv. 1: II. ii. 5, 7; xii. 2: III. xxv. 4; xxvii. 1, 4, 6; xxix. 4: V. v. 2; xxiii. 4; xxvii. 1, 4; xxviii. 13; xxxi. 7: VI. xii. 2: VII. xviii. 2: VIII. iv. 3; v. 1, 7; vii. 5; viii. 8; ix. 1, 2; xviii. 8: IX. i. 3; v. 7; vi. 1, 3; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 1, 3; xvi. 2; xviii. 4; xx. 2; xxii. 4; xxiii. 2, 4; xxiv. 8; xxv. 3; xxix. 5. xxx. 9: X. vi. 1, 4; xi. 7; xiii. 4; xxiv. 5, 7; xxvi. 4; xxxii. 4: XI. iv. 5, 10: XII. viii. 6; ix. 1.  
 Ke Ch'ing-foo, an officer of Ts'in, VI. ix. 7.  
 Ke-foo, a place in Ts'oo, X. xxiii. 7.  
 Ke-sun E-joo, an officer of Loo, X. x. 3; xi. 7; xiii. 7; xiv. 1; xvi. 6; xxxi. 2: XI. v. 4.  
 Ke-sun H'ang-foo, grand-son of Ke Y'ew of Loo, VI. vi. 2, 3; xii. 8; xv. 1, 9; xvi. 1; xviii. 8: VII. i. 4; x. 15: VIII. ii. 3; vi. 10; ix. 5; xi. 3; xvi. 12, 14: IX. v. 13.  
 Ke-sun Suh, son of H'ang-foo of Loo, IX. vi. 7; vii. 5; viii. 4; ix. 2; xii. 2; xiv. 1, 7; xv. 4; xix. 6: X. ii. 4; vi. 3; vii. 7.  
 Ke-sun Sze, an officer of Loo, XI. vi. 4, 7; viii. 13; xii. 5: XII. ii. 1; iii. 4, 6.  
 Ke-tsih, a place in Ts'in, IX. iii. 5.  
 Ke-yang, a place taken from Choo by Loo, XII. iii. 4.  
 K'ea, earl of Ch'ing, X. xii. 2.  
 K'ea, viscount of Shin, XI. iv. 3.  
 K'ea Foo, a great officer of Chow, II. viii. 2; xv. 1.  
 K'ea, a small State of wild people in the east, V. xxix. 1, 5; xxx. 6.  
 K'eah, a tribe of Red Teih, VII. xvi. 1.  
 K'eah-kuh, a place unknown, XI. x. 2, 3.  
 K'iang, family name of the house of Ts'e, and of K'e, II. iii. 6, 8; ix. 1, xviii. 1:—the lady, III. ii. 4; iv. 1; v. 2; vii. 1, 4; xv. 2; xix. 4; xx. 1; xxi. 3; xxiv. 5: IV. ii. 4: V. i. 5, 10; xi. 2; xvii. 3: VI. iv. 2; ix. 2, 6; xvi. 4; xviii. 7: VII. i. 3: VIII. xiv. 5: IX. ii. 3; ix. 3.  
 K'iang, a small State in pres. Ho-nan, V. ii. 4; iii. 5; iv. 5: VI. iii. 4, 7; iv. 4.  
 K'iang, Jung, western barbarians, V. xxxiii. 3. See *Jung*.  
 K'eaou, a city in the royal domain, X. xxiii. 4.  
 K'eaou-kang, a place unknown, VIII. xii. 3.  
 K'eh, a son of duke Hwan of Loo, III. xix. 3.  
 K'eh, viscount of T'ang, XII. iv. 9.  
 K'een, earl of Ch'ing, VIII. iv. 2.  
 K'een, duke of Ch'ing, X. xii. 5.  
 K'een, E-k'ew, an officer of Ch'in, IX. xxiv. 11.

K'ien, younger brother of the earl of Ts'in, X. i. 4.  
 K'ieu, viscount of Ts'oo, X. xi. 2; xiii. 2.  
 K'een, a place in Wei, XI. xiv. 7.  
 Keih, a small State attached to Loo, I. ii. 3.  
 Keih, a city of Ts'e, VII. iii. 9.  
 Keih-léang, a place belonging to Tsin, IX. xvi. 2.  
 K'eh Che, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xvii. 13.  
 K'eh Ch'ow, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xi. 2; xvi. 14; xvii. 13.  
 K'eh E, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xiii. 1; xvii. 13.  
 K'eh Keuh, an officer of Tsin, VI. xi. 2; xv. 7; VII. ix. 12.  
 K'eh K'ih an officer of Tsin, VIII. ii. 3; iii. 11.  
 K'eh Yuen great officer of Ts'oo, X. xxvii. 3.  
 Keoh-tseu viscount of Choo, VIII. xvii. 12.  
 Keu, the State of, I. ii. 2, 7; iv. 1; viii. 8; II. xii. 2; III. xix. 4; xx. 1; xxvii. 5; IV. ii. 5; V. i. 9; xxv. 7; xxvi. 1; xxviii. 8, 15; VI. vii. 9, 10; viii. 6; xviii. 9; VII. iv. 1; xi. 1; xiii. 1; VIII. vii. 5; viii. 3; ix. 2, 10; xiv. 1; xvii. 5; IX. i. 2; iii. 5; v. 7; vi. 5; vii. 9; viii. 6; ix. 5; x. 1, 6, 7; xi. 4, 8; xii. 1; xiv. 1, 3, 5, 7; xvi. 2; xviii. 4; xx. 1, 2; xxi. 8; xxii. 4; xxiii. 13; xxiv. 5, 8; xxv. 3; xxix. 5; xxx. 9; xxxi. 7; X. i. 7, 8; v. 4, 6; x. 3; xiii. 4; xiv. 5; xix. 4; xxii. 1; xxiii. 6; xxvi. 4; xxxii. 4; XI. iv. 2; XII. xiv. 8.  
 Keu, viscount of Ts'oo, X. xxvi. 6.  
 K'eu-choo, a place in Sung, XI. xv. 7.  
 K'eu Pih-k'ew, the king's sub-administrator, II. iv. 2.  
 K'eu-seu, viscount of Choo, VI. xiii. 8.  
 K'eu-tsih, duke Muh's son of Ch'ing, VIII. iii. 7.  
 K'eu-tsih, ruler of Keu, X. i. 7; xiv. 5.  
 K'eu-tsih marquis of Tsin, X. xxx. 2.  
 Keuh-mih, a place in Ts'oo, VI. x. 7.  
 Keuh-yin, a place unknown, X. xi. 7.  
 K'eh-puh, a place in Wei, XI. viii. 14.  
 K'eh-che, a place in Loo, II. xii. 2.  
 K'eh Hwan, an officer of Ts'oo, V. iv. 3.  
 K'eh K'ien, an officer of Ts'oo, (Tsze-muh), XI. xxv. 8; xxvii. 2.  
 K'eh Shin, great officer of Ts'oo, X. v. 2.  
 K'eh-keih, a city of Sung, X. xxv. 8.  
 K'eh-yuh, a city of Tsin, IX. xxiii. 7.  
 Keuen, a place in Wei, III. xiv. 4; xv. 1; xix. 3.  
 K'eu, viscount of L'ew, XI. iv. 9.  
 Keun, a small State, in pres. Hoo-pih, VI. xi. 1.  
 Keun, ruler of Ts'oo, VI. i. 10.  
 Keun, viscount of Ts'oo, X. i. 11.  
 K'ew, son of duke He of Ts'e, III. ix. 3, 6.  
 K'ew-muh, a great officer of Sung, III. xii. 3.  
 K'ih, viscount of Choo, III. xvi. 5.  
 Kin-mow, a State of eastern barbarians, VII. ix. 5.  
 King, the original name of the State of Ts'oo, III. x. 5; xiv. 3; xvi. 3; xxiii. 5; xxviii. 3.  
 King, the king, X. xxii. 4, 5.  
 King, duke of Ts'in, X. vi. 2.  
 King, duke of Ts'e, XII. v. 6.  
 King, duke of Ts'ae, IX. xxx. 8.  
 K'ing, duke of Ts'e, VIII. ix. 9.  
 K'ing, duke of T'ang, XII. iv. 11.  
 K'ing, duke of Ts'in, X. xxx. 3.  
 K'ing, a great officer of Keu, III. xxvii. 5; V. xxv. 7.  
 K'ing, viscount of Keu, XII. xiv. 8.  
 K'ing-foo, son of duke Hwan of Loo, III. ii. 2; xxxii. 6.  
 K'ing Fung, an officer of Ts'e, IX. xxvii. 1; xxviii. 6; X. iv. 5.

K'ing Hoo, a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxiii. 5.  
 K'ing Yin a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxiii. 5.  
 Ko, a place in Ts'e, pres. Tung-o, III. xiii. 4; IX. xix. 15.  
 Ko-ling, a place in the west of Ch'ing, VIII. xvii. 3.  
 Koh, a small State, pres. Ning-ling, II. xv. 8.  
 K'oh Water, in the south of Loo, IX. xix. 5; XII. ii. 1.  
 Koh-loo, the chief of an eastern wild tribe, V. xxix. 1, 5.  
 Koo, duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 6.  
 Koo, ruler of Ts'ae, IX. xxx. 2.  
 Koo-yung, earl of K'e, IX. vi. 1.  
 K'ow, the son of duke Hwan of Loo, I. v. 7.  
 Kow-yih, a place in Choo, XII. ii. 2; xiv. 2.  
 Kuh, a small State, pres. Kuh-shing, II. vii. 2.  
 Kuh, a place in Ts'e, pres. Tung-o, III. vii. 4; xxiii. 6; V. xxvi. 8; VI. xviii. 3, 5; VII. xiv. 6; VIII. v. 3; IX. xix. 9.  
 Kuh, earl of S'eh, X. xxxi. 3.  
 Kuh-k'ew, a place in Sung, II. xii. 3.  
 Kung, duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 8; IX. xxx. 3.  
 Kung, duke of Ts'au, VI. ix. 14.  
 K'ung Foo, a great officer of Sung, II. ii. 1.  
 K'ung Hwan, an officer of Ch'in, IX. xxvii. 2; X. viii. 9.  
 Kung Ke, eldest daughter of duke Ch'ing of Loo, IX. xxx. 3, 6.  
 K'ung K'ew, Confucius, XII. xvi. 3.  
 Kung-mang K'ow, an officer of Wei, XI. xii. 4; xiii. 4; xiv. 12; XII. x. 8; xv. 8.  
 Kung-shuh Shoo, a noble of Wei, XI. xiv. 1.  
 Kung-sun Ch'ae, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xiv. 1, 3, 7.  
 Kung-sun Cheh, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. x. 4, 8.  
 Kung-sun Gaou, son of K'ing-foo of Loo, V. xv. 4; VI. i. 9, 11; ii. 4; v. 4; vii. 10; viii. 6; xiv. 8; xv. 4.  
 Kung-sun H'ea, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xxv. 9.  
 Kung-sun Hih, a great officer of Ch'ing, X. ii. 3.  
 Kung-sun Hoh, an officer of Ts'ae, XII. iv. 5.  
 Kung-sun Kwuy, an officer of Ts'au, X. xv. 2.  
 Kung-sun Kwei-foo, son of Suy of Loo, VII. x. 10, 13, 16; xi. 3; xiv. 6; xv. 1; xviii. 6, 8.  
 Kung-sun Kwei-sang, an officer of Ts'ae, IX. xxvii. 2; X. i. 2.  
 Kung-sun L'eh, an officer of Ts'ae, XII. iii. 7.  
 Kung-sun Ning, a minister of Ch'in (Chuen, VII. ix. 13; x. 8), VII. xi. 7.  
 Kung-sun P'eaou, an officer of Wei, IX. i. 7.  
 Kung-sun Sang, an officer of Ts'ae, XI. iv. 3; XII. iv. 5.  
 Kung-sun Shay-che, (Tsze-chen), an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xi. 3; xxv. 4.  
 Kung-sun Shin, an officer of Ts'ae, XII. iv. 2.  
 Kung-sun Show, an officer of Sung, VIII. viii. 5.  
 Kung-sun T'ao-jin, an officer of Ch'in, XI. xiv. 3.  
 Kung-sun Tsze, an officer of Loo, V. iv. 8; v. 3; xvi. 4.  
 Kung-sun T'wan, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xxix. 5.  
 Kung Tah, a minister of Wei, (Chuen, VII. xii. 7; xiii. 4), VII. xiv. 1.  
 Kung-tze Chung, an officer of Ts'oo, IX. v. 10; vii. 8; viii. 8; x. 4, 10; xii. 5; xiv. 6.  
 Kung-tze E-k'wei, a noble of Keu, X. xiv. 6.  
 Kung-tze Fah (Tsze-kwoh) of Ch'ing, IX. v. 2; x. 8.  
 Kung-tze Fei (Tsze-sze) of Ch'ing, IX. x. 8.  
 Kung-tze He, an officer of Ch'ing, VIII. xiv. 4; xvi. 3.  
 Kung-tze Jin-foo, an officer of Ts'oo, IX. i. 4; v. 6.

Kung-tze K'e-tsih, an officer of Ts'oo, X. xi. 3; xiii. 3.  
 Kung-tze K'ea (Tsze-k'ung) a great officer of Ch'ing, IX. xix. 12.  
 Kung-tze K'eh, an officer of Ts'oo, XI. xiv. 3; XII. x. 11.  
 Kung-tze Kwo, a great officer of Ch'in, X. viii. 7.  
 Kung-tze L'ew, an officer of Ch'in, X. viii. 5.  
 Kung-tze P'e, (Tsze-kan) of Ts'oo, X. i. 12; xiii. 2, 3.  
 Kung-tze Shaou, an officer of Ch'in, X. i. 2; viii. 9.—See *Shaou*.  
 Kung-tze Shin, great officer of Ts'oo, IX. ii. 10;—another, XII. xiii. 4.  
 Kung-tze Show, an officer of Ts'au, VIII. ii. 3.  
 Kung-tze Sze, great officer of Ts'ae, XII. ii. 9.  
 Kung-tze Te, a noble of Sung, XI. x. 9; xi. 1.  
 Kung-tze Ts'ew, an officer of Ch'ing, VIII. xv. 10.  
 Kung-tze Tsih, (Tsze-fan) an officer of Ts'oo, VIII. xvi. 7.  
 Kung-tze Yih-sze, a son of a duke of Loo, I. i. 7.  
 Kung-tze Ying-tse, an officer of Ts'oo, VIII. ii. 9; vi. 9; vii. 5; ix. 10; IX. iii. 1.  
 K'ung Yu, an officer of Wei, XI. iv. 12.  
 K'wae, a great officer of Choo, X. xxvii. 6.  
 Kwae-wae, heir of Wei, XI. xiv. 11; XII. ii. 5; xvi. 1.  
 Kwan, a place in Sung, I. x. 3.  
 Kwan, a place in Sung, V. ii. 4.  
 Kwan, heir of Ch'in, V. vii. 4; viii. 1; xxviii. 12.  
 Kwan, earl of Ch'ing, IX. ii. 4.  
 K'wan, earl of North Yen, X. iii. 7.  
 K'wan, viscount of Hoo, X. xxiii. 7.  
 Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, IX. iii. 5; v. 7, 11; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xxv. 2.  
 Kwang, viscount of Woo, XI. xiv. 6.  
 Kwang, a place in Wei, V. xv. 3.  
 K'wang, king, VII. iii. 3.  
 Kwei, a place in Sung, II. xii. 6.  
 Kwei, the lady Ts'e Kwei of Loo, X. xi. 4, 8.  
 K'wei, a small State subordinate to Ts'oo, V. xxvi. 6.  
 Kwei-choo, marquis of Tsin, V. ix. 5.  
 K'wei-k'ew, a place in Sung, V. ix. 2, 4.  
 Kwei-sang, son of duke Wan of Ch'ing, VII. ii. 1; iv. 3.  
 Kwei-yin, a place in Loo, XI. x. 5.  
 Kwo, earl of K'e, XII. viii. 6.  
 Kwoh, a small State, situation unknown, III. xxiv. 9.  
 Kwoh, a place in Ch'ing, X. i. 2.  
 Kwoh H'ea, an officer of Ts'e, XI. iv. 2; vii. 7; viii. 6; XII. iii. 1; vi. 4.  
 Kwoh Joh, an officer of Ts'e, X. i. 2; xi. 7.  
 Kwoh Kwei-foo, an ambassador of Ts'e, V. xxxiii. 2.  
 Kwoh Shoo, an officer of Ts'e, XII. xi. 1, 4.  
 Kwoh Tso, an ambassador of Ts'e, VII. x. 17; VIII. ii. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 10; xviii. 3.  
 Kwoh Ts'an, an officer of Ch'ing, X. xxxii. 4.

## L

Lae, a small State, in pres. Shan-tung, VII. vii. 2, 3; ix. 4; IX. vi. 8.  
 Lae, a small State within Ts'oo, X. iv. 6.  
 Lan, a city of Choo, X. xxxi. 6.  
 Lan, earl of Ch'ing, VII. iii. 8.  
 Lang, a town of Loo, pres. Yu-t'ae, I. ix. 4; II. iv. 1; x. 4; III. viii. 1; x. 4; xxxi. 1; X. ix. 5.

Le, a subject-state of Ts'oo, V. xv. 6.  
 Le, a place in Loo, V. i. 9.  
 Le, duke of Ch'ing, III. xxi. 4.  
 Le, son of duke Chwang of Ts'ae, IX. xx. 5.  
 Le K'ih, an officer of Tsin, V. ix. 6; x. 3. 5.  
 Le-lae, the chief of E, III. v. 3.  
 Le-seu, a minister of Ke, I. i. 5.  
 Le-shu, a place unknown, VIII. xvii. 10.  
 Léang, a small State, in pres. Shen-se, V. xix. 8.  
 Léang, mount, in Shen-se, VIII. v. 4.  
 Léang-k'ew, a place in Ts'e, pres. Shing-woo, III. xxxii. 2.  
 Léang S'eaou, a minister of Ch'ing, IX. xi. 10; xxvi. 5; xxvii. 2; xxx. 7.  
 Léaou, ruler of Woo, X. xxvii. 2.  
 Leih, a strong city of Ch'ing, II. xv. 9.  
 Leu, viscount of Ts'oo, VII. xviii. 5.  
 Leu, marquis of Ts'ae, X. xiii. 9; xx. 5.  
 Léw, a place near the capital, a principality, IX. xv. 1, 2; X. xiii. 4; xxii. 7, 8; XI. iv. 2, 9, 13.  
 Léw, marquis of Ch'in, XI. viii. 9.  
 Léw-yu, a tribe of Red Teih, VII. xvi. 1.  
 Lin, marquis of Ch'in, III. i. 3.  
 Ling, duke of Ch'in, VII. xii. 1.  
 Ling, duke of Ts'e, IX. xix. 13.  
 Ling, duke of Heu, IX. xxvii. 10.  
 Ling, duke of Ts'ae, X. xiii. 10.  
 Ling, duke of Wei, XII. ii. 7.  
 Ling-hoo, a place in Tsin, VI. vii. 5.  
 Loh-jung, a tribe of the Jung in Ho-nan, VI. viii. 5.  
 Loh-koo, a place in Ts'e, pres. P'ing-yin, IV. i. 4.  
 Loo, the State of, III. xxx. 6.  
 Loo, a State of Red Teih, VII. xv. 3.  
 Loo, earl of Ts'au, VIII. xiii. 4; XI. viii. 5.  
 Low-lin, a place in Seu, V. xv. 12.  
 Luh, a small State, in pres. Luh-gan Chow, VI. v. 6.  
 Luh, a stream flowing into the Tse, II. xviii. 1.  
 Luh-foo, marquis of Ts'e, II. xiv. 6.  
 Luh-hwan, country of the Little Jung, VII. iii. 4; X. xvii. 4.  
 Luh-shang, a place in Sung, V. xxi. 2.  
 Lwan She, an officer of Ts'e, X. x. 2.  
 Lwan Shoo, an officer of Tsin, VIII. vi. 11; viii. 2; ix. 8.  
 Lwan Yin, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xvi. 5; IX. i. 2.  
 Lwan Ying, (Hwae-tse) son of Yin of Tsin, IX. xxi. 4; xxiii. 7, 12.

## M

Ma-ling, a place in Wei, VIII. vii. 5.  
 Mae, son of duke Chwang of Loo, V. xxviii. 2.  
 Mae, ruler of Heu, X. xix. 2.  
 Man-jung, a tribe of Jung in Ho-nan, X. xvi. 2; XII. iv. 6.  
 M'ang, the king, X. xxii. 7, 8, 9.  
 M'ang Tsze, the wife of duke Ch'au of Loo, XII. xii. 2.  
 Maou, a small State,—the earl of, VI. i. 5; ix. 1; VII. xv. 5; X. xxvi. 8.  
 Maou-jung, a tribe of Jung in Shan-se, VIII. i. 6.  
 M'eh, a place in Loo, pres. Sze-shwuy, I. i. 2.  
 Mei, a town of Loo, III. xxviii. 5.  
 Meih, a place belonging to Keu, I. ii. 7.  
 Meih-chow, ruler of Keu, IX. xxxi. 7.

Min, a town of Sung, V. xxiii. 1; xxvi. 7.  
 Min, duke of Loo, IV.—VI. ii. 6.  
 Mow, a small State, pres. Lac-woo, II. xv. 8: V. v. 3.  
 Mow-e, an officer of Keu, X. v. 4.  
 Mow-k'ew, a place in Ts'e, V. xv. 3.  
 Mow-low, a place on the southern border of K'e, I. iv. 1: X. v. 4.  
 Muh, duke of Sung, I. iii. 7.  
 Muh, duke of Heu, V. iv. 7.  
 Muh, duke of Ch'ing, VII. iii. 9.  
 Muh, duke of Wei, VIII. iii. 2.  
 Muh K'ang, duchess of Loo, IX. ix. 4.  
 Mung, a city in Ts'aou, X. xx. 2.

## N

Nan Ke, a king's messenger, I. ix. 1.  
 Nan-le, place in the capital of Sung, X. xxi. 3; xxii. 2.  
 Nang Wa, an officer of Ts'oo, XI. iv. 14.  
 N'eh-pih, a place in Hing, V. i. 2.  
 N'een, younger brother of the marquis of Ts'e, I. vii. 4: II. iii. 9.  
 Neih, Son of the duke of Loo, III. iii. 1.  
 Neih, marquis of Ch'in, X. viii. 2.  
 Neu, an officer of Keu, V. i. 9.  
 Ning, earl of Ch'ing, X. xxviii. 3.  
 Ning, viscount of T'ang, X. xxviii. 5.  
 Ning, baron of Heu, IX. xxvi. 8.  
 Ning Chih, an officer of Wei, IX. i. 2: ii. 5; xvi. 7.  
 Ning-fow, younger brother of the king King, IX. xxx. 4.  
 Ning He, an officer of Wei, IX. xxvi. 1, 7; xxvii. 8.  
 Ning-moo, a place in Loo, V. vii. 4.  
 Ning Suh, (Chwang-tsze) an officer of Wei, V. xxvi. 1.  
 Ning Yu, an officer of Wei, VI. iv. 6.  
 Now, marquis of Tsin, VIII. x. 5.

## P

Pa, a State in pres. Sze-ch'uen, VI. xvi. 6.  
 Pah, a place, the same as T'an, (See VII. iv. 1), XI. iii. 5.  
 Pan, son of duke Chwang of Loo, III. xxxii. 5.  
 Pan, earl of Ts'aou, V. vii. 5.  
 Pan, heir-son of Ts'ae, IX. xxx. 2: X. xi. 2.  
 Pang, a town in Loo, I. viii. 2, 3.  
 P'ang-shing, a place in Sung, VIII. xviii. 5: IX. i. 2.  
 P'ang-ya, a place in Ts'in, VI. ii. 1.  
 Paou, a place in Ch'ing, VI. viii. 5.  
 Paou, marquis of Ch'in, II. v. 1, 4.  
 Paou, duke of Sung, VIII. ii. 5.  
 Paou, viscount of Hoo, XI. xv. 3.  
 Paou, an officer of Loo. See *Shuh-sun P'au*.  
 Pe, a city in Loo, IX. vii. 4: X. xiii. 1: XI. xii. 5.  
 Pe, earl of Ch'ing, VIII. vi. 7.  
 Pe, ruler of S'eh, XI. xiii. 8.  
 P'e, a city in Loo, XII. v. 1.  
 P'e Ch'ing-foo, a great officer of Tsin, V. xi. 1.  
 Pe-go, an officer of Choo, IX. xxiii. 3.  
 P'e-p'oo, a place in Loo, X. xi. 5: XI. xiii. 3; xiv. 14.  
 P'eaou, ruler of Wei, IX. xxvi. 1.  
 P'een, a place in Loo, V. xvii. 3.

Peih, a place in Ch'ing, VII. xii. 3.  
 Peih-yang, a small State, subject to Ts'oo, IX. x. 2.  
 P'ew, marquis of Tsin, X. x. 4.  
 Pih-hang, a place in Ts'e, III. xiii. 1.  
 Pih-keu, a place in Ts'oo, XI. iv. 14.  
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 P'ing, duke of Tsin, X. x. 5.  
 P'ing, duke of Ts'aou, X. xviii. 4.  
 P'ing, duke of K'e, X. xxiv. 7.  
 P'ing-chow, a place in Ts'e, VII. i. 6.  
 P'ing-k'ew, a place in Wei, X. xiii. 4, 5.  
 P'ing-kwoh, ruler of Ch'in, VII. x. 8.  
 P'ing-yang, a city of Loo, VII. viii. 11.  
 Poh, a place in Sung, V. xxi. 7.  
 Poh, the altar of, built in remembrance of the Yin dynasty, XII. iv. 8.  
 Poh-shing a place in Ch'ing, IX. xi. 5.  
 P'oo, a place in Wei, pres. Ch'ang-yuen, II. iii. 2: VIII. ix. 2.  
 Puh, a place in Ch'in, I. iv. 6.  
 P'wan, marquis of Ts'e, VI. xiv. 3.

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 Se-k'ew, a place in Ts'e, VI. xvi. 3.  
 S'ang, king, VI. viii. 3; ix. 4.  
 S'ang, duke of Ts'e, III. ix. 4.  
 S'ang, earl of Ts'aou, V. xxviii. 21: VI. ix. 10.  
 S'ang, duke of Tsin, VI. vi. 5.  
 S'ang, duke of Ch'ing, VIII. iv. 6.  
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 S'eaou-pih, son and successor of duke He of Ts'e, III. ix. 3: V. xvii. 5.  
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 S'een Hwoh, a great officer of Tsin, VII. xiii. 4.  
 S'een M'eh (Sze Pih), an officer of Tsin, VI. vii. 6.  
 S'een Too, an officer of Tsin, VI. ix. 5.  
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 Seu, earl of Ts'aou, X. xviii. 1.  
 Seu-k'eu, a small State, V. xxii. 1: VI. vii. 2.  
 Seu K'ea-foo, a great officer of Tsin, VII. i. 5.  
 Seu T'ung, a great officer of Tsin, VIII. xviii. 1.  
 Seven, the king, VII. xvi. 2.  
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 Seuon, duke of Ts'ae, I. viii. 7.  
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 Seuon, duke of Wei, II. xiii. 2.  
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 S'oun Lin-foo, an officer of Tsin, VII. ix. 8; xii. 3.  
 S'oun Seih, a great officer of Tsin, V. x. 3.  
 S'oun Show, an officer of Tsin, VIII. v. 3.  
 S'oun Yen, an officer of Tsin, IX. xiv. 3; xvi. 7.  
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 S'oun Woo, an officer of Tsin, IX. xxvi. 4: X. i. 6; xv. 5; xvi. 4.  
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 Shaou-ling, a place in Ts'oo, pres. Yen-shing, V. iv. 3: XI. iv. 2.  
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 She, heir of Heu, X. xix. 2.  
 She-lac, a place in Ch'ing, I. xi. 2.  
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 She-shuh Shin, an officer of Wei, X. xxxii. 4.  
 She-shuh Ts'e, an officer of Wei, XII. xi. 7.  
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 Shen-taou, a place in Woo, IX. v. 4.  
 Shen-yuen, a river and city in Wei, IX. xx. 2; xxvi. 5; xxx. 9.  
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 Shih Goh, an officer of Wei, IX. xxvii. 2; xxviii. 2.  
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 Shih Mae, an officer of Wei, IX. xvii. 3; xviii. 2.  
 Shih Man-koo, an officer of Wei, XII. iii. 1.  
 Shih-mün, a place belonging to Ts'e, pres. Ch'ang-ts'ing, I. iii. 6.  
 Shih Shang, king's envoy, XI. xiv. 10.  
 Shin, a small State, pres. Joo-yang, VI. iii. 1: X. iv. 2, 4; v. 8; xxiii. 7: XI. iv. 3.  
 Shin, a small State taken by Ts'oo, X. iv. 2; xi. 2.  
 Shin, viscount of Ts'oo, IX. xiii. 3.  
 Shin, marquis of Ts'ae, VII. xvii. 2;—another, XII. iv. 1.  
 Shin, younger brother of the duke of Sung, XI. x. 12; xi. 1; xiv. 13.  
 Shin How, a great officer of Ch'ing, V. vii. 3.

Shin-ling, a place in Ch'in, VII. xi. 2.  
 Shin-sang, heir of Tsin, V. v. 1.  
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 Shing, viscount of Woo, IX. xii. 4.  
 Shing-hing, a place in Loo, V. xxii. 3.  
 Shing K'ang, the lady K'ang of Loo, VI. xvii. 2.  
 Shing-k'ew, a place in Loo, III. x. 4.  
 Shing-k'wang, a place in Sung, VI. xi. 2.  
 Shing-puh, a place in Wei, III. xxvii. 7: V. xxviii. 5.  
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 Shoo, a river in Loo, III. ix. 7.  
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 Shoo-k'e, ruler of Keu, VI. xviii. 9.  
 Shoo-k'e, a great officer of Choo, IX. xxi. 2.  
 Shoo-k'ew, a small State in pres. Gan-hwuy, IX. xxv. 8.  
 Shoo-l'eaou, a small State in pres. Gan-hwuy, VII. viii. 7.  
 Shoo-yung, a small State in pres. Gan-hwuy, VIII. xvii. 14.  
 Show, earl of Ts'aou, VII. xiv. 2.  
 Show-che, a place in Wei, V. v. 4, 5.  
 Shuh, a place in Loo, VIII. ii. 9, 10.  
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 Shuh of Chae, a minister of the king, III. xxiii. 2.  
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 Shuh Cheh, an officer of Loo, X. xxi. 5.  
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 Shuh E, son of Shuh Yang of Loo, X. xxv. 2; xxix. 3.  
 Shuh-fuh, a king's messenger to Loo, VI. i. 3.  
 Shuh-heih, younger brother of the duke Seuon of Loo, VII. xvii. 7; (also the name of Confucius' father, *Chuen*, IX. xvii. 4).  
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 Shuh Yang, son of Shuh Kung of Loo, X. xxii. 5; xxiii. 2.  
 Sin, a place in Ts'ae, III. x. 5.  
 Sin-chin, baron of Heu, V. iv. 2, 7.  
 Sin-chuh, a place in Wei, VIII. ii. 2.  
 Sin-shing, a city in Ch'ing, V. vi. 2.  
 Sin-shing, a city in Sung, VI. xiv. 4.  
 So, viscount of Choo, III. xxviii. 2.  
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 Sze, baron of Heu, XI. vi. 1.  
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 Sze Fang, an officer of Tsia, VIII. xviii. 13: IX. xii. 3.  
 Sze Hwáng, an officer of Ch'ing, XII. vii. 6.  
 Sze Hwoh, minister of Works of Tsin, VI. ii. 4; ix. 7.  
 Sze Kae, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xviii. 7: IX. viii. 9; xiv. 1, 7; xix. 9, 15.  
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 Sze Szech, an officer of Tsin, VIII. viii. 9, 10; xv. 10.  
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 Ta-loo, a place in Tsin, X. i. 6.  
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 Tah, a place unknown, VI. xiii. 6.  
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 T'an, a small State adjoining to Keu, VII. iv. 1; xvi. 3: VIII. vii. 2; viii. 10: IX. vii. 1: X. xvii. 3.  
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 T'ang, a city of Ts'ae, II. ii. 6.  
 T'ang, a place belonging to Loo, pres. Yu-t'ae, I. ii. 4: II. ii. 8, 9.  
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 Taou, duke of Heu, X. xix. 5.  
 Taou, duke of Ts'au, X. xxviii. 1.  
 Taou, duke of T'ang, X. xxviii. 6.  
 Taou, duke of K'e, XI. iv. 10.  
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 T'au, another place in Loo, IX. xvii. 4.  
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 T'au-k'ew, a place in Wei, pres. Tung-o, II. x. 3.  
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 T'caou-k'ew, a city of Tsin, VIII. xvi. 12: X. xxi. 8.  
 T'ech, a small hill north of Ts'eih in Wei, XII. ii. 6.  
 Teih, wild tribes of the north, III. xxxii. 7: IV. ii. 7: V. viii. 3; x. 2; xiii. 1; xiv. 4; xviii. 4, 6; xx. 5; xxi. 1; xxiv. 2; xxx. 2; xxxi. 8; xxxii. 3, 4; xxxiii. 5, 8: VI. iv. 3; vi. 7; vii. 7; ix. 9; x. 6; xi. 5, 6; xiii. 7: VII. xi. 4: VIII. xii. 3: X. i. 6.  
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 Ting, duke of Wei, VIII. xv. 1.  
 Ting, duke of Ch'ing, X. xxviii. 4.  
 Ting, earl of Szech, XI. xii. 1.  
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 T'o, son of duke Wán of Ch'in, II. vi. 4.  
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 Ts'ang, a city, of Ch'ing, IX. i. 3: XII. vii. 3.  
 Tsang, heir-son, and marquis of Wei, VII. xviii. 1: VIII. xiv. 6.  
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 Tsang-sun Heih, an officer of Loo, IX. xxiii. 11.  
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 Ts'au, a place in Ch'ing, IX. vii. 10.  
 Tse, a river in Loo and Ts'e, III. xviii. 2; xxx. 6.  
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 Ts'e Goh, an officer of Wei, X. i. 2.  
 Ts'e K'ang, duchess of Loo, IX. ii. 7.  
 Ts'ang-kaou-joo, a tribe of Red Teih, VIII. iii. 11.  
 Ts'au an officer of Ts'oo, VI. ix. 12.  
 Ts'eh, ruler of Sung, III. xii. 3.  
 Ts'eh, earl of Ch'ing, V. xxxii. 2.  
 Ts'eh-tsze, a son of duke Wán of Choo, VI. xiv. 7.  
 Ts'ên, a town of Loo, I. ii. 1.  
 Ts'ên-t'oo, a place in Ch'ing, V. xxviii. 8.  
 Tseih, a place in Sung, II. ii. 3.  
 Tseih, a city of Wei, VI. i. 9: VIII. xv. 3: IX. ii. 6; v. 7; xiv. 7; xxvi. 2: XII. ii. 5; iii. 1; xvi. 1.  
 Ts'eih, a city of Choo, surrendered to Loo, IX. xxi. 2: XI. xv. 14.  
 Ts'eu, the tower of, at Lang in Loo, VI. xvi. 5.  
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 Ts'in, a place in Loo, III. xxxi. 5.  
 Tsin-yang, a place in Tsin, XI. xiii. 5.  
 Ts'in-ts'ang, a place in Loo, X. i. 6.  
 Tsing, duke of Ts'au, XI. xiii. 11.  
 Ts'ing, a place in Wei, I. iv. 3.  
 Ts'ing-k'ew, a place in Wei, VII. xii. 6.  
 Tso, heir of Sung, (See *K'ing*), V. i. 6; ii. 6; iii. 7; iv. 1, 3, 6; v. 7; vi. 3; xi. 4; xii. 2; xv. 2, 13; xix. 7; xx. 6; xxi. 2, 4, 6; xxii. 2, 4; xxiii. 3; xxv. 5; xxvi. 5—8; xxvii. 5; xxviii. 5, 6, 7, 11: VI. i. 10; iii. 4, 7; iv. 4; v. 6; ix. 8, 12; x. 3, 7; xi. 1; xii. 4; xvi. 6: VII. i. 10; iii.

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Ts'oo, a palace built by the duke of Loo like those of Ts'oo, IX. xxxi. 2.

Ts'oo-k'ew, a place in Wei, I. vii. 7;—another, the capital of Wei, V. ii. 1.

Ts'ung, a small State, pres. Se-gan, VII. i. 13.

Tsung Shoo, an officer of Ch'in, XII. xiv. 6.

Ts'uy, a place in Loo, II. xvii. 2.

Ts'uy, a family of Ts'e, VII. x. 5.

Ts'uy Ch'oo, an officer of Ts'e, VIII. xviii. 14: IX. i. 2; ii. 9; xxiv. 5; xxv. 1, 2.

Tswan-han, a place in the territory of the Teih, VII. xi. 4.

Tsze, a city of Ke, III. i. 8.

Tsze, a place in Loo, III. xi. 2.

Tsze, a place given by Keu to Loo, X. v. 4.

Tsze, the wife of duke Yin of Loo, I. ii. 8.

Tsze-foo, duke of Sung, V. xxiii. 2.

Tsze-gae, a minister of Sung, VI. xiv. 10.

Tsze-k'ew, son of duke He of Ts'e, III. ix. 6.

Tsze-low, a place, prest. Tse-ning Chow, V. xxxiii. 6.

Tsze-pih, an officer of Ke, I. ii. 7.

Tsze-seuen Ch'ing, an officer of Wei, XII. xvi. 2.

Tsze-tuh, an officer of the king, III. vi. 1.

Tuh, a minister of Sung, II. ii. 1.

Tuh, earl of Ch'ing, II. xi. 5; xv. 4, 9: III. xxi. 2, 4.

Tun, a small State within Ch'in, V. xxv. 5: IX. iv. 7: X. iv. 2, 4; v. 8; xxiii. 7: XI. iv. 2; xiv. 3.

T'ung, a son of duke Hwan of Loo, II. vi. 5.

Tung-k'woh, marquis of Ts'ae, X. xxiii. 5.

Twan, younger brother of the duke of Ch'ing, I. i. 3.

Twan-taou, a place in Tsin, VII. xvii. 5.

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Wa, a place in Wei, XI. viii. 7, 8.

Wan, a city in the royal domain, V. x. 2; xxviii. 15.

Wan, the duke of Loo, VI.

Wan, duke of Wei, V. xxv. 6.

Wan, duke of Tsin, V. xxxiii. 4.

Wan, duke of Ch'ing, VII. ii. 1.

Wan, duke of Ts'aou, VII. xiv. 5.

Wan, duke of Ts'ae, VII. xvii. 3.

Wan, duke of Sung, VIII. iii. 5.

Wan, duke of K'e, X. vi. 4.

Wan of L'ew, XI. iv. 13.

Wan K'ang, the wife of duke Hwan of Loo, III. xxii. 2. See *K'ang*.

Wan of Sung, who murdered his ruler, III. xii. 3, 4.

Wan-yang, a territory of Ts'e, taken by Loo, VIII. ii. 7: restored, viii. 1.

Wang-shin, duke of Sung, VI. vii. 3.

Wei, the State of, I. ii. 9; iv. 2—7; v. 2, 3; viii. 1, 6; x. 5, 6: II. iii. 2; v. 6; x. 3, 4; xi. 1, 6; xii. 8; xiii. 1, 2; xiv. 7; xv. 10; xvi. 1, 2, 5; xvii. 7: III. iii. 1; v. 4; vi. 1—5; xiv. 4; xv. 1; xvi. 2, 4; xxv. 2; xxviii. 1: IV. ii. 7: V. iv. 1, 8; v. 4; vi. 2; viii. 1; ix. 2; x. 2; xv. 3; xiii. 1, 3; xvi. 5; xviii. 1, 6; xix. 6; xxi. 1; xxii. 2; xxv. 1, 2, 6, 7; xxvi. 1, 4; xxviii. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 18, 19; xxx. 3, 4; xxxi. 8, 9; xxxii. 3, 4: VI. i. 6, 8; ii. 1; iv. 6; ix. 8; xiii. 6, 7; xiv. 4; xvii. 1: VII. i. 5, 12; ii. 3; vi. 1; vii. 1, 5; ix. 7, 10; x. 5, 11; xii. 6, 7; xiv. 1; xvii. 5; xviii. 1: VIII. ii. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10; iii. 1, 2, 11, 12; v. 7, vi. 4; vii. 5, 9; viii. 11; ix. 2; x. 1, 3; xii. 2; xiii. 3; xiv. 2, 6; xv. 1, 3, 10; xvi. 8; xvii. 1, 2, 8; xviii. 14: IX. i. 2, 7; ii. 5, 6, 9; iii. 5; v. 4, 7, 11; vii. 7, 9; viii. 4; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 1, 3, 4, 7; xvi. 2, 7; xvii. 3; xviii. 2; xx. 2; xxi. 8; xxii. 4; xxiii. 8; xxiv. 8; xxv. 3, 7; xxvi. 1, 2, 3, 7; xxvii. 2, 3, 4; xxviii. 2; xxix. 3, 5, 9; xxx. 9: X. i. 2; vi. 5; vii. 5, 8; xi. 7; xiii. 4; xviii. 2; xx. 3; xxv. 2; xxvii. 4; xxxii. 4: XI. iv. 2, 12; vii. 4, 5; viii. 10, 13, 14; ix. 5; x. 4, 10; xii. 4; xiii. 1, 4; xiv. 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 12; xv. 7: XII. i. 5; ii. 3, 5, 7; iii. 1; v. 3; vii. 2; x. 8; xi. 7; xii. 4; xiii. 7; xiv. 9, 11; xv. 5, 8, xvi. 1, 2.

Wei, the marquis of Wei, V. xxv. 1, 2, 6.

Wei Man-to, an officer of Tsin, XII. vii. 2; xiii. 7.

Wei P'e, an officer of Ts'oo, IX. xxx. 1: X. vi. 7.

Woo, the State of, (*Chuen*, VII. viii. 7), VIII. vii. 2, 7; xv. 10: IX. iii. 1; v. 4, 7; x. 1; xii. 4; xxiv. 3; xxv. 10; xxix. 4, 8: X. i. 8; iv. 4; v. 8; vi. 7; xiii. 12; xv. 1; xvii. 6; xxii. 7; xxiv. 6; xxvii. 2; xxx. 4; xxxii. 2: XI. ii. 3; iv. 14, 15; v. 3; xiv. 5, 6: XII. iii. 7; iv. 2; vi. 3, 5; vii. 3; viii. 2; x. 2, 11; xi. 3, 4; xii. 3; xiii. 3, 5.

Woo, a city of Ke, III. i. 8.

Woo, a city of Loo, VI. vii. 2.

Woo, duke or marquis of Loo from 825 to 815 B. C., VIII. vi. 2: X. xv. 2.

Woo, marquis of Ch'in, IX. iv. 1; xiii. 9: XI. iv. 1.

Woo, heir of Ts'ang, IX. v. 3.

Woo, duke of Ts'aou, X. xiv. 4.

Woo, earl of Ts'aou, X. xxvii. 5.

Woo-che, a nobleman of Ts'e, III. viii. 5; ix. 1.

Woo, a family name at the court of Chow, I. iii. 4.

Woo-foo, a place in Ch'ing, II. xii. 7.

Woo-h'ae, an officer of Loo, I. ii. 3; viii. 10.

Woo-le, marquis of T'ang, II. vii. 3.

Woo-low, a place in K'e, VII. xv. 7.

Woo-sang, earl of Ch'ing, II. xi. 2.

Woo-she, a city of Tsin, XI. ix. 5.

Woo-shing, a city of Loo, IX. xix. 16.

Woo-yay, marquis of Ts'e, VIII. ix. 7.

## Y

Ya, son of duke Hwan of Loo, III. xxxii. 3.

Ya-urh, a place in the royal domain, I. viii. 6.

Yang, a small State, pres. E-shwuy, IV. ii. 1.

Yang, a place in North Yen, X. xii. 1.

Yang, the third duke of Loo, XI. i. 5.

Yang, earl of Ts'aou, XII. viii. 1.

Yang Ch'oo-foo, (See Ch'oo-foo) an officer of Tsin, VI. ii. 3; iii. 7; vi. 6.

Yang-chow, a border-city between Loo and Ts'e, X. xxv. 5.

Yang-kuh, a place in Ts'e, V. iii. 5; xi. 2: VI. xvi. 1.

Yang-sang, Kung-tsze, of Ts'e, XII. vi. 7; afterwards marquis, x. 3.

Yay, son of the duke of Loo, IX. xxxi. 3.

Yay-tsing, a city of Ts'e, X. xxv. 6.

Yeh, baron of Heu, VI. v. 7.

Yen, a small State, pres. dis. Keih in Ho-nan, II. xii. 3; xiii. 1.

Yeh, North, a State, IX. xxix. 10: X. iii. 7; vi. 9; vii. 1; xii. 1: XII. xv. 2.

Yen, a place in Ch'ing, pres. Yen-ling, I. i. 3.

Yen, a city of Ch'ing, XII. xiii. 1.

Yen, a place in Loo, V. i. 8.

Yen, a place in Ts'e, V. xviii. 3.

Yen-ling, Yen in Ch'ing, VIII. xvi. 6.

Yen, half-brother of the duke of Loo, VIII. xvi. 16.

Yen-sze, heir of Ch'in, X. viii. 1.

Y'ew, a place in Sung, pres. K'aou-shing, III. xvi. 4; xxvii. 2.

Y'ew, a great officer of Loo, II. xi. 7.

Y'ew, a son of duke Hwan of Loo, III. xxv. 6; xxvii. 3: V. i. 9; iii. 6; vii. 6; xiii. 5; xvi. 2.

Y'ew, heir of Ts'ae, X. xi. 9.

Y'ew Keih, an officer of Ch'ing, X. xxv. 2.

Y'ew Suh, an officer of Ch'ing, XI. vi. 1; x. 10.

Yih, a city of Choo, VII. x. 13.

Yih, viscount of Choo, XII. vii. 4; viii. 4; x. 1.

Yih, an officer of Little Choo, XII. xiv. 1.

Yih-koo, heir of Ts'aou, II. ix. 4: III. xxiii. 9.

Yih-koo, earl of K'e, X. vi. 1.

Yin, a family name, I. iii. 3: X. xxiii. 8; xxxi. 8.

Yin, the viscount of, VIII. xvi. 10; xvii. 2.

Yin, son of duke S'ang of Loo, X. xii. 8.

Yin, duke of T'ang, XII. xi. 6.

Ying, the capital of Ts'oo, XI. iv. 15.

Ying, a place in Ts'e, II. iii. 1.

Ying, earl of Ts'in, VI. xviii. 2.

Ying, the lady, of Loo, VII. viii. 5.

Ying-she, a small State subordinate to Ts'oo, V. xvii. 1.

Ying-ts'e, viscount of T'ang, V. xix. 1.

Ying-urh, viscount of the Loo tribe of Red Teih, VII. xv. 3.

Yoh, marquis of Ch'in, II. xii. 4.

Yoh K'e-le, an officer of Sung, X. xxv. 2: XI. x. 8; xi. 3.

Yoh K'wan, an officer of Sung, XII. iii. 5.

Yoh Ta-sin, an officer of Sung, X. xxv. 2: XI. x. 8; xi. 3.

Yu, a small State, pres. P'ing-luh, V. ii. 3; v. 9.

Yu, a small State within Loo, X. xviii. 3.

Yu, a place in Sung, V. xxi. 4.

Yu, a place in Loo, IX. xv. 3.

Yu, the younger brother of the earl of Ch'ing, II. xiv. 3.

Yu-chae, viscount of Woo, IX. xxix. 4.

Yu-e, the ruler of Sung, II. ii. 1.

Yu-k'ow, son of the marquis of Ch'in, III. xxii. 3.

Yu Shih, an officer of Sung, VIII. xv. 9: xviii. 5.

Yu-woo, viscount of T'ang, XII. xi. 5.

Yu-yu-k'ew, a small State not far from Loo, III. ii. 2.

Yu-yueh, the State of Yueh, XI. v. 3; xiv. 5: XII. xiii. 5.

Yu-yueh, duke of Sung, V. ix. 1.

Yueh, the State of, (*Chuen*, VII. viii. 7), X. v. 8; viii. 9; xxxii. 2: XI. v. 3; xiv. 5: XII. xiii. 5.

Yueh, a place in Wei or Loo, the same as Ch'uy, II. i. 4.

Yuen, duke of Sung, X. xxvi. 1.

Yuen, duke of Heu, XII. xiii. 8.

Yuen, marquis of Ts'e, VII. x. 4.

Yuen, viscount of T'ang, X. iii. 1.

Yuen, marquis of Wei, XII. ii. 3.

Yuen, an officer of Ch'ing, I. viii. 2.

Yuen Chung, a minister of Ch'in, III. xxvii. 3.

Yuen Heuen, an officer of Wei, V. xxviii. 11, 19; xxx. 3.

Yuen K'eaou, an officer of Ch'in, IX. iii. 6, 7.

Yuen-ling, a town of K'e, V. xiv. 1.

Yuen-low, a place in Ts'e, VII. ii. 4.

Yuen Mae, an officer of Ch'in, XII. xiv. 14.

Yuen P'o, an officer of Ch'in, XII. xi. 2.

Yuen T'aou-t'oo, a great officer of Ch'in, V. iv. 4.

Yuh-le, earl of K'e, X. xxiv. 5.

Yun, a town in Loo, VI. xii. 8: VII. ix. 10: IX. xii. 2: X. i. 3, 9; xxv. 9; xxvi. 2, 5; xxvii. 1, 8; xxix. 1, 5: XI. vi. 7; x. 5;—another, VIII. iv. 8.

Yun, a place in Woo, XII. xii. 4.

Yung, a State, in pres. Hoo-pih, VI. xvi. 6.

Yung, a clan-name in Chow, III. i. 6.

Yung-k'ew, a place in Sung, XII. ix. 2.

Yung-shing, a place within Ts'oo, XI. iv. 7.

Yung-yu, a place belonging to Tsin, IX. xxiii. 9.

## INDEX III.

## OF CHINESE CHARACTERS AND PHRASES:—

INTENDED ALSO TO HELP TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF A DICTIONARY AND CONCORDANCE

FOR THE CLASSICS.

## THE 1st RADICAL. 一.

One. Found only in the specification of years and months:—*e. g.*, 十有一年, in the eleventh year, I. xi. 1; 十有一月, in the eleventh month, *ib.*, 4; 二十有一年, in the twenty-first year, III. xxi. 1; 三十有一年, in the thirty-first year, V. xxxi. 1. For the first year we always find 元年, and for the first month, 正月.

A calendaric stem-character;—in the specification of days. II. i. 4; vi. 5; *et saepe*.

Seven. Found, like 一, in the specification of years and months:—*e. g.*, 七月, in the seventh month, I. i. 4; 七年, in the seventh year, I. vii. 1; 十有七年, in the 17th year, III. xvii. 1; 二十有七年, in the twenty-seventh year, III. xxvii. 1.

Three. In the phrase 三望, to offer the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey, V. xxxi. 5; VII. iii. 2; *et al.* What those objects were is uncertain. A third time, IX. vii. 2. The character is generally found in the specification of years and months:—三年, 三月, in the third year, in the third month; 十有三年, in the thirteenth year; 三十年, in the thirtieth year; 二十有三年, 三十有三年, in the 23d, in the 33d year.

(1) = the first, X. xxv. 4. (2) 鹿上, the name of a place in Sung;—in the pres. dis. of 太和, dep. 潁州. Gan-hwuy.

下 (1) Beneath. After the noun. 于臺下, VI. xviii. 1. (2) 下陽, the second city in the State of Kwoh (虢), in the north-east of the present dis. of P'ing-luh, now in K'ae Chow, Shan-se. V. ii. 3.

To decline. Used of the sun. XI. xv. 12 (日下景).

(1) Not. III. vii. 2; xxxi. 6; V. ii. 5; iii. 1, 2; *et al.* (2) 不信, name of an officer of Tsin. X. xxxii. 4. 不敢, name of an officer of Loo. XI. v. 5.

A calendaric branch-character. II. v. 1; viii. 3; *et saepe*.

丑 且 纘且, name of a viscount of Choo. VIII. xvii. 12.

And. VI. v. 1.

(1) In the phrase 世子, heir-son, the son to whom it has been declared, or it is understood, that the succession belongs. II. ix. 4; V. v. 1, 4; vii. 4; viii. 1; *et al.* The application of the phrase in II. xv. 5 is anomalous. (2) 世叔, a clan-name in Wei. IX. xxix. 5; X. xxxii. 4; XII. xi. 7. (3) 世室,—see under 犬.

A clan-name in Tsin. V. xi. 1.

(1) A mound or hill. It is found often making up the names of towns, cities, and districts. We have 中丘 in Loo,—in the pres. dep. of Lan-shan, dep. E-chow, I. vii. 3; x. 1; 祝丘, also in Loo, and somewhere in the pres. dep. of E-chow, II. v. 5; III. iv. 1; 咸丘, in Loo,—in pres. dep. of Yen-chow, II. vii. 1; 楚丘, in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ts'au, dep. Ts'au-chow. Shan-tung;

also another city in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Hwah, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le, V. ii. 1; 桃丘, in Wei,—in pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. Tung-ch'ang (now in dep. of Tae-gan), Shan-tung, II. x. 3; 穀丘, in Sung,—in pres. dep. of Ts'au-chow, II. xii. 3; 乘丘, in Loo,—in pres. dep. of Tsze-yang, Yen-chow, III. x. 4; 梁丘, in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Shing-woo, dep. Ts'au-chow, III. xxii. 2; 葵丘, in Sung,—in pres. dis. of K'au-shing, dep. Kwei-fung, V. ix. 2, 4; 牡丘, in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of L'au-shing, dep. Tung-ch'ang, V. xv. 3; 帝丘, in Wei,—in pres. K'ae Chow, dep. Ta-ming, V. xxxi. 12; 鄆丘, in Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. Tae-gan, VI. xvi. 3; 清丘, in Wei,—in pres. K'ae Chow, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le, VII. xii. 6; 召丘, in Tsin, situation unknown, VIII. xvi. 12; 邢丘, in Tsin,—in pres. dis. of Ho-nuy, dep. Hwae-king, Ho-nan, IX. viii. 4; 閭丘, in Keu,—probably in pres. dis. of Tsow, dep. Yen-chow, IX. xxi. 2; 重丘, in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of L'au-shing, dept. Tung-ch'ang, IX. xxv. 5; 平丘, in Tsin,—in pres. dis. of Ch'in-l'ew, dep. K'ae-fung, X. xiii. 4; 雍丘, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dis. of K'ae, dep. K'ae-fung, XII. ix. 2; (2) 於餘丘, probably the name of a barbarous tribe, III. iii. 2. (2) 杵白, name of a duke of Sung, VI. xvi. 7. (3) The name of Confucius. In the 16th year of duke Gae, par. 4. (4) A territorial designation,—a space occupied by 144 families. 作丘甲, he made the *k'ew* and buff-coat ordinance. VIII. i. 4. 丘 is often written 邱.

A calendaric stem-character. II. x. 4; xii. 7, 8; xvii. 2, 3, *et saepe*.

丙  
ping

## THE 2d RADICAL. 丨.

中  
chung

(1) Middle, that which is in the midst. 中夜, at mid-night. III. vii. 2. 日中, at mid-day. VII. viii. 10. 中軍, the middle army, the army of the centre, = the third army. X. v. 1. (2) In the names of cities. 中丘,—see 丘. 中城, in VIII. ix. 13; XI. vi. 6, is uncertain. Many think it was the name of a

city of Loo. I am inclined to suppose it means an inner wall in the capital, surrounding the ducal palace and the buildings belonging to it.

## THE 3d RADICAL. 丩.

丹  
tan  
主  
chou

To paint of a red colour. III. xxiii. 8.

A spirit-tablet. VI. ii. 2.

## THE 4th RADICAL. 乚.

乃  
nae

A conjunction, meaning—so, and so. V. xxxi. 3; VII. iii. 1; viii. 2; IX. vii. 2; xi. 3; X. ii. 4; xii. 4; xiii. 11; xxi. 6; XII. iii. 1.

之  
che

(1) Of. The sign of the possessive. The regent follows the 之 and the regimen precedes it. I. i. 4; III. xix. 3; V. xv. 10; *et al.* (2) The objective case of the 3d personal pronoun, without reference to number or gender. In the Chun Ts'ew, however, only = it, him. I. iii. 2; II. iii. 4; xvii. 8 (In these and many other instances, 之 occurs in the phrase 日有食之, = 日有所食之者, descriptive of an eclipse): X. viii. 5, 9; xi. 2, 9; *et al.* (3) 舍之, a name. IX. xi. 3; xxv. 4.

乘  
shing

(1) Name of a viscount of Woo. IX. xii. 4. (2) 乘丘, a city in Loo:—see 丘.

## THE 5th RADICAL. 乙.

乙  
yih

A calendaric stem-character. I. ii. 7; III. i. 7; *et saepe*.

九  
k'ew

Nine. Used in the specification of years and months. 九年, 九月, 十有九年, &c. I. i. 5; ii. 5; ix. 1; III. xix. 1; xxix. 1; *et saepe*.

乞  
k'ei

(1) To ask, to beg. V. viii. 3; xxvi. 5; VIII. xiii. 1; xvi. 5; *et al.* (2) Name of a minister of Tse. XII. vi. 7.

乾  
kan

(1) 乾時, a place in Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Poh-hing, dep. Ts'ing-chow, III. ix. 5. (2) 乾侯, a place in Tsin,—in pres. dis. of Ch'ing-gan, dept. Kwang-ping, Chih-le. X. xxviii. 2; xxx. 1; xxxi. 1; xxxii. 1, 6. (3) 乾谿, a city in Ts'au,—in pres. Poh Chow, dep. Ying-chow, Gan-hwuy. X. xiii. 2.

亂  
lean

Confusion, disorder. II. ii. 3. To be in confusion. X. xxii. 6.

## THE 6TH RADICAL. 亅

事  
sze

Business. Used for the business of sacrifice. 有事, VII. viii. 3: X. xv. 2. 大事, the great business, meaning the fortunate *to* sacrifice. VI. ii. 6.

## THE 7TH RADICAL. 二

二  
urh

Two; the second. In the specification of months and years. 二月, 二年, 十有二月, 十有二年, 二十 (the twentieth), &c. I. i. 6; ii. 1, 7; iii. 1; *et passim*.

于  
yu

A preposition. In, at. I. i. 2, 3, 5; ii. 1, 4, 7; *et passim*. Sometimes we must translate it by *to* as in I. ii. 6. In II. ii. 4, we must translate it—now by *from*, and now by *into*.

五  
woo

(1) Five. V. xvi. 1. The fifth. In the specification of months and years. I. i. 3; ii. 2; v. 1; *et passim*. A fifth time. VIII. x. 2. (2) 五氏, a city of Tsin,—in pres. dis. of Han-tan, dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. XI. ix. 5.

井  
tsing

野井, a city of Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Tse-ho, dep. Tse-nan. X. xxv. 6.

## THE 8TH RADICAL. 一

亡  
wang

To perish, to become extinct. V. xix. 8.

交  
k'au

交剛, a place where Tsin defeated the Teih;—must have been near the pres. dep. of Yen-gan, Shen-se, but probably on the east of the Ho. VIII. xii. 3.

亥  
hae

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. viii. 4; II. vii. 1; *et passim*. (2) Name of a minister of Sung. X. xi. 7; xx. 4; xxi. 3; xxii. 2.

享  
haeng

To entertain. But the entertaining which went by this name was mainly confined to drinking, accompanied by complimentary offerings. The animals whose flesh should have served as food were set forth whole and not partaken of. It is not easy, however, to make out the exact difference in the Chow times between the 享 and the 宴 III. iv. 1.

京  
king

In the phrase 京師, the capital II. ix. 1; V. xxviii. 18; xxx. 8; VI. i. 7; viii. 6; ix. 3; *et al*.

臺  
poh

The name of the capital of Tang, the founder of the Yin dynasty. We have 臺社 in XII. iv. 8, an altar in the capital of Loo, commemorative of the Yin or Shang dynasty. 臺城, the wall

of Poh in IX. xi. 5 is said to have been a city of Ch'ing; acc. to the K'ang-he editors, in pres. dis. of Yen-se, dep. Ho-nan; which would make the city the same as the ancient capital of Tang, which was in the royal State of Chow. Probably the reading of Kung and Kuh,—京城—should here be adopted. King was in the pres. dis. of Yung-yang, dep. K'ae-fung.

## THE 9TH RADICAL. 人

人  
jin

Man, men. 人 is variously used in the Ch'un Ts'ew in a way which is very perplexing to the student. (1) It is often—the people, following the name of a State. *E.g.*, I. iv. 6, 7; II. vi. 4; xi. 4; III. ix. 1, 6; V. xix. 1, 4; VI. vii. 4; xiv. 7, 11, 12; xvi. 7; xviii. 3; IX. xvi. 3. In most of these, and the other instances where I have thus translated 人, the meaning is accepted by most commentators. What is predicated belongs to the action, as it were, of the whole State, (2) It is often—a minister or high officer,—also following the name of a State. *E.g.*, I. i. 5; II. xi. 1; III. vi. 1 (王人); xix. 3; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 4; V. i. 7; ii. 4; iii. 5; iv. 5, 8; viii. 1 (王人); xix. 2, 7. This usage occurs *passim*. In many cases the meaning is obvious; in others, the meaning which immediately follows would also be suitable. (3) It often means *men*, equivalent to a body of men, a small military force, under the command, we may suppose, of an officer of no great distinction;—the name of the State, as before, preceding. *E.g.*, I. ii. 2, 9; iv. 4, 5 (perhaps the 2d meaning is here preferable); x. 5, 6; III. viii. 1; xix. 5; xxviii. 1; IV. i. 2; ii. 1; V. ii. 6. (4)

夫人, the wife of the prince of a State.

I. ii. 7; III. xix. 4; xx. 1; *et saepe*. (5) 行

人, a messenger from one State to another, an envoy. IX. xi. 10; xviii. 2; X. viii. 4; xxiii. 3; *et al*. (6) In names.

商人, a marquis of Ts'e. VI. xiv. 9;

xviii. 3. 封人, a marquis of Ts'ae.

II. xvii. 4. 佗人, a minister of Ch'in. XI. xiv. 3.

仇牧, name of a great officer of Sung. III. xii. 3. 州仇, name of

a minister of Loo. XI. x. 6, 7, 11; xii. 3; XII. ii. 1, 2; iii. 4, 9.

A surname, or clan-name. II. v. 3.

The name of one of the wild tribes of the east,—in the pres. K'au Chow, dep. Lue-chow, Shan-tung. V. xxix. 1, 5; xxx. 1.

仇  
k'ew仍  
jing  
介  
k'ue令  
liang

令狐, a place in Tsin,—in pres. dis. of E-she, dep. P'oo-chow, Shan-se, VI. vii. 5. The scene of a battle between Tsin and Ts'in.

以

(1) Followed by a verb,—歸, 叛, or 來, where it is itself=將 or 把, meaning to take. 以歸—to take back with himself or with themselves, and 以來—to bring back to Loo. 歸 and 來 being neuter verbs, we cannot resolve the cases into 以's being a sign of the accusative case; and the name of the party carried off occurs several times between 以 and 歸 or 來, evidently in the objective case governed by 以. 以歸,—see I. vii. 7; III. x. 5; V. i. 5; xxvi. 6; vii. xv. 3; VIII. ix. 1; IX. xvi. 3; X. xi. 9; xiii. 7; XI. iv. 2; vi. 1; xv. 3. 以來,—see IX. xxi. 2; X. v. 4; XII. vii. 4; xiv. 2. 以叛 is a similar usage. 叛 being a neuter verb, the phrase—and there-with rebelled, and held—in rebellion. See IX. xxvi. 2; XI. xiii. 5, 6; XII. xiv. 7; *et al*. (2) With, by means of. II. i. 3. Before 師, and sometimes other terms or phrases, it means—having under control, having at disposal. It is explained in such cases by—能左右之. *E.g.*, V. xxvi. 8; XI. iv. 14. (3) To, in order to. II. ii. 3; III. viii. 1. Sometimes it=遂, to go on to, and thereupon. V. xxi. 4; XI. vii. 3.

仲  
chung

(1) The second in order of birth, as in I. i. 4; v. 4. It is often the designation, as if it were a name. We have 祭仲 a minister of Ch'ing, in II. xi. 4, and 原

仲, a minister of Ch'in, in III. xxvii. 3.

(2) A clan-name of a great family:—[i.] in Loo, VII. viii. 3; VIII. xv. 2; [ii.] in Sung, X. xxxii. 4; XI. i. 1; x. 12; xi. 1

(3) 仲孫 was the clan-name of one of the three great families of Loo, descended from duke Hwan. The Chung-suns owed their origin to K'ing-foo, styled 共仲.

first mentioned in III. ii. 2. After VII. ix. 3, where we have an entry about Chung-sun M'eh, the great-grand-son of K'ing-foo, the clan-name is continually occurring in connexion with the successive chiefs of the family. (4) There was also a Chung-sun clan in Ts'e. IV. i. 6. (5) 叔仲

The Shuh-chung was a branch from the Shuh-sun clan of Loo. VI. xi. 2. In xiv. 3, the 仲 is omitted. Different members of it frequently occur in the Tso-chuen.

(1) To come, meaning to come to Loo, i.e., to the court of Loo. I. i. 4, 6; iii. 5; vii. 4; III. xxvii. 4, 6; IV. i. 5, 6; *et saepe*. Only once is it used where the coming is not to Loo;—in V. iv. 3. (2) In names of places. 浮來, in Keu,—in pres.

Keu Chow, dep. E-chow, I. viii. 8. 時來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

任, the name of a place unknown. A meeting of the States was held at it. IX. xxi. 8.

任  
jin

商任, the name of a place unknown. A meeting of the States was held at it. IX. xxi. 8.

伐  
fah

To invade; to make an open attack on another State;—Tso-she says, with drums beating and bells sounding. I. ii. 8; iv. 4, 5; *et saepe*.

伯  
pih

(1) The eldest in order of birth. Found often in speaking of the daughters of the marquises of Loo, the eldest of which was 伯姬. I. ii. 5; III. xxv. 4; xxvii. 1, 6; V. v. 2; xxv. 3; *et al*. (2)

The third title of nobility,—earl. I. i. 3, 6; iii. 7; II. i. 2, 3, 4; *et passim*. (3) Used as the designation. 夷伯 combines the honorary or sacrificial title, and what had been the designation of the officer spoken of, in V. xv. 10. (4) 白

糾, a name. II. iv. 2.

位  
wei

A seat, a place. 卽位 is the phrase used for a marquis of Loo succeeding to the place of his predecessor. II. i. 1; VI. i. 1; VII. i. 1; VIII. i. 1; IX. i. 1; X. i. 1; XI. i. 1; XII. i. 1.

佐  
tso

A name. 1st, of a minister of Ts'e. VII. x. 17; VIII. ii. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 10;—xviii. 3. 2d, of a duke of Sung. X. iv. 2; xxv. 8.

何  
ho

何忌, the name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan of Loo; called also M'ang E-tsze (孟懿子). X. xxx.

何  
ho

ii. 4; XI. iii. 5; vi. 4, (何 is omitted) 7; viii. 13; xi. 6, 7; xii. 5; XII. i. 6; ii. 1, 2; iii. 9; vi. 9; xiv. 12.

作  
tsoh

To make, VI. ii. 2. 新作, to renew and make with alterations, = to enlarge. V. xx. 1; XI. ii. 4. Used with reference to the establishment of new ordinances or institutions. VIII. i. 4; IX. xi. 1.

佗  
t'o

A name. 1st, of a usurping marquis of Ch'in. II. vi. 4. 2d, of a minister of Wei. X. xi. 7. 3d, of an officer of Sung. XI. x. 12; xi. 1. 佗人, a minister of Ch'in. XI. xiv. 2.

佗  
t'o

佗夫, name of a younger brother of king Ling. IX. xxx. 4.

佗  
t'o

To cause, to send. I. i. 4; vii. 4; V. xiv. 2; xxi. 6; *et saepe*.

來  
lue

(1) To come, meaning to come to Loo, i.e., to the court of Loo. I. i. 4, 6; iii. 5; vii. 4; III. xxvii. 4, 6; IV. i. 5, 6; *et saepe*. Only once is it used where the coming is not to Loo;—in V. iv. 3. (2) In names of places. 浮來, in Keu,—in pres.

來  
lue

Keu Chow, dep. E-chow, I. viii. 8. 時來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.

來  
lue

來, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dep. of K'ae-fung. I. xi. 2. 州來, in Ts'oo,—in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.



In a name. 黎來, III. v. 3, the chief of the attached territory of E.

(1) The second order of nobility, = marquis, I. iii. 7; iv. 4, 5; *et passim*. (2) 諸侯, the princes, = the States, or the princes of the States;—who have been previously mentioned. V. ix. 4; xiv. 1; xv. 4; VI. xv. 11; xvii. 4; *et al.* (2)

乾侯—see 乾. (3) Name of a great officer of Ch'ing. V. vii. 3.

To make an incursion into, to make a raid upon. As distinguished from 伐,

伐 indicates the comparative secrecy of the invasion. III. xv. 4; xxiv. 8; VI. xv. 8, 12; *et sæpissime*.

Spoils. III. vi. 5.

To wait for. III. viii. 1.

不信,—see 不.

To borrow. II. i. 3.

偁陽, a small State,—in the pres. dis. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow. IX. x. 2.

(1) A place,—in pres. dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. V. i. 8. (2) Name of a half-brother of duke Ch'ing. VIII. xvi. 16. Name of a minister of Tsin. IX. xiv. 3; xvi. 7. (3) 偁師, name of a prince of Ch'in. X. viii. 1.

The name of a prince of Ts'oo. VIII. xvi. 7.

The name of a minister of Ts'e. III. xxii. 5.

To be hurt, to receive some injury. VII. iii. 1.

An honorary or sacrificial title, meaning 'Careful and cautious.' 1st. of a marquis of Ts'e. II. xv. 3. 2d. of a marquis of Loo. Title of Book V. VI. i. 4; ii. 2, 6; ix. 13; XII. iii. 3. 3d. of a baron of Heu. VI. vi. 1. 4th. of an earl of K'e. XII. ix. 1.

(1) The name of a minister of Ch'in.

IX. iii. 6, 7. (2) 僑如, the name of a minister of Loo, the Head of the Shuh-sun clan. VIII. ii. 3; iii. 9; v. 3; vi. 8; viii. 10; xi. 4; xiv. 3, 5; xv. 10; xvi. 13. K'iaou-joo was so named from a Teih giant whom his father slew;—see the Chuen on VI. xi. 6.

(1) The name of a minister of Wei. IX. xxix. 5. (2) 儀父, the designation of a chief of Choo. I. i. 2; II. xvii. 2. He was afterwards made a viscount;—see on III. xvi. 5. (3) 夷儀, a city which appears at first as a new capital of the State of Hing,—near the pres. dep. city of Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung. V.

i. 3. Hing was afterwards extinguished by Wei;—see V. xxv. 2. Subsequently we meet with E-e in IX. xxiv. 8; xxv. 3, 7. The name of a viscount of Woo. X. xxvii. 2.

## THE 10TH RADICAL. 儿.

(1) The first. In the phrase 元年, the first year, with which the chronicle of each of the 12 marquises of Loo commences. I. i. 1; II. i. 1; III. i. 1; &c. (2) The name of a marquis of Ts'e. VII. 4; of a marquis of Wei. XII. ii. 2; of a minister of Sung. VIII. iv. 1; viii. 4; *et al.* (3) A clan-name. V. xxviii. 11, 19; xxx. 3. (4) The honorary or sacrificial title:—of a duke of Sung. X. xxvi. 1; of a baron of Heu. XII. xiii. 8.

An elder brother. X. xx. 3.

(1) Former. XI. viii. 15 (先公, all the former dukes of Loo). (2) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. vii. 6; ix. 4; VII. xiii. 4.

The name:—1st, of a prince of Ts'e. IX. iii. 5; v. 7; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xxv. 2; 2d, of a viscount of Woo. XI. xiv. 4.

(1) To overcome, to conquer. I. i. 3. (2) To effect, to succeed in. VI. xiv. 7; VII. viii. 10; XI. xv. 12. (3) The name:—1st, of a viscount of Choo. III. xvi. 6; 2d, of a great officer of Tsin. V. ix. 6; x. 5; 3d, of another great officer of Tsin. VIII. ii. 3; iii. 11.

To let go,—used of letting a victim off. V. xxxi. 3; VIII. vii. 1; IX. vii. 2.

(1) 嬰兒, the name of a viscount of the Loo tribe of the Teih. VII. xv. 3. (2) 諸兒, name of a marquis of Ts'e. III. viii. 5.

## THE 11TH RADICAL. 入.

To enter, to come or go in. III. xxiv. 5; VII. viii. 4; X. xv. 2; *et al.* The most common use of 入, however, is in connexion with military expeditions, meaning to enter and take possession of a hostile city. Some contend that the 入 implies that the entry is made against the will of the previous holders,—which, indeed, may be allowed; others hold that 入 implies that the city, though taken, was not permanently retained,—which depended altogether on circumstances. I. ii. 2, 3; v. 3; x. 6, 8; xi. 3; *et sæpissime*. The addition of 于—入于—modifies the violence indicated by the single 入. II. xv. 6, 9; III. iii. 4; vi. 2; ix. 4; VI. xiv.

5: IX. xxiii. 7; *et sæpe*. 復入 indicates the restoration of an individual, by means of violence, to his former place and station. VIII. xviii. 5; xx. iii. 7; *et al.*

Two. XI. ii. 1, 4. See 觀.

The name of a great officer of Wei. VI. iv. 6.

## THE 12TH RADICAL. 八.

Eight. The eighth, in the specification of months and years. I. ii. 4; iii. 5; *et sæpissime*.

(1) The highest title of nobility,—a duke. So it is used of the dukes of Sung, who possessed that title. But the title was also given to the various nobles of the royal domain, when they were in the position of the *kung* or highest ministers at the court. The marquises of Loo are also all styled *kung*, throughout the classic; and the title is given after their death to the rulers of all the States, whatever may have been their rank. I. i. 2, 4; ii. 1, 4; iii. 5, 7; II. viii. 6; xi. 3; *et passim*. (2) 公子 means the son of the ruler of a State, whether the father was duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron. I. i. 7; II. iii. 5; III. xix. 3; *et passim*. In translating, I have either said *Kung-tse* or the *Kung-tse*, treating the phrase as a surname or clan-name, or have introduced the posthumous title of the father in brackets;—duke [Hwuy's] son, duke [H'e'au's] son, &c. (3) 公孫, means a son of a Kung-tse,—the grandson of a ruler of a State. I have retained it as a surname, V. iv. 8; v. 3; xv. 4; xvi. 4; *et passim*. (4) 公叔 appears as a clan-name of Wei, in XI. xiv. 1. (5) 公孟 is another clan-name of Wei. XI. xii. 4; xiii. 4; xiv. 12. XII. x. 8.

(1) Six. The sixth, in the specification of months and years. I. v. 4; vi. 1; V. xvi. 1 (six); *et passim*. 六羽=six rows of dancers. I. v. 4. (2) A small State,—in the pres. Luh-gan Chow, Gan-hwuy; held by representatives of the ancient Kaou-yaou. VI. v. 6. The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of an earl of Ts'au, VI. ix. 14; 2d, of a duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 8; 3d, of this duke's wife, IX. xxx. 6.

Weapons of war. In the phrase 治兵, III. viii. 2; where, however, perhaps means soldiers. So the K'ang-he dictionary explains it, and 治兵=to exercise and train soldiers. (1) The third possessive pronoun,—his, its, their. I. iv. 2; III. xii. 3; xxii. 3; xxvi. 3; IV. i. 8; V. v. 2; *et sæpe*. (2) 庶其, the name:—1st, of a viscount of Keu,

VI. xviii. 9; 2d, of an officer of Choo, IX. xxi. 2.

## THE 15TH RADICAL. 冫.

Winter; in winter. I. i. 6; ii. 6; iii. 11; *et passim*.

Ice. II. xiv. 2; VIII. i. 3; IX. xxviii. 1. 木冰, the trees were encrusted with ice. VIII. xvi. 1.

The name of a great officer of Ch'in. VII. ix. 13.

## THE 16TH RADICAL. 凡.

The name of a small State in the royal domain,—in the pres. dis. of Hwuy, dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. I. vii. 6, 7.

## THE 17TH RADICAL. 凵.

To go forth from, to leave. It is used with reference to rulers and officers leaving their own State, and fleeing to another, being followed by 奔. II. xi. 6; xv. 4; *et sæpissime*.

## THE 19TH RADICAL. 刀.

For the first time. I. v. 4; VII. xv. 8.

To carve. III. xxiv. 1.

To put to death, to execute. The term is appropriate to the execution of one of its great officers, or members of the ruling House, by the marquis or State of Loo. V. xxviii. 2; VIII. xvi. 16.

交剛,—see 交.

The name of a marquis of Wei, of more than questionable title. IX. xxvi. 1. In IX. i. 7, he appears as the 公孫剽, being a grandson of duke Muh.

(1) The name of a place near the capital of Loo. IX. xv. 1. (2) A small State in the royal domain, whose holders were viscounts,—in the pres. dis. of Yen-sze, dept. Ho-nan. IX. xv. 2; X. xiii. 4.

## THE 20TH RADICAL. 勹.

長勹, a place in Loo. Its situation has not been ascertained. III. x. 1. The name:—1st, of a great officer of Tsin, VIII. xviii. 7; IX. xiv. 1, 7; xix. 9, 15 (In the Historical Records, the name is 丐); 2d, of an earl of K'e, IX. xxxiii. 2.

侯  
how

侵  
ts'in

俘  
foo

俟  
sze

信  
sin

假  
k'ea

偁  
fuh

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peih

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yen

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k'iaou

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e

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h'eng

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kwang

克  
k'ih

免  
m'een

兒  
urh

入  
juh

兩  
leang

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八  
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luh

共  
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ping

其  
k'ie

冬  
tung

冰  
ping

冶  
yay

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fun

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ch'uh

初  
ch'oo

刻  
k'ih

刺  
tsze

剛  
kang

剽  
p'eaou

劉  
leu

勹  
choh

勹  
k'ae

## THE 21ST RADICAL. 匕

北  
p'ih

The north. 于北, on the north. IX. xi. 5. Northern. V. xxvi. 3: VIII. ii. 1; *et al.* 北斗, the Northern Bushel, = Ursa Major. VI. xiv. 5. 北戎, the Northern Jung, called also the Hill Jung in III. xxx. 7, had their seat in the pres. dep. of Yung-ping, Chih-le. V. x. 4. 北燕, the Northern Yen, was a State held by the descendants of Shih, the duke of Shaou, of the Shoo-king, whose chief city was Ke (薊) in the pres. dis. of Ta-hing (Peking), dep. Shun-t'ien, though some critics place it elsewhere. IX. xxix. 10: X. iii. 7: vi. 9; *et al.* (2) 北杏, a place or city in Ts'e, in the pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. Yen-chow. It is famous as the place of the first meeting under the presidency of duke Hwan of Ts'e. III. xiii. 1. 北, a place in the State of Hing, in the pres. dis. of Léaou-shing, dep. Tung-ch'ang. V. i. 2. (3) 北宮, the clan-name of a great family of Wei. VIII. xvii. 1: IX. xiv. 3; *et al.*

## THE 22D RADICAL. 匚

匡  
k'wang

(1) a city of Wei, in the pres. dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le; but the identification is uncertain. V. xv. 3. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title of one of the kings of Chow. VII. iii. 2.

## THE 23D RADICAL. 匚

區  
gow

區夫, the name of an officer of Ch'in. XII. xiii. 11.

## THE 24th RADICAL. 十

十  
shih

Ten. The tenth, in the specification of months and years. I. i. 6; ii. 6; x. 1; *et passim.*

午  
woo

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. viii. 6: III. viii. 2; *et scepe* (2) The name:—1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, IX. iv. 1; 2d, of a prince of Ts'oo, IX. xviii. 6; 3d, of an earl of Ts'aou, X. xxvii. 5.

升  
shing

升陞, a place in Loo, the site not otherwise ascertained V. xxii. 3.

卒  
p'ei

(1) 無卒, the name of a great officer of Ts'e. XII. xv. 2. (2) A clan- or surname. V. xi. 1.

卒  
tsuh

(1) To die. Used of the death of the rulers of other States than Loo, as in I. iii. 5: III. i. 5; *et al.*: of the death of

卓  
choh南  
nan卜  
puh卡  
p'een卯  
maou卷  
k'euen卽  
tseih厚  
how原  
yuen厥  
keueh厲  
le去  
k'eu

ladies of the House of Loo, as in III. ii. 3; iv. 2; *et al.*: of great officers of Loo, cadets of the ruling House, as in I. i. 7; iii. 4; *et al.*: of royal princes, as in VI. iii. 2: of Confucius, XII. xvi. 3. (2) To complete, to accomplish. V. xxviii. 2. The name of a young marquis of Tsin. V. x. 3.

(1) The south, as in V. xix. 2. Southern, as in V. xx. 1: VI. xiv. 2; *et al.* (2) A clan-name. I. ix. 1. (3) 南里, the name of a quarter in the capital of Sung. X. xxi. 3; xxii. 2.

## THE 25TH RADICAL. 卜

To divine by the tortoise-shell. V. xxxi. 3: VII. iii. 1: VIII. vii. 1; x. 2: IX. vii. 2; xi. 2: XI. xv. 2: XII. i. 3. A city of Loo, in pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow. V. xvii. 3.

## THE 26TH RADICAL. 卩

A calendaric branch-character. I. ii. 7; iii. 4: II. vi. 5; *et passim.*

The name of a viscount of Lëw. XI. iv. 9.

To come to. In the phrase 卽位, II. i. 1: VI. i. 1: VII. i. 1: VIII. i. 1; *et al.*

## THE 27TH RADICAL. 厂

The name of a great officer of Ts'e. IX. xvii. 4; xix. 11.

(1) A clan-name in Ch'in. III. xxvii. 3. (2) The name of a viscount of T'ang. X. iii. 1.

(1) The name of a minister of Tsin. IX. i. 2. (2) 厥貉, the name of a place, probably in the pres. dis. of Hëang-shing, dep. Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan. VI. x. 7.

厥懋, the name of a place, site not known. X. xi. 7; xiv. 1.

(1) The name of a small State, in the pres. Suy Chow, dep. Tih-gan, Hoo-pih. V. xv. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title of an earl of Ch'ing. III. xxi. 4.

## THE 28TH RADICAL. 厶

(1) To leave. 大去, to take a grand leaving, i. e., to leave and never return. III. iv. 4. (2) 去疾, the name of a prince of Ch'ing, VIII. iii. 7.

去  
k'eu

(1) To put away. VII. viii. 4: X. xv. 2. (2) 去疾, the name:—1st of a viscount of Keu, X. i. 7; xiv. 5; 2d, of a marquis of Tsin, X. xxx. 2.—Why the 去 in VIII. iii. 7 should not also be marked in the second tone, I cannot tell. But the best editions do not so mark it, while they do so in the other two cases of the name.

參  
ts'an

The name of a minister of Ch'ing, the son of the famous Tsze-ch'an. X. xxxii. 4.

## THE 29TH RADICAL. 又

又  
y'ew及  
k'eih

Also, again. VIII. vii. 1: X. xxv. 4.

To come up to or with. V. xxvi. 2. 弗及盟, would not make a covenant with him. VI. xvi. 1. Everywhere it occurs as a conjunction=and; but we must often construe it as a preposition=with, and sometimes=against. Many contend that it has often a peculiar signification in the Ch'ün Ts'ëw,=and, involving also; but this is doubtful. I. i. 2, 5; ii. 4: II. xiii. 1; *et passim.*

友  
y'ew叔  
shuh

The name of a son of duke Hwan, from whom came the Ke-sun clan or family in Loo. III. xxv. 6; xxvii. 3: V. i. 9; iii. 6; vii. 6; xiii. 5; xvi. 2.

(1) The third in order of birth; used both of males and females. I. vii. 1: II. xi. 7; xv. 6: III. xii. 1; xxvii. 5; *et scepe*. It is also often used as the designation;—as in II. v. 3: III. i. 6; xxiii. 2, 7; xxv. 1; *et al.* (2) A clan-name in Loo, derived from Shuh-heih, a brother of duke Seuen, mentioned in VII. xvii. 7. IX. xiv. 1; xvi. 7; xx. 7; xxii. 3; xxx. 6: X. i. 9; ii. 2; iii. 2; *et al.* It seems also to occur as a clan-name in the royal domain, in VI. 1. 3; but this is not certain. (3) 叔孫, the clan-name of the 2d of the three great families of Loo, derived from Yu, or Shuh-ya, the son of duke Hwan, whose death is recorded in III. xxxii. 3. VI. i. 7; iii. 1; ix. 3; xi. 6; xviii. 5: VII. i. 4: VIII. ii. 3: IX. ii. 8; *et scepissime*. We find 叔 alone in VI.

xiv. 3. (4) 叔仲 was the clan-name of a branch of the Shuh-sun. It occurs only once in the text, in VI. xi. 2; but several members of it are mentioned in the Chuen. In VI. xiv. 3, the 仲 is omitted. (5) 世叔, a clan-name in Wei. See 世. (6) 叔公, a clan-name in Wei. See 公.

取  
ts'eu

To take. II. ii. 4. It is used of the seizure of individuals; of the taking of towns, and territory; of the capture of an army. I. iv. 1: III. ix. 7: V. iii. 3; xxvi. 8; xxxi. 1: VI. vii. 2: VII. i. 8: VIII. vi.

叛  
p'wan口  
k'ow句  
k'eu句  
kow召  
shaou台  
t'ae司  
sze吁  
yu合  
hoh吉  
keih同  
t'ung

3: IX. xiii. 2: X. xxxii. 1: XII. xiii. 1; *et al.* To revolt; to hold in rebellion. IX. xxvi. 2: XII. xv. 1; *et al.*

## THE 30TH RADICAL. 口

The mouth. VII. iii. 1.

須句, —a small State, in the pres. T'ung-p'ing Chow, dep. T'ae-gan. Its lords were Fungs, and said to be descended from Fuh-he. V. xxii. 1: VI. vii. 2.

句繹, a place in Choo, probably in the present dis. of Tsow, dep. Yen-chow. XII. ii. 2.

(1) A small State, in the royal domain, in the pres. dis. of Yuen-k'ëuh, dep. Këang Chow, Shan-se. It was held by the descendants of the duke of Shaou of the Shoo-king, with the title of earl; but his appanage was more to the east, in Shen-se. The Shaou of the Ch'ün Ts'ëw was probably a grant from the crown after king P'ing's removal of the capital to Loh. VI. v. 3: VII. xv. 5: VIII. viii. 7: X. xxvi. 8. (2) 召陵, a place in Ts'oo, in pres. dis. of Yen-shing, Heu Chow, Ho-nan; famous for a covenant between Ts'e and Ts'oo. V. iv. 3: XI. iv. 2.

A city of Loo, in the pres. dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. IX. xii. 1, 2.

To preside over. We have 司馬, the minister of War, and 司城, the minister of Works, in XI. viii. 8; xv. 2. In both texts the reference is to ministers of Sung, whose 司城 bore, in Chow and in the other States, the title of 司空.

(1) 州吁, a prince of Wei, who murdered his ruler, and made himself marquis of the State for a short time. I. iv. 2, 6. (2) 留吁, a tribe of the Red Teih, who had their seat in the pres. dis. of T'un-lëw, dep. Loo-gan, Shan-se. VII. xvi. 1.

合比, the name of a great officer of Sung. X. vi. 5.

(1) Fortunate. 吉禘, the service performed when the spirit-tablet of a deceased king or ruler of a State was solemnly placed in the ancestral temple. IV. ii. 2. (2) The name of a minister of Ch'ing. X. xxv. 2. (3) 吉射, an officer of Tsin, a scion of the Fau or Sze clan. XI. xiii. 6.

(1) Together. Used often in accounts of covenants, with what precise signification is disputed. III. xvi. 4; xxvii. 2:

后  
how  
向  
hēang

君  
keun

舍  
han  
吳  
woo

吾  
woo

告  
kaou  
告  
kuh

周  
chow

VII. xii. 6; VIII. vii. 5; ix. 2; *et al.* In the account of a siege. IX. xviii. 4. (2) The name:—1st, of a son of duke Hwan of Loo, afterwards duke Chwang, II. vi. 5; 2d, of a great officer of Tsin, VIII. viii. 6.

Queen,=the king's bride II. viii. 6; IX. xv. 2.

(1) A small State, held by Kēangs, probably in the present Keu Chow, dep. E-chow. I. ii. 2 (入向=entered the principal city of Hēang). V. xxvi. 1; VII. iv. 1; IX. xiv. 1, probably all relate to the same place. But in II. xvi. 4, we seem to have a Hēang, properly belonging to Loo. (2) A clan-name in Sung. IX. xv. 1; X. i. 2; xxi. 3; *et al.*

(1) A ruler. Applied to the rulers of the different States, without distinction of their different ranks. I. iv. 2; II. ii. 1; xviii. 5; V. ix. 6; *et passim*. (2) 小君 is used for the wife of the ruler, so denominated by the people of the State. It is used in the Ch'un Tsēw in describing the burial of the wives of the ruler of Loo, and=duchess. III. xxii. 2; V. ii. 2; VI. v. 2; VII. viii. 9; IX. ii. 7; iv. 5; ix. 4; X. xi. 8.

Pearls and precious stones put into the mouth of a corpse. VI. v. 1.

(1) The name of a State,—the chief city of which was in the pres. dis. of Woo, dep. Soo-chow. The State might be said to date from T'ae-pih, celebrated in the She and the Analects, the son of king T'ae. He had his seat in Mei-le (梅里),—in the pres. dep. of Chang-chow.

King Woo constituted a great-grandson of Chung-yung, brother and successor of T'ae-pih, viscount of Woo; but it is not till the 7th year of duke Ch'ing that the State appears in the text of the Ch'un Ts'ew. VIII. vii. 2, 7; xv. 10; IX. iii. 1; *et al.* (2) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Tsin, IX. xxvi. 4; X. xv. 5; *et al.*; 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in, X. xiii. 9; XI. iv. 1; 3d, of a great officer of Ts'ae, X. xv. 3.

(1) 吾離, name of a marquis of T'ang. II. vii. 3. (2) 夷吾, name of a marquis of Tsin. V. xxiv. 5.

To announce, to represent with a request. III. xxviii. 7.

In the phrase 告月, to inaugurate the beginning of a month with the usual ceremonies. VI. vi. 8.

(1) The name of the appanage in the royal domain, granted by king Woo to his brother Tan, the famous duke of Chow, and which was held by one branch of his descendants, V. ix. 2. (2) 成周 the eastern capital of Chow. VII. xvi. 2; X. xxvi. 7; xxxii. 4. (3) The name of a marquis of Tsin. IX. xv. 7.

命  
ming

和  
ho  
咎  
k'ew

咎  
kaou  
咸  
hēen

咎  
heuen  
哀  
gan

哭  
k'uh  
唁  
yen

唐  
t'ang  
商  
shang

啟  
k'ue  
善  
shen

喜  
he  
喪  
sang

單  
shen

(1) To charge. 胥命, they charged or pledged each other. II. iii. 2. (2) The symbol of rank, constituting the investiture of a ruler by the king, with other tokens of dignity and of the royal favour. III. i. 6 (where those tokens are strangely sent to the deceased duke Hwan): VI. i. 5; VII. viii. 7.

(1) The name of a duke of Sung. I. iii. 5. (2) Paddy, rice. III. xxviii. 6.

(1) 無咎, the name of a minister of Ts'e. VIII. xv. 10; xvii. 5. (2) 宜咎, the name of a great officer of Ch'in. IX. xxiv. 11.

膚咎如, a tribe of the Red Teih. VIII. iii. 11.

咸丘, a district in Loo,—probably in Yen-chow dept.; but it may have been in dep. of Ts'au-chow. II. vii. 1.

The name:—1st, of a minister of the king, I. i. 4; 2d, of a great officer of Wei, V. xxviii. 11, 19; xxx. 3.

(1) The posthumous title of:—1st, a marchioness of Loo, V. ii. 2; 2d, a marquis of Ch'in, X. viii. 10; 3d, an earl of Ts'in, XI. ix. 7. (2) 子哀, the designation of a minister of Sung. VI. xiv. 10.

To wail;—on an occasion of calamity. VIII. iii. 4.

To condole with one,—on occasion of his meeting with calamity or misfortune. X. xxv. 6; xxix. 1; xxxi. 4.

A place, probably a city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Yu-t'ae, dep. Yen-chow. I. ii. 4; II. ii. 8, 9.

(1) 商人,—see 人. (2) 商臣, the name of a prince of Ts'oo who murdered his ruler. VI. i. 10. (3) 商任,—see 任.

啟陽, a city in Loo,—in dep. of E-chow. XII. iii. 4.

善道, a place in Woo,—probably in the pres. Sze Chow, Gan-hwuy. IX. v. 4.

The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, VIII. xiv. 4; xvi. 3; 2d, of a minister of Wei, IX. xxvi. 1, 7; xxvii. 3; 3d, of another minister of Wei, X. xxv. 2; xxvii. 4.

(1) The coffin and corpse. II. xviii. 3; V. i. 10; VI. xv. 4; VIII. ix. 1; XI. 1, 2. (2) The mourning and early preparations for burial. XI. xv. 8.

The name of a State in the royal domain. VIII. xvii. 2, 8 sufficiently establish the existence of such a State. We there find—'the viscount of Shen.' It is probably the same that is mentioned in III. i. 3; xiv. 2, 4; VI. xiv. 11; xv. 6. There, indeed, we find—'the earl of Shen'; though many critics understand the characters as=Shen Pih, a great officer of Loo being intended. This seems to me very unlikely; and in other cases

嘉  
ka

嘗  
chang  
囊  
nang

四  
sze  
固  
koo

固  
yew  
國  
kwok

固  
yu  
圍  
wei

土  
t'oo

在  
tsae  
地  
te

垂  
shuy  
ch'uy

we find the rank of rulers of States, now raised, now degraded.

The name:—1st, of a prince and great officer of Ch'ing, IX. xix. 12; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X. xii. 2; 3d, of a viscount of Shin (沈), XI. iv. 3.

To offer the autumnal sacrifice. II. xiv. 5.

A clan-name in Ts'oo. XI. iv. 14. Williams' tonic dictionary gives this character under 衣.

### THE 31st RADICAL. 口.

Four; fourth, in the specification of months and years. I. iv. 1; V. 2; *et passim*. A fourth time. V. xxxi. 3.

The name:—1st, of a minister of Ts'e, VII. v. 3, 5; xv. 7; 2d, of a duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 6; 3d, of a marquis of Ts'e, IX. xxx. 2.

A park. VIII. xviii. 10; X. ix. 5; XI. xiii. 2.

(1) A State, a country. III. iv. 4. (2) A clan-name in Ts'e. V. xxxiii. 2; VII. x. 17; VIII. ii. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 10; *et saepe*.

(3) 平國, the name of a marquis of Ch'in. VII. x. 8. 東國, the name of a marquis of Ts'e. X. xxiii. 5.

The name of a great officer of Wei. XI. iv. 12.

(1) To besiege. I. v. 8; III. viii. 3; V. vi. 2, 3; VI. iii. 4; *et saepe*. (2) The name of a prince of Ts'oo. X. i. 2.

### THE 32d RADICAL. 土.

踐土, a place in Ch'ing,—in the pres. dis. of Yung-tsih, dep. K'ae-fung, where there was a great meeting of the States after the battle of Shing-puh, and duke Wan of Tsin was acknowledged as leader of the States. The king himself is said to have been present. V. xxviii. 8.

To be in—. IX. xxix. 1.

(1) The earth. In the phrase 地震, there was an earthquake. VI. ix. 11; IX. xvi. 6; X. xix. 3; xxiii. 9; XII. iii. 2. (2) The name of a prince of Sung. XI. x. 9; xi. 1.

(1) A place whose situation is not clearly ascertained, and which has been claimed for Wei, for Loo, and for Ts'au. I. viii. 1; II. i. 2; III. iv. 3. (2) A place in Ts'e,—in dis. of Ping-yin, dep. T'ae-gan. VII. viii. 3. (3) 垂龍, a place in Ch'ing,—in pres. dis. of Yung-tsih, dep. K'ae-fung. VI. ii. 4. (4) 垂葭, a place, probably in the dep. of Ts'au-chow. XI. xiii. 1.

城  
shing

城  
shing

城  
shing

執  
chih  
堅  
k'een

墮  
t'oo  
塗  
huoe

壤  
jang

士  
sze  
壬  
jin

壽  
show

夏  
h'ao  
夏  
h'ao

(1) To wall, to fortify. I. vii. 3; ix. 4; II. v. 5; *et saepe*. (2) 司城,—see 司.

(3) 中城,—see 中. (4) 臺城,—see 臺. (5) 城濮, a place in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ts'au, dep. Ts'au-chow; the scene of a great battle between Tsin and Ts'oo. III. xxvii. 7; V. xxviii. 5. (6) 新城, a city in Ch'ing,—in pres. dis. of Mei, dep. K'ae-fung. V. xvi. 2. There was a city of the same name in Sung,—in pres. dis. of Shang-k'ew, dep. Kwei-tih. VI. xiv. 4.

(7) 彭城, a city of Sung,—in the pres. dis. of T'ung-shan, dep. Seu-chow, K'ang-soo. See 彭. (8) 容城, a city in the pres. dis. of K'een-le, dep. King-chow, Hoo-pih, to which Heu transferred its capital. XI. iv. 7. (9) 王城, the royal city, called Keah-juh (邾郢),—close by the pres. dis. city of Loh-yang. X. xxii. 8.

To seize and hold as a prisoner. II. xi. 4; III. xvii. 1; V. iv. 4; v. 9; xix. 1, 4; xxi. 4; xxviii. 4; VI. xiv. 11, 12; *et al.*

The name of an earl of Ch'ing. VIII. iv. 2.

To dismantle, to throw down the wall of a city. XI. xii. 3, 5.

濤塗, the name of a great officer of Ch'in. V. iv. 4.

To be broken, to go to ruin. VI. xiii. 5.

黑壤, a place in Tsin,—in the pres. district of Ts'in-shwuy, dep. Tsih-chow, Shan-se. VIII. vii. 5.

### THE 33d RADICAL. 士.

A clan-name in Tsin. VI. ii. 4; ix. 6; VIII. viii. 9, 10; xv. 10; xviii. 7, 13; IX. xii. 3; xiv. 1, 7; xix. 9, 15; *et al.*

(1) A calendaric stem-character. II. iii. 4; vi. 3; *et passim*. (2) Name of a marquis of Ts'e. XII. xiv. 9. (3) 壬夫, the name of a prince and great officer of Ts'oo. IX. i. 4; v. 6.

The name:—1st, of an earl of Ts'au, VII. xiv. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Sung, VIII. viii. 5.

### THE 35th RADICAL. 夕.

Lower 3d tone. Summer; in summer. I. i. 3; ii. 2; *et passim*.

(1) A clan-name in Ch'in. VII. x. 8; X. xiii. 7; XII. xiii. 11. (2) The name:—1st, of a viscount of L'ew, IX. xv. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Ch'ing, a cadet of

the ruling House, IX. xxv. 9; 3d, of a great officer of Ts'e, XI. vii. 7; viii. 6; XII. iii. 1; vi. 4.  
A small State,—in the present Kwei Chow, dept. E-ch'ang, Hoo-pih. Its lords were viscounts, a branch of the House of Ts'oo, V. xxvi. 6.

## THE 36TH RADICAL. 夕.

**外** *wae*  
The outside. **于外**, outside [the city]. III. i. 4.  
(1) Many. III. xvii. 4. (2) **曼多**, the name of a great officer of Tsin. XII. vii. 2; xiii. 7.  
**夜** *yay*  
In the night-time. III. vii. 2. **夜中**, at midnight. *ib.*

## THE 37TH RADICAL. 大.

**大** *ta*  
(1) Great, greatly; grand. I. ix. 2: II. ii. 4; *et sepe*. We have **大雩**, to have a grand sacrifice for rain, II. v. 7; *et al.*; **大閱**, to have a grand military review, II. vi. 3; **大水**, to have great floods, II. i. 3; xiii. 3: IX. xxiv. 6; *et al.*; **大事**, to have great sacrificial business, VI. ii. 6; **大旱**, to have a great drought, VII. vii. 4; *et al.*; **大饑**, to have a great famine, a failure of all the crops, IX. xxiv. 13; **大弓**, a great bow that had been conferred on the duke of Chow, and was one of the precious things of Loo, XI. viii. 16; ix. 3; **大去其國**, to take a grand leave of one's State, to leave it for good. III. iv. 4. (2) **大夫**, a great officer, one in high position and employment. II. ii. 1: III. ix. 2; xii. 3; xxiv. 6; *et sepe*. (3) **大棘**, a place in Sung,—in the pres. Suy Chow, dep. Kwei-tih, the scene of a battle between Sung and Ch'ing. VII. ii. 1. **大鹵**, a place in Tsin,—probably in the pres. dis. of T'ae-yuen, dept. T'ae-yuen, Shan-se. X. i. 6. (4) **大辰**, a space in the heavens, embracing part of Libra and Scorpio. X. xvii. 5. (5) **大心**, the name of a great officer of Sung. X. xxv. 2: XI. x. 8; xi. 3.  
Great, grand. **太廟**, the ancestral temple of the ruling House of Loo; or specially, the temple of the first duke of Loo. V. viii. 5: VI. ii. 6: VII. viii. 3. **太室** is the reading of Kung-yang, adopted

天  
*t'ien*

by the K'ang-he editors, in VI. xiii. 5, meaning perhaps the shrine-house or temple of Pih-k'in, the first duke of Loo. Heaven. In the denominations of the king, as **天王**, =king by Heaven's grace, expressive of his supremacy over all the States, I. i. 4; iii. 3: II. iv. 2; viii. 2; xv. 1, 2: V. viii. 6; xxiv. 4; xxviii. 17: VI. i. 5, viii. 3: VII. x. 12: VIII. v. 6: IX. i. 5; xxviii. 8; xxx. 4: X. xxii. 4; xxiii. 8: XI. xiv. 16; and **天子**, son of Heaven, expressive of the foundation of the royal authority in the favour of Heaven. VIII. viii. 7.

夫  
*foo*

(1) **大夫**,—see **大**. (2) **夫人**, the ordinary designation for the marchioness, or the wife of the marquis, of Loo. I. ii. 7: II. xviii. 1: III. ii. 4; iv. 1; *et sepe*. (3) **夫鐘**, a place in the small State of Shing,—in the pres. dis. of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. II. xi. 8. (4) In names. **良夫**, the name of a great officer of Wei. VII. vii. 1: VIII. ii. 2, 3; *et al.* **佞夫**,—see **佞**. **區夫**,—see **區**. **壬夫**,—see **壬**.

夷  
*e*

The general name for the wild tribes of the east. **淮夷**, the tribes about the Hwae. X. iv. 2, 4. (2) A place in Ts'e, according to Kung-yang, or in Loo, acc. to Too Yu. V. i. 5. (3) A place, called also **城父**, to which Heu removed his capital city, in. X. ix. 2. It was in the pres. Poh Chow, dep. Ying-chow, Gan-hwuy. (4) **夷儀**,—see **儀**. (5) The name:—1st, of an earl of Ch'ing, VII. iv. 3; 2d, of a marquis of Tsin. X. xvi. 4; 3d, of an earl of Szech, XII. x. 8. We have also **與夷**, the name of a duke of Sung, II. ii. 1; **夷吾**, the name of a marquis of Tsin, V. xxiv. 5; **夷臯**, the name of a marquis of Tsin, VII. ii. 4; **牟夷**, the name of an officer of Keu, X. v. 4; **夷未**, the name of a viscount of Woo, X. xv. 1; **夷伯**,—see **伯夷** being there the honorary epithet.

夾  
*k'eh*

**夾谷**, the name of a valley, where the marquises of Ts'e and Loo had a meeting, at which Confucius is said to have distinguished himself,—probably in the pres. dis. of Lac-woo, dep. T'ae-gan. XI. x. 2, 3.

夾  
*k'eh*

The name of a great officer of Ch'in. IX. xxvii. 2: X. viii. 9.

(1) To flee to. Generally found along with **出**. II. xi. 6: IV. ii. 5: V. v. 7; *et sepe*. (2) To hurry to. XI. xv. 8.

奚  
*he*

(1) A place in Loo, the scene of a battle between Ts'e and Loo,—in pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. II. xvii. 3. (2) **奚齊**, the name of a young prince of Tsin. V. ix. 6.

## THE 38TH RADICAL. 女.

女  
*neu*

A daughter; a young lady. It is used in the text for what we call a bride, the daughter of some noble House, while the marriage is in process of being celebrated; and in one case for the same after the celebration, with regard to the final ratification of the marriage. I. ii. 5: II. iii. 5: III. xxiv. 3: VII. i. 2: VIII. ix. 5; xiv. 3; *et al.* See **逆** and **致**.

攸  
*joo*

(1) A clan-name in Ch'in. III. xxv. 1. (2) **女栗**, a place unascertained, the scene of a covenant between duke Wan of Loo and a viscount of Soo. VI. x. 5.

如  
*joo*

(1) As, like. III. vii. 2. (2) To go to. II. iii. 5; v. 2, 9; xviii. 1: V. xxvi. 5; *et al.* (3) In names. **僑如**,—see **僑**.

僑  
*joo*

**僑意如**, the name of one of the chiefs of the Ke-sun clan in Loo, X. x. 3; xi. 7; xiii. 7; xiv. 1; xvi. 6; xxxi. 2: XI. v. 4. (4) **僑咎如**,—see **咎**.

姒  
*sze*

The surname of the descendants of the great Yu. Used of ladies of the House of K'e, who were married to marquises of Loo. IX. iv. 3, 5: XI. xv. 9, 13.

姑  
*koo*

(1) In names. **射姑**, the name:—1st, of a prince of Ts'au, II. ix. 4, afterwards earl. III. xxiii. 9; 2d, of an officer of Tsin, VI. vi. 7. **容姑**, the name of an earl of K'e, IX. vi. 1. **益姑**, the name of another earl of K'e, X. vi. 1. **曼姑**, the name of a great officer of Wei. XII. iii. 1. (2) **落姑**, a city of Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Ping-yin, dep. T'ae-gan. IV. i. 4.

益  
*koo*

The name of a cadet of the House of Ts'ae, and high officer. XI. iv. 3: XII. iv. 5.

姓  
*sang*

The surname of the ruling House of Ts'e. It occurs generally, if not only, in connexion with ladies of that house, married to marquises of Loo, and is followed for the most part by **氏**, equivalent, in such a connexion, to our 'lady.' II. iii. 6, 8; xviii. 1: III. ii. 4: VI. iv. 2; *et sepe*. The surname of the House of Ke (**紀**) II. ix. 1. A tribe of the Jung were also distinguished as the K'ang Jung, and said to be descended somehow from Yaou's chief-minister. V. xxxiii. 3; and see the Chuen on IX. xiv. 1. But all the K'ang pretended to trace their lineage up to Shin-nung.

姜  
*k'ang*

The name of a cadet of the House of Ts'ae, and high officer. XI. iv. 3: XII. iv. 5.

The surname of the ruling House of Ts'e. It occurs generally, if not only, in connexion with ladies of that house, married to marquises of Loo, and is followed for the most part by **氏**, equivalent, in such a connexion, to our 'lady.' II. iii. 6, 8; xviii. 1: III. ii. 4: VI. iv. 2; *et sepe*. The surname of the House of Ke (**紀**) II. ix. 1. A tribe of the Jung were also distinguished as the K'ang Jung, and said to be descended somehow from Yaou's chief-minister. V. xxxiii. 3; and see the Chuen on IX. xiv. 1. But all the K'ang pretended to trace their lineage up to Shin-nung.

姬  
*ke*

The surname of the royal House of Chow. **王姬**, a princess of the royal House. III. i. 3; xi. 4. The surname of the House of Loo. We have **伯姬**, the duke's eldest daughter; **叔姬**, the duke's third daughter; &c. I. ii. 6; vii. 1: III. xxv. 4; xxvii. 1, 4; *et sepe*. All the K'es traced their lineage up to Hwang-te.

婁  
*low*

**牟婁**, a city of K'e,—in pres. dis. of Choo-shing, dep. Ts'ing-chow. I. iv. 1. **婁林**, a place in Seu,—in the pres. dis. of Hung, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. V. xv. 12. **袁婁**, a place in Ts'e, the site not satisfactorily determined. VIII. ii. 4. **皆婁**, a city of Choo,—in the pres. Tse-ning Chow, dep. Yen-chow. V. xxxiii. 6. **無婁**, acc. to Too Yu, a city of K'e; and further acc. to Kung-yang, the **牟婁**, above. But from the text we should not infer that it was in K'e at all. VII. xv. 7.

婦  
*joo*

A wife. III. xxiv. 6. But it is used for the lady, when she was only what we call a bride. III. xix. 3 (?): V. xxv. 8; xxxi. 7: VI. iv. 2 (?): VII. i. 3: VIII. xiv. 5.

勝  
*ying*

To escort ladies to the harem of a newly married wife. III. xix. 3: VIII. viii. 11; ix. 6; x. 4.

嬰  
*ying*

(1) **嬰齊**, the name:—1st, of a viscount of T'ang, V. xix. 1; 2d, of a scion of the House of Loo, and a great officer, the son of Shuh-heih in VII. xvii. 7. VIII. ii. 3; vi. 6; viii. 3; xvii. 10; 3d, of a prince of Ts'oo, VIII. ii. 9; vi. 9; vii. 5; ix. 10: IX. iii. 1; 4th, of another high officer of Loo, a grandson of duke Chwang, and son of Chung Suy in VII. viii. 3, VIII. xv. 2. (2) **嬰兒**,—see **兒**.

贏  
*ying*

A city of Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of T'ae-gan, dep. T'ae-gan. II. iii. 1.

THE 39TH RADICAL. 子.

子  
*sze*

(1) A son. I. iii. 5: V. v. 2; ix. 6. Standing alone, and followed by a name, it denotes a son of the ruling, or just deceased, marquis of Loo. II. vi. 5: III. xxxii. 5: VI. xviii. 6: IX. xxxi. 3. **公子**,—see **公**. **世子**,—see **世**. **王子**, king's son, a son of the reigning or some previous sovereign. VI. iii. 2: VII. x. 12; xv. 5 (**王札子**, for **王子札**, is a remarkable inversion of the terms); IX. xxx. 5: X. xxii. 9. **天子**,—see **天**. (2) In the sense of prince and successor in the State, the father



being dead but not yet buried. V. ix. 7; xxviii. 15; XI. iv. 2. Observe the case of **衛子** in V. xxviii. 8. (3) A daughter. VI. xii. 3; xiv. 12; xv. 11; VII. v. 3. (4) In the sense of officer; after the clan-name or the designation. IV. i. 5; ii. 6. (5) In designations. **子帛**, I. ii. 7.

**子突**, III. vi. 1. **子還**, XII. xvi. 2. (6) The fourth of the titles of nobility, = viscount. V. xi. 2; xiv. 2; xxii. 2; xxiii. 4; *et sepiissime*. (7) The surname of the House of Sung, as representing the dynasty of Shang or Yin. I. ii. 7. Observe **孟子** in XII. xii. 2. (8) A calendaric branch-character. II. xviii. 2; VII. xvii. 1; *et al*.

**孔** (1) **孔父**, the designation of a minister of Sung, from whom sprang the K'ung clan or family, to which Confucius belonged. II. ii. 1. We find it as Confucius' clan or surname in XII. xvi. 3. (2) A clan-name in Wei. VII. xiv. 1; XI. xv. 12. (3) A clan-name in Ch'in. IX. xxvii. 2; X. viii. 9.—There was also a K'ung clan in Ch'ing, individuals of which are mentioned in the Chuen.

A comet. VI. xiv. 5; X. xvii. 5; XII. xiii. 9; xiv. 13. **字星** and **彗星** are now the ordinary designations of a comet. From the style of the three passages in the text, I conclude that **字** is descriptive of the appearance or motion of the **星** or star. That the texts refer to a comet there can be no doubt.

The honorary or sacrificial title of a marquis of Ts'e, V. xxvii. 3; of an earl of K'e, IX. xxiii. 4.

(1) The 4th (or, it may be, the 3d) in the order of birth, so becoming a designation. II. ix. 1; xvii. 5; III. iii. 4; V. xiv. 2; xv. 9; *et al*. **季友**, in V. xvi. 2, is the designation and name of the son of duke Hwan, from whom came the Ke or Ke-sun family in Loo. (2) The third or last. X. xxv. 4. (3) **季孫**, the clan-name of the third of the great clans of Loo. VI. vi. 2, 3; xv. 1, 9; xvi. 1; xviii. 8; VII. i. 4; x. 15; VIII. ii. 3; vi. 10; ix. 5; xi. 3; xvi. 12, 14; *et sepiissime*.

(1) The eldest. XII. xii. 2. (2) **公孟**,—see **公**.

(1) Grandson;—which meaning is apparent in **公孫**; see **公**. We find **孫** also in various clan-names, such as **仲孫** (see **仲**); **叔孫** (see **叔**); **季孫** (see **季**); **華孫** (see **華**); **臧孫** (see **臧**). (2) A clan name of Wei. VII. vi. 1; vii. 1; VIII. ii. 2, 3; iii. 11, 12, 13; iv. 4; vii. 9; *et sepe*.

**孫**  
sun

To retire, to withdraw. A euphemism for—to flee. III. i. 2; IV. ii. 4; X. xxv. 5.

# THE 40TH RADICAL. 宀.

**安**  
gan

**安甫**, the place of a meeting between the marquis of Ts'e and others, situation undetermined. XI. x. 9.

**完**  
huan

The name:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, I. iv. 2; 2d, of a minister of Ts'oo, V. iv. 3.

**宋**  
sung

The State of Sung, of which the capital was Shang-k'ew, a name remaining in the dis. so called of dept. Kwei-tih. The country embraced in that department was the principal part of the dukedom of Sung; but it comprehended also portions of the pres. provinces of K'ang-soo and Gan-hwuy. Its dukes had the surname Tsze (**子**), as being the representatives of the sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang. It is to be observed that **宋** in the text, like the names of other States, frequently denotes the capital city of the State. I. i. 5; iii. 6, 8; v. 5; *et passim*.

**宗**  
tsung

(1) Connected with—having the same surname as—the rulers of the State, in connexion with which we find the term. III. xxiv. 6 (**宗婦**). (2) A clan-name in Ch'in. XII. xiv. 6, 13.

**定**  
ting

(1) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, VIII. xv. 1; 2d, of a marchioness of Loo, IX. iv. 5; 3d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X. xxviii. 4; 4th, of a marquis of Loo (who gives the title to Book XI.) XI. xv. 12, and of his wife, 13. (2) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Sung, IX. xxix. 5; X. xii. 3; *et al*; 2d, of an earl of S'eh, XI. xii. 1.

**宛**  
yuen

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ch'ing, I. viii. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'oo, X. xxvii. 3.

**宜**  
e

(1) **宜申**, the name of a great officer of Ts'oo, V. xxi. 6; VI. x. 3. (2) **宜咎**, the name of a great officer of Ch'in. IX. xxiv. 11.

**宣**  
seuen

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of one of the kings of Chow, VII. xvi. 2; 2d, of a marquis of Loo (who gives its title to Book VII.), VIII. i. 2; 3d, of a marquis of Ts'ae, I. viii. 7; 4th, of a marquis of Wei, II. xiii. 2; 5th, of an earl of Ts'au, VIII. xiii. 6.

**室**  
shih

(1) A temple or shrine-house,—that of the first duke of Loo. VI. xiii. 5 (**世室**). (2) A House or family. X. xxii. 6 (**王室**, the royal House).

**宮**  
kung

(1) A palace. V. xx. 3; IX. xxxi. 2. (2) A temple or shrine-house. I. v. 4; III. xxiii. 8; xxiv. 1; VIII. iii. 4; vi. 2; X. xv. 2; XI. i. 6; XII. iii. 3. (3) **北宮**,—see **北**.

**宰**  
tsae

(1) The chief-minister. V. ix. 2; xxx. 7. (2) Another officer of the king, whom we may designate assistant or sub-administrator. I. i. 4; II. iv. 2.

**家**  
k'ea

A clan-name in Chow. II. viii. 2; xv. 1.

**容**  
yung

(1) **姑容**,—see **姑**. (2) **容城**,—see **城**.

**宿**  
suh

(1) A small State,—in the pres. Tung-p'ing Chow, dep. T'ae-gan. Its chiefs were barons, with the surname Fung (風). I. i. 5; viii. 5; III. x. 3. (2) The name of one of the chiefs of the Ke-sun clan. IX. vi. 7; vii. 5; ix. 2; xiv. 1, 7; xv. 4; *et al*.

**寅**  
yin

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. viii. 2; II. xii. 2; *et passim*. (2) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxiii. 5; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'in, XI. xiii. 6.

**密**  
meih

(1) A city of Keu,—in pres. dis. of Ch'ang, dep. Lae-chow. I. ii. 6. (2) **密州**, the name of a viscount of Keu. IX. xxxi. 7.

**寇**  
k'ow

**御寇**, the name of a prince of Ch'in. III. xxii. 3.

**甯**  
ning

(1) A clan-name in Wei, VI. iv. 6; IX. xxvii. 3; *et al*. (2) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Sung, X. xx. 4; xxi. 3; xxiii. 2; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X. xxviii. 3; 3d, of a viscount of T'ang, X. xxviii. 5; 4th, of a baron of Heu, IX. xxvi. 8. (3) **甯母**, a city of Loo,—in pres. dis. of Yu-t'ae, dep. Yen-chow. V. vii. 4.

**寢**  
che

To place. XII. xiv. 3.

**寢**  
tsin

A chamber of the palace. We have **路寢**, the State chamber, III. xxxii. 4; VII. xviii. 7; VIII. xviii. 11; **小寢**, the Small chamber, V. xxxiii. 11; and **高寢**, the High chamber, XI. xv. 5.

**寤**  
woo

**寤生**, the name of an earl of Ch'ing. II. xi. 2.

**寤**  
shih

(1) To yield fruit. V. xxxiii. 12. (2) Written **寤**, probably the name of a duke of Chow. II. vi. 1.

**寤**  
shin

The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. IX. xiii. 3.

**寤**  
paou

Precious, valuable. **寶玉**, the precious sceptre of jade. XI. viii. 16; ix. 3.

# THE 41ST RADICAL. 寸.

**封**  
fung

(1) The name of a great officer of Ts'e. IX. xxvii. 1; xxviii. 6. (2) **封人**, the name of a marquis of Ts'ae. II. xvii. 4.

**射**  
yih

(1) The name of an officer of Little Choo. XII. xiv. 2. (2) **射姑**,—see **姑**.

**射**  
shay

**吉射**,—see **吉**.

# THE 42d RADICAL. 小.

**小**  
seao

Small, little. (1) **小寢**,—see **寢**.

**小**  
seao

(2) **小君** is the designation employed for a marchioness of Loo, in the record of her burial. See **君**. (3) **小白**, the name of a marquis of Ts'e, the famous 'duke Hwan.' III. ix. 3; V. xvii. 5. (4) **小穀**, apparently a city of Loo. III. xxxii. 1. (5) **小邾**, the name of a small State, in the pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. It first appears in the text under the name of E (兒), in the 5th year of duke Chwang, when it was only an attached territory of Sung. Afterwards its lords were made viscounts, and the name changed to Little Choo. V. vii. 2; IX. ii. 9; *et sepe*.

**小**  
seao

The name of an officer of Chow. XI. xiv. 9.

**尙**  
shang

THE 44TH RADICAL. 尸.

**尹**  
yin

(1) A clan-name of an officer of Ch'ing, who accompanied duke Yin to Loo. This, however, is uncertain, as is the reading **尹氏** in I. iii. 4. (2) The name of a State in the royal domain of Chow,—in the pres. dis. of E-yang, dep. Ho-nan. Its lords were viscounts. VIII. xvi. 10; xvii. 2.

**居**  
keu

(1) To dwell, to reside. V. xxiv. 4; X. xxii. 7; xxvi. 2, 5; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 8. (2) The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. X. xxvi. 6.

**屈**  
k'eu

A clan-name in Ts'oo. It originated from the K'eu-h'ea, mentioned in the Chuen appended to II. xi. 1. V. iv. 3; IX. xxv. 8; xxvii. 2; X. v. 2.

**屋**  
uh

(1) A roof. VI. xiii. 5. (2) **瓦屋**, a place in the royal domain,—in the pres. dis. of Wei-ch'uen, dep. K'ae-fung. I. viii. 6.

**展**  
chen

**展輿**, the name of a viscount (though not so designated in the text) of Keu. X. i. 8.

**履**  
le

(1) The name of a prince of Ts'ae. IX. xx. 5. (2) **履綸** (the reading of Kung and Kuh in I. ii. 5), the name of a great officer of Ke (紀).

## THE 46TH RADICAL. 山

山  
shan

(1) A mountain, a Hill. VIII. v. 4 (梁山). (2) In VIII. xv. 9, 山 appears as if it were the name of a great officer of Sung; but it is an abbreviation for 子山, the designation of the officer intended. (3) 山戎, the Hill Jung, is another name for the 北戎, or northern Jung. III. xxx. 7.

岸  
gan

長岸, a place in Ts'oo, the scene of a battle between Ts'oo and Woo,—in the pres. dis. of T'ang-too, dep. T'ae-p'ing, Gan-hwuy. X. xvii. 6.

崇  
ts'ung

A small State, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Ts'in,—in the pres. dis. of Hoo, dep. Se-gan, Shen-se. VII. i. 13.

崔  
ts'au

A clan-name in Ts'e. VII. x. 5: VIII. xviii. 14: IX. i. 3; xxiv. 5; xxv. 1, 2.

崩  
pang

(1) To fall down. Used of a land-slip. V. xiv. 3: VIII. v. 4. (2) To die. The term appropriate to narrate the death of a king. I. iii. 3: II. xv. 2; *et al.*

品  
yen

A city in what was a kind of neutral territory between Ch'ing and Sung. XII. xiii. 1.

## THE 47TH RADICAL. 𡵓

州  
chow

(1) A small State, held by K'angs,—in the pres. dis. of Gan-k'ew, dep. Ts'ing-chow. II. v. 9. Its ruler appears as a duke, and visits the court of Ts'au, apparently abandoning his own State, which was then absorbed by K'e (杞).

(2) In names. 州吁,—see 吁. 州蒲, the name of a marquis of Ts'in. VIII. xviii. 2. 密州,—see 密. 州仇,—see 仇. (3) In names of places. 平州, a city of Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Lae-woo, dep. T'ae-gan. VII. i. 6. 舒州, also a city of Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. XII. xiv. 3, 9. 州來, a city of Ts'oo,—in the pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. vii. 7: X. xiii. 12: XII. ii. 8. 陽州,—a city on the borders between Loo and Ts'e, in the pres. dis. of Tung-p'ing, dep. T'ae-gan. X. xxv. 5.

巢  
ch'au

(1) To build nests in trees. X. xxv. 3. (2) A State, lying between Woo and Ts'oo,—in pres. dis. of Ch'au, dep. Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. VI. xii. 4: IX. xxv. 10: X. xxiv. 6. The lords of Ch'au were earls, but their surname is unknown. (3) The name of a great officer of Sung. XII. vi. 10; xii. 5; xiv. 9.

## THE 48TH RADICAL. 工

巫  
woo

The name of a prince of Ch'ing. IX. v. 3.

## THE 49TH RADICAL. 己

己  
ke

A calendaric stem-character. I. iii. 1: II. xiii. 1; *et passim*.

巳  
sze

A calendaric branch-character. I. iii. 1: II. xiii. 1; *et passim*.

巴  
pa

A considerable State, the name of which remains in the dis. so called of dep. Ch'ung-k'ing, Sze-ch'uen. Its lords were Kes, and had the title of viscount. VI. xvi. 6.

## THE 50TH RADICAL. 巾

帥  
suh

To lead. I. ii. 3; iv. 5: V. i. 9; xxvii. 4; *et passim*.

帛  
pih

子帛,—see 子.

帝  
te

帝丘,—see 丘.

師  
sze

(1) A army, a force. I. ii. 3; iv. 5: II. xiii. 1; *et passim*. (2) 京師, the capital. See 京. (3) In names. 益師, a prince of Loo. I. i. 7. 偃師,—see 偃. 徵師, an internuncius of Ch'in. X. viii. 4.

幣  
pe

Pieces of silk,—offered in contracting a marriage. III. xxii. 6: VI. ii. 8: VIII. viii. 5. Offered to a recently married wife. III. xxiv. 6.

## THE 51ST RADICAL. 干

干  
kan

A clan-name in Ch'in. X. viii. 4.

平  
p'ing

(1) Peace, friendship, I. vi. 1. To make peace. VII. xv. 2: XI. x. 1: XII. xv. 7. To reconcile. VII. iv. 1. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Ts'in, X. x. 5; 2d, of a duke of Sung, X. xi. 1; 2d, of an earl of Ts'au, X. xviii. 4; 4th, of a marquis of Ts'ae, X. xxi. 1; 5th, of an earl of K'e, X. xxiv. 7. (3) 平國, the name of a marquis of Ch'in. VII. x. 8. (4) In names of places. 平州,—see 州. 平陽, a city of Loo,—in pres. dis. of Sin-t'ae, dep. Tse-nan. VII. viii. 11. 平丘,—see 丘.

年  
nēn

(1) An year. I. i. 1; ii. 1; *et passim*. (2) In the phrase 有年, to have a

good or plentiful year. II. iii. 10: VII. xvi. 4. (2) The name of a prince of Ts'e, I. vii. 4: II. iii. 9.

## THE 52D RADICAL. 攴

幽  
yēu

A city of Sung,—in pres. dis. of K'au-shing, dep. Kwei-tih. III. xvi. 4; xxvii. 2.

幾  
ke

A great officer of Sung. X. xxxii. 4: XI. i. 1.

## THE 53D RADICAL. 广

庚  
k'ang

(1) A calendaric stem-character. I. ii. 4; iii. 3, 6: II. x. 1; *et passim*. (2) The name of a great officer of Ts'in. VIII. iii. 12, 13. We have also 庚輿, the name of a viscount of Keu. X. xxiii. 6.

庶  
shoo

庶其,—see 其.

庸  
yung

(1) A small State of which little is known,—in the pres. dis. of Chuh-shan, dep. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. VI. xvi. 6. (2) 舒庸, a State held by Yens, descendants of Kaou-yaou,—in the pres. dep. of Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. VIII. xvii. 14.

廐  
k'iao

Stables. III. xxix. 1.

廟  
meau

An ancestral temple. V. xv. 10: VI. vi. 8. 太廟, the temple of the duke of Chow in Loo. II. ii. 4: V. viii. 4: VI. ii. 6: VII. viii. 3.

廩  
lin

A granary. II. xiv. 4. See 御.

廩  
ts'ang

廩咎如,—see 咎.

廩  
leu

The name:—1st, of an earl of Ts'au, VIII. xiii. 4; 2d, of a marquis of Ts'ae, X. xiii. 9; xxi. 5.

## THE 54TH RADICAL. 廌

延  
yen

? long. Descriptive somehow of the ducal stables in Loo. III. xxix. 1.

建  
k'ien

The name of a great officer of Ts'oo. IX. xxv. 8; xxvii. 2.

## THE 56TH RADICAL. 弋

弑  
she

To put to death, to murder;—the term appropriated to the death of a ruler by a subject, or of a father by a son. I. iv. 2: II. ii. 1: III. viii. 5; xii. 3: VI. i. 10; xiv. 9; xvi. 7; xviii. 3: VII. ii. 4; iv. 3; x. 8: VIII. xviii. 2: IX. xxv. 1; xxvi. 1; xxix. 4; xxx. 2; xxxi. 7: X. xiii. 2; xix. 2; xxvii. 2, 10: XI. xiii. 8: XII. vi. 8; xiv. 10.

## THE 57TH RADICAL. 弓

弓  
kung

(1) A bow. XI. viii. 16; ix. 3. (2) The name of a great officer of Loo. IX. xxx. 6: X. ii. 2; iii. 2; v. 6; vi. 8; vii. 3; ix. 1; x. 3; xi. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 2. Not. II. x. 3: V. xxvi. 2: VI. xiv. 7; xvi. 1.

弗  
fuh

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing. XII. vii. 6.

弘  
h'ung

A younger brother. I. vii. 4: II. xiv. 3; *et al.*

弦  
h'een

The name of a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Wei (隗),—in the pres. dis. of K'e-shwuy, dep. Hwang-chow, Hoo-pih. V. v. 6.

弱  
joh

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Sung, IX. vi. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'e, X. i. 2; xi. 7.

張  
chang

The name of a great officer of Ts'e. X. xxix. 1; xxxii. 4: XII. vi. 4.

疆  
k'ow

The name:—1st, of a prince of Loo, I. v. 7; 2d, of a great officer of Sung, XI. x. 12; xi. 1; 3d, of a great officer of Wei, XI. xii. 4; xiii. 4; xiv. 12: XII. x. 8.

## THE 59TH RADICAL. 隹

彪  
p'ew

The name of a marquis of Ts'in. X. x. 4.

彭  
p'ang

(1) 彭生, the name of a great officer of Loo. VI. xi. 2; xiv. 3. (2) In names of places. 彭衙, a place, probably, in Ts'in,—acc. to T'oo Yu, in the pres. dis. of Pih-shwuy, dep. T'ung-chow, Shen-se. VI. ii. 1. 彭城, a city of Sung,—in pres. dis. of T'ung-shan, dep. Seu-chow, K'ang-soo. VIII. xviii. 5: IX. i. 2.

## THE 60TH RADICAL. 犛

徐  
seu

The name of a State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Ying (嬴),—in the pres. Sze Chow, Gan-hwuy. Seu was occupied by tribes of the Jung in the early part of the Chow dynasty. A chief is said to have usurped the title of king, and to have been put to death by king Muh, who reconstituted the State. III. xxvi. 4: V. iii. 3: VI. i. 7: X. iv. 2, 4; *et al.*

得  
t'ih

(1) To get. XI. ix. 3. (2) 得臣, the name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'oo, who lost the battle of Shing-puh, V. xxviii. 6; 2d, of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-sun clan in Loo, VI. iii. 1; ix. 3; xi. 6; xviii. 5.

從  
ts'ung御  
yu復  
復  
fuh  
fow徵  
ching心  
sin忌  
ke快  
k'wae忽  
huh恆  
háng恢  
k'wai息  
seih惠  
huy惡  
goh悼  
taou

To accord with, to be favourable. In the phrase 不從, used of the result of divination as adverse. V. xxxi. 3: VIII. x. 2; XI. vii. 2; ix. 2.

(1) In II. xiv. 4 we have the phrase 御廩, meaning the granary connected with the ancestral temple, in which the grain grown in the field said to be cultivated by the ruler was stored. 御 is, perhaps, =duca!, that which was specially connected with the duke. (2) In names. 御寇.—see 寇. 御說, the name of a duke of Sung. V. ix. 1.

To return. VI. viii. 6: VII. viii. 2: X. ii. 4; *et al.*

Again. In the phrase 復入,—see 入. 復歸 denotes the return to his dignity and position by a prince who has been in exile or degraded for a time. II. xv. 5: V. xxviii. 2, 19, 21: VII. xv. 3: IX. xxvi. 3; *et al.*

In names. 徵舒, an officer of Ch'in, Head of the Hsia family. VII. x. 8. 徵師,—see 師.

## THE 61st RADICAL. 心.

In a name:—大心. See 大.

In a name:—何忌. See 何.

The name of an officer of Choo. X. xxvii. 6.

The name of an earl of Ch'ing, from whom the text strangely withholds his title. II. xi. 6; xv. 5.

(1) Constant, regular. 恆星, the regular stars. III. vii. 2. (2) The name of a great officer of Ts'e. XII. xiv. 3.

意恢, a prince of Keu. X. xiv. 6.

The name of a great officer of Ts'in. V. x. 3.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Loo, I. i. 4; 2d, of a marquis of Ts'e, VII. x. 10; 3d, of a marquis of Ch'in, XI. iv. 6; 4th, of an earl of Ts'in, XII. iv. 2; 5th, of an earl of S'eh, XII. x. 10.

(1) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Wei, IX. xxvii. 2; xxviii. 2; 2d, of another officer of Wei, unless there be an error in the text, X. i. 2; 3d, of a marquis of Wei, X. vii. 5. (2) 惡曹, the name of a place, situation unknown. II. xi. 1.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xvi. 1; 2d, of a viscount of Choo, X. i. 10; 3d, of a baron

of Heu, X. xix. 5; 4th, of an earl of Ts'aou, X. xxviii. 1; 5th, of a viscount of T'ang, X. xxviii. 6; 6th, of an earl of K'e, XI. iv. 10; 7th, of a marquis of Ts'e, XII. x. 7.

In names. 意如,—see 如意

恢,—see 恢.

(1) A clan-name in Ts'e. IX. xxiii. 5; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 6: X. iv. 5. (2) The name of a great officer of Keu. III. xxvii. 5: V. xxv. 7. (3) 慶父, the name of a prince of Loo, a son of duke Hwan, and ancestor of the Chung-sun family. III. ii. 2; xxxii. 6: IV. ii. 5.

(1) The name of a prince of Loo. X. xii. 8. (2) 厥懋,—see 厥.

The honorary or sacrificial title of a marquis of Ch'in. XI. viii. 12.

## THE 62d RADICAL. 戈.

A calendaric stem-character. I. iv. 2: II. i. 1: III. xi. 2; *et passim.*

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. iii. 3; x. 3; *et passim.* (2) The name of a minister of Sung. IX. xv. 1: X. i. 2.

(1) The name of a great officer of Wei. XI. xiv. 1. (2) To guard a territory. V. xxviii. 2: IX. v. 9; x. 9.

The name appropriate to designate the wild tribes of the west; but we find Jung in many different quarters. I. ii. 1, 4: III. xviii. 2; xxi. 4; xxiv. 8; xxvi. 1, 2; *et al.*

Specially, we have:—the 山戎, in III. xxx. 7; xxxi. 4,—another name for the 北戎, or northern Jung, VI. viii. 5; 雒戎, who had their seat in the pres.

dep. of Ho-nan; the 茅戎, who had their seat in the pres. dis. of Ping-luh,

K'ae chow, Shan-se; 陸渾之戎, who were removed by Tsin from their earlier seat in dis. of Tun-hwang, dep.

Gan-se, Kan-suh, to the pres. dis. of Kung, dep. Ho-nan, X. xvii. 4; 戎蠻, a tribe

in the pres. Joo Chow, Ho-nan; and the 姜戎, said to be a branch of the Jung

of Luh-lwán, V. xxxiii. 3.

(1) To settle, to pacify. II. ii. 3. (2)

Also written 郿, a city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow.

II. vi. 2: III. xxx. 2: IX. xv. 3, 4; *et al.*

(3) 成周,—see 周. (4) The name:—1st, of a prince of Sung, VIII. xv. 3; 2d, of a duke of Sung, X. x. 6; 3d, of an

earl of K'e, XI. iv. 5; 4th, of a baron of Heu, XII. xiii. 2; 5th, of a great officer of Wei, XII. xvi. 2. (5) A clan-name

in Ts'oo. X. xii. 6. (6) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marchioness

of Loo, VI. v. 2; ix. 13; ix. 13; 2d, of a

意  
e慶  
k'ing懋  
yin懷  
hvae戊  
mow戊  
scuh戊  
shoo戎  
jung成  
shing成  
ching我  
go戕  
ts'ang戚  
ts'eih戰  
chen戲  
he戴  
tae所  
so所  
hoo承  
shing折  
cheh招  
shuau拔  
pah括  
kuoh挈  
neu挾  
h'eh捷  
ts'eh

marquis of Loo, (who gives the title to Book VIII.), VIII. xviii. 15; 3d, of an earl of Ts'aou, IX. xix. 6; 4th, of a viscount of T'ang, X. iii. 3.

(1) Our; us. II. xviii. 5: III. ix. 6: V. xv. 3: XII. viii. 2; xi. 1; *et al.* (2) 錫我, the name of a baron of Heu, VII. xvii. 1.

界我, an officer of Choo. IX. xxiii. 3. To kill:—the term appropriate to the murder of a ruler by a person of another State. VII. xviii. 4.

A city of Wei,—in the pres. K'ae Chow, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. VI. i. 9: VIII. xv. 3: IX. ii. 6, 9; v. 7; *et al.*

To fight a battle. II. x. 4; xii. 9: V. xv. 13; xviii. 3: VIII. ii. 2; *et al.*

Called also 戲童. A city of Ch'ing, —in the pres. dis. of Fan-shwuy, dep. K'ae-fung. IX. ix. 5.

A small State, held by Tszes (子), —in the pres. dis. of K'au-shing, dep. Kwei-tih. I. x. 6.

## THE 63d RADICAL. 戶.

Place. 王所, the place where the king was. V. xxviii. 10, 17.

A city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. dis. of Yuen-woo, dep. Hwae-king. III. xxiii. 10: VI. vii. 8; xv. 10; xvii. 4: VII. ix. 7, 9: VIII. xvi. 14: X. xxvii. 4.

## THE 64th RADICAL. 手.

承筐, a city of Sung,—in the pres. Suy Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. VI. xi. 2.

A place, the situation of which has not been determined. II. xi. 7.

The name of a prince of Ch'in. X. i. 2; viii. 19.

The name of a place, said to be unascertained; but it is probably the same as 剡, q. v. XI. iii. 5.

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'in, VIII. viii. 6; 2d, of a great officer of Wei, VIII. xvii. 1: IX. xiv. 3.

An officer of Keu. V. i. 9.

An officer of Loo. I. ix. 3.

(1) Prisoners and spoils of war. III. xxxi. 4: V. xxi. 6. (2) The name:—1st of a duke of Sung, III. xii. 3; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, V. xxxii. 2. (2) 捷

蓄, the name of a claimant of the State of Choo. VI. xiv. 7.

## THE 66th RADICAL. 支.

改  
kae放  
fang故  
koo救  
kew敖  
gaou敗  
pae敢  
kan敬  
king文  
wán斗  
tow斯  
sze新  
sin

To change. VII. iii. 1: VIII. vii. 1: XI. xv. 2: XII. i. 3. Always in connexion with circumstances which made it necessary to change the bull for sacrifice.

To send away, to banish. VII. i. 5: X. viii. 9: XII. iii. 7.

On account of:—after the word it governs. IX. xxx. 9.

To relieve, to succour. III. vi. 1; xxviii. 3: IV. i. 2: V. i. 2; vi. 3; *et saepe.*

The name of the son of K'ing-foo, the first of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan in Loo. V. xv. 4: VI. i. 9, 11; ii. 4; vii. 10; viii. 6; xiv. 8; *et al.*

To defeat. I. x. 3: V. xxxiii. 3. 敗績, to suffer a great or disgraceful defeat. II. xiii. 1: III. ix. 6; xxviii. 1: V. xviii. 3; *et al.*

不敢,—see 不.

The honorary title of a marchioness of Loo. VII. viii. 9.

## THE 67th RADICAL. 文.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marchioness of Loo, III. xxii. 2; 2d, of a marquis of Tsin, the famous duke Wan, V. xxxiii. 4; 3d, of a marquis of Loo, giving the title of Book VI., VI. xviii. 4; 4th, of an earl of Ts'aou, VII. xiv. 5; 5th, of a marquis of Ts'ae, VII. xvii. 3; 6th, of a duke of Sung, VIII. iii. 5; 7th, of an earl of K'e, X. vi. 4; 8th, of a viscount of L'ew, XI. iv. 13.

## THE 68th RADICAL. 斗.

北斗,—see 北.

## THE 69th RADICAL. 斤.

The name:—1st, of a baron of Heu, XI. vi. 1; 2d, of one of the chiefs of the Kesun clan in Loo, XI. vi. 4, 7; viii. 13: XII. i. 1; iii. 4, 6.

(1) New. VIII. iii. 4. To repair. III. xxix. 1. 新作, to repair and enlarge.

V. xx. 1: XI. ii. 1. (2) 新臣, the name of a baron of Heu. V. iv. 2. (3)

In names of places. 新鄭, a city of Ch'ing,—in pres. dis. of Meih, dep. K'ae-fung. V. vi. 2. Another city of the same

name in Sung,—in pres. dis. of Shang-

k'ew, dep. Kwei-tih, VI. xiv. 4. **新築** a place in Wei, scene of a battle between Wei and Ts'e.—in pres. dis. of Wei, dep. Ta-ming, VIII. ii. 2.  
**斷道**, a place in Ts'in,—in pres. Ts'in Chow, Shan-se, VII. xvii. 5.

## THE 70TH RADICAL. 方

**方** A quarter or region. **東方**, the eastern quarter of the heavens, XII. xii. 10.  
(1) **於餘丘**,—see **丘**. **於越**,—see **越**; it is difficult to give any explanation of the **於**.  
**施旅** The name of an officer of Ts'e, X. x. 2.  
The name of a viscount of Ts'oo, VII. xviii. 5.

## THE 71ST RADICAL. 无

**既** Completely. Found in descriptions of a total eclipse of the sun, II. iii. 4; VII. viii. 8; IX. xxiv. 4.

## THE 72D RADICAL. 日

**日** (1) The sun. **日有食之**, the sun was eclipsed, I. iii. 1; II. iii. 4; xvii. 8; III. xviii. 1; xxv. 3; xxvi. 5; xxx. 5; V. v. 8; xii. 1; xv. 5; VI. i. 2; xv. 5; VII. viii. 8; x. 3; xvii. 4; VIII. xvi. 4; xvii. 11; IX. xiv. 2; xv. 5; xx. 8; xxi. 5, 6; xxiii. 1; xxiv. 4, 7; xxvii. 6; X. vii. 4; xv. 4; xvii. 2; xxi. 4; xxii. 10; xxiv. 3; xxxi. 7; XI. v. 1; xii. 8; xvi. 9; XII. xiv. 5. (2) A day, VIII. iii. 4. We may translate it by *day*, or by *sun*, in VII. viii. 10; XI. xv. 12.  
Drought; to be suffering from drought, V. xxi. 3; VII. vii. 4.

The sun declining to the west; in the afternoon, XI. xv. 12.

**昌** **昌間**, a district in Loo, perhaps taken from the name of a mountain;—probably in pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow, X. xxii. 3.

A star, the stars, III. vii. 2 (bis). **星孛**, a comet,—see **孛**.  
In spring, I. i. 1; ii. 1; iii. 1; *et passim*.

(1) The name of a marquis of Ts'e, V. xxvii. 2. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of an earl of Ts'au, V. vii. 7; 2d, of a baron of Heu, VII. xvii. 3; 3d,

of a viscount of Ts'oo, IX. xxviii. 9; 4th, of a marquis of Ts'in, X. xvi. 7; 5th, of a marquis of Loo, who gives its title to Book X., XI. i. 4; 6th, of a marquis of Ts'ae, XII. iv. 10.

This,=the same, V. xvi. 1.

In names of places. **時來**,—see **來**. **乾時**,—see **乾**.

The State of Ts'in, a marquisate held by Kes, descended from one of the sons of king Woo,—one of the most powerful States of the Ch'un Ts'ew period. The pres. depp. of T'ae-yuen and P'ing-yang in Shan-se may be considered as the centre of its territory; but it reached east to the depp. of Kwang-p'ing and Ta-ming in Chih-le, and indeed extended much in every direction. Its capital city was first T'ang (唐) in pres. dis. of T'ae-yuen; then Ts'in or Ts'in-yang, in same district: then K'ang (絳), in dis. of Yih-shang, dep. P'ing-yang, which was subsequently called Yih (翼). The capital was then moved to K'eh-yuh, still the name of a dis. in P'ing-yang; retransferred to K'ang; and finally fixed at Sin-t'een, in dis. of K'eh-yuh, which was also called K'ang, V. v. 1; vi. 3; viii. 4; *et passim*. (2) The name of a marquis of Wei, I. iv. 7; II. xii. 8. (3) **晉陽**, a city of Ts'in, mentioned above, XI. xiii. 5.

The last day of the moon, V. xv. 10; VIII. xvi. 6.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Ts'ae, IX. xxx. 8; 2d, of an earl of Ts'in, X. vi. 2; 3d, of one of the kings of Chow, X. xxii. 5; 4th, of a marquis of Ts'e, XII. v. 6.

A place in Ch'ing, VI. viii. 5.

And, with, X. vii. 1; XI. x. 12.

## THE 73D RADICAL. 日

In names of places. **曲池**, a place in Loo,—in the pres. dis. of K'eh-fow, dep. Yen-chow, II. xii. 2. **河曲**, a place in Ts'in,—near the pres. dep. city of P'oo-chow. The scene of a battle between Ts'in and Ts'in, VI. xii. 7. **曲沃**, a city of Ts'in;—see **晉**, IX. xxiii. 7. **曲棘**, a city of Sung,—in the pres. dis. of K'e, dep. K'ae-fung, X. xxv. 8. **曲濮**, a city of Wei,—in pres. dis. of Puh, dep. Tung-ch'ang, XI. viii. 14.

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'in, VIII. vi. 11; viii. 2; ix. 8; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'e, XII. xi. 1, 4.

(1) A State, an earldom held by descendants of one of king Wan's sons. Its capital was T'au-k'ew, in pres. dis. of Ting-t'au, dep. Ts'au-chow, Shan-tung, II. v. 9; ix. 4; *et passim*. Ts'au was extinguished by Sung before the end of the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and the name appears as a city of Sung, in XII. xiv. 7, 9. (2) **惡曹**, the name of a city, of which the situation has not been ascertained, II. xi. 1.

In names. **曼姑**,—see **姑**. **曼多**,—see **多**.

(1) To have a meeting or conference with, I. ii. 1; vi. 2; x. 1; xi. 2; XI. xiv. 5; *et passim*. The meeting or conference, V. xv. 8; XI. iv. 5; *et saepe*. To be present at, to take part in, VI. i. 3; v. 3; IX. xxxi. 5; XI. xv. 11. To join,—and, with, I. iv. 5; x. 2; III. xiv. 2; VII. i. 12; *et al*. (2) The name of a prince of Ts'au, X. xx. 2.

## THE 74TH RADICAL. 月

A month, i. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; *et passim*. In VI. vi. 8, **告月**=to announce the month, *i. e.*, the first day of the month.

(1) To have, I. iii. 1. In the phrase for an eclipse;—see **日**. **有疾**, to fall sick, X. xxiii. 10. (2) As an impersonal verb. **有年**,—see **年**. **有事**,—see **事**. **有蜚**,—see **蜚**. **有星**, there was a comet, XII. xiii. 10. (3) The name of a prince of Ts'ae, X. xi. 9.

Used constantly after **十**, **二十**, **三十**, in specifying months and years. **十有一**, the eleventh, **二十有二**, the 22d, I. i. 6; ii. 7; iii. 7; *et passim*.

The designation of an officer of the court, VI. i. 3. Such at least is the account of the character given by Too Yu and K'ung Ying-tah.

(1) The first day of the moon, I. iii. 4; III. xxv. 3; xxvi. 3; xxx. 5; *et saepe*. **視朔**, to give audience to ministers on the first day of the moon, and arrange for the business of the month, VI. xvi. 2. (2) The name:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, II. xvi. 5; III. vi. 2; xxv. 2; 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in, VI. xiii. 2.

The name of a sacrifice. **三望**, to offer the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey. Spoken of the marquises of Loo; but what those objects were is not fully settled, V. xxxi. 3; VII. iii. 2; *et al*.

**朝** (1) A clan-name in Ts'ae, X. xv. 3. (2) The name of a royal prince, X. xxiii. 8; xxvi. 8. (3) **朝歌** appears in XI.

xiii. 6 as a city of Ts'in, which had appropriated it after Wei changed its capital to Ts'oo-k'ew. Before that, it had been the chief city of Wei; and before the Chow dynasty, it was the last of the capitals occupied by the sovereigns of the Shang-dynasty:—in the pres. dis. of K'e, dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan.

To come or go to court;—whether to the royal court, or to that of one of the feudal States, I. xi. 1; *et saepissime*. **朝**

**公**, to pay a court visit to the duke, III. xxiii. 7. **來朝** is frequent, meaning—to come to the court of Loo. In V. v. 2, **來朝其子**=came and presented her son at our court. The term is applied also to a ruler's solemnly presenting himself in his ancestral temple, VI. vi. 8.

## THE 75TH RADICAL. 木

Trees. **木冰**, the trees were all-over ice, VIII. xvi. 1.

(1) Not yet, IX. vii. 10. (2) A calendaric branch-character, I. iii. 8; x. 4; II. i. 4; *et passim*.

**夷末**,—see **夷**.

(1) The name:—1st, of a royal prince, VII. xv. 5; 2d, of a prince of Woo, IX. xxii. 8.

The name:—1st, of a viscount of Keu, VIII. xiv. 1; 2d, of a marquis of Ts'ae, X. xxi. 6.

**虛村**, a place, probably in Sung, the situation of which is not further ascertained, VIII. xviii. 14.

(1) A plum tree, V. xxxiii. 12. (2) **橋李**, a place in Woo,—in pres. dis. of Kea-hing, dep. Kea-bing, Cheh-k'ang, XI. xiv. 5.

**北杏**,—see **北**.

A State, whose lords were Szes, descendants of the line of the great Yu. They must originally have been dukes; but in the Ch'un Ts'ew period we find them now with the title of marquis, now with that of earl, and again with that of viscount. In the Chun Ts'ew period K'e appears as one of the eastern States, between Ts'e and Keu. In the Chuen on V. xiv. 1, we find the marquis of Ts'e, with the States, walling Yuen-ling, in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang-loh, dep. Ts'ing-chow. Its capital before that is supposed to have been Shun-yu, in pres. dis. of Gan-k'ew, also in Ts'ing-chow; but as that belonged to the State of Chow (州), up to the 5th year of duke Hwan (See the note on II.





## THE 81st RADICAL. 比

比  
pe

(1) The name:—1st, of a prince of Ts'oo, X. i. 12; xiii. 2, 3; 2d, of an earl of Sêeh, XI. xiii. 8. (2) 合比, see 合.

比  
p'e  
毗  
p'e

比蒲, a place or district in the south of Loo. X. xi. 5; XI. xiii. 3; xiv. 14. A city in the western borders of Loo, not otherwise determined. XII. v. 1.

## THE 82d RADICAL. 毛

毛  
maow

A small State in the royal domain, whose lords were earls,—in the pres. dis. of E-ch'ang, dep. Ho-nan. VI. i. 5; ix. 1; VII. xv. 5; X. xxvi. 8.

## THE 83d RADICAL. 氏

氏  
she

(1) Having such and such a surname. Thus we find it after the surnames of ladies. I. ii. 7; II. iii. 6, 8; xviii. 1; VI. iv. 7; et al. (2) Having such and such a clan-name, and denoting the Head of the clan. I. iii. 3, 4; VII. x. 5. (3) 英氏, a small State, held by Yens, descendants of Kaou-yaou,—in the pres. Luh-gan Chow, one of whose districts is still called Ying-shan, Gan-hwuy. V. xvii. 1. (4) 潞氏, a tribe of the Red Teih,—in the pres. dis. of Loo-shing, dep. Loo-gan, Shan-se. VII. xv. 3. (5) 甲氏, another tribe of the Red Teih,—in pres. dis. of Ke-tai, dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le, VII. xvi. 1. (5) 五氏,—see 五.

## THE 84th RADICAL. 水

水  
shuwy

大水, there were great floods. II. i. 5; xiii. 3; III. xxiv. 7; VII. x. 14; VIII. v. 5; IX. xxiv. 6. 潞水, the K'oh water, a stream which ran through Choo. IX. xix. 4; XII. ii. 1. To ask for. I. iii. 5; II. xv. 1; V. xxxi. 5; VI. ix. 1.

求  
k'ew  
江  
k'ang

A small State, whose lords were Yings,—probably in the pres. dis. of Ching-yang, dep. Joo-ning, Ho-nan. V. ii. 4; iii. 4; iv. 5; VI. iii. 4, 7; iv. 4.

池  
che

黃池, a place in Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Fung-k'ew, dep. K'ae-fung. XII. xiii. 3. 曲池, a place in Loo,—in the pres. dis. of K'ew-fow. II. xii. 3.

汶  
wân

汶陽田, a district of Loo, lying north of the river Wân,—in the pres. dis. of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. VIII. ii. 7; viii. 1.

沃  
yeh

曲沃,—see 曲.

沂  
e

沂西田, the lands on the west of the E, a river which gives its name to the pres. dep. of E-chow. XII. ii. 1.

沈  
shin

A small State, whose lords were Kes, with the title of viscount,—in the dep. of Joo-ning, Ho-nan. VI. iii. 1; X. iv. 2; v. 8; XI. iv. 3.

沓  
tah

The name of a place, the situation of which has not been ascertained. VI. xiii. 6.

沙  
so  
sha

(1) The name of a place,—in the pres. dis. of Yuen-shing, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. XI. vii. 5. It is called 瑣 in the Chuen. (2) 沙鹿, a hill, near the above 沙. V. xiv. 3. 沙 should probably be pronounced so. (3) 沙隨, a city in Sung,—in pres. dis. of Ning-ling, dep. Kwei-tih. VIII. xvi. 8; IX. xxii. 4.

河  
ho

(1) The Ho or Yellow river. X. xii. 4; xiii. 11. (2) 河陽, a place belonging to Tsin,—in pres. dis. of Mäng, dep. Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan. V. xxviii. 16. (3) 河曲,—see 曲.

泓  
hung

The name of a river in Sung. V. xxii. 4.

治  
ch'e

To exercise. 治兵,—see 兵.

泉  
ts'uen

(1) 翟泉, a place in Chow,—in pres. dis. of Loh-yang, dep. Ho-nan. V. xxix. 3. (2) The name of a tower in the capital of Loo. VI. xvi. 5. (3) 蚘泉, a place in Loo, not otherwise determined. X. v. 6, (4) 狄泉, a fortified place outside the wall of the capital of Chow. X. xxiii. 8. ? i. q. (1).

洙  
shoo

A stream flowing through Loo into the Sze. III. ix. 8.

洩  
sêeh

A clan-name in Ch'in. VII. ix. 13.

洮  
t'au

(1) Probably the same as 桃. q. v. III. xxvii. 1; V. xxv. 7. (2) A city in Ts'aou,—in the pres. Puh Chow, dep. Ts'aou-chow. V. viii. 1; XI. xiii. 9.

浚  
seun

To deepen. III. ix. 8.

浮  
fow

浮來,—see 來.

淮  
le

To go and superintend. V. iii. 6; VI. vii. 9; X. vii. 3; XI. xi. 4.

淮  
hwae

The river Hwae. 淮夷,—see 夷. A city on the Hwae,—in pres. Sze Chow, Gan-hwuy. V. xvi. 5.

淵  
guen

(1) 澹淵, a city of Wei,—in pres. K'ae Chow, dep. Ta-ming. IX. xx. 2; xxvi. 5; xxx. 9. (2) 蛇淵, the name of a park of Loo,—in pres. dis. of Fei-shing, dep. Tse-nan. XI. xiii. 2.

清  
ts'ing

(1) A city of Wei,—in pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. Yen-chow. I. iv. 3. (2) 清丘,—see 丘.

渠  
k'eu

(1) The name of a city in Chow, used as a clan-name. II. iv. 2. (2) 渠蔭, a place in Sung, not otherwise determined. XI. xv. 7.

溫  
wân

A State in the royal domain, held by K'es (己), with the title of viscount,—the pres. dis. of Wân, dep. Hwae-k'ing. But in the time of duke Yin, we find Wân given by the king to Ch'ing. Subsequently it was re-constituted as a State, and then extinguished by the Teih in the 10th year of He. Afterwards it came into the possession of Tsin. V. x. 2; xxviii. 16.

游  
yew

A clan-name in Ch'ing. X. xxv. 2; XI. vi. 1; x. 10.

渾  
hwân

陸渾, the name of a tribe of the Little Jung. VII. iii. 4; X. xvii. 4.

溴  
keih

溴梁,—see 梁.

滅  
mêeh

To extinguish, to put an end to. Applied to the overthrow of States, when the ruling House was displaced, and the State-sacrifices to its ancestors abolished. III. x. 6; xiii. 2; V. xii. 2; xvii. 2; xxv. 1; et al. The term is applied to the taking of a city, in V. ii. 3; but that was in connexion with other measures against the State to which it belonged. It is also applied to the overthrow and death of individuals in X. xxiii. 7.

溺  
neih

The name of a marquis of Ch'in. X. viii. 2. Also of a prince of Loo. III. iii. 1.

滑  
hwah

A small earldom, held by Kes—in pres. dis. of Yen-sze, dep. Ho-nan. It was extinguished by Ts'in in the time of duke He; but we find it subsequently belonging to Tsin. III. xvi. 4; V. xx. 4; xxxiii. 1. 滑 in III. iii. 5 is probably the capital of this State, though Too Yu gives it as a city of Ch'ing.

滕  
t'ang

(1) A small State, whose lords were Kes, marquises at first, but subsequently only viscounts,—in the present dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. I. vii. 2; III. xvi. 4; et passim. (2) The name of an earl of Ts'aou. X. xiv. 2.

漆  
ts'eh

A city of Choo. IX. xxi. 2; XI. xv. 14.

潮  
k'oh

See 水.

潘  
pw'an

The name of a marquis of Ts'e. VI. xiv. 3. On p. 264 this character is printed 潘; and so many good editions give it. But no such character is to be found in the K'ang-he dictionary.

潛  
ts'een

A place somewhere in Loo,—probably in the south-west of Yen-chow dept. I. ii. 1.

潞  
loo

潞氏,—see 氏.

潰  
hwuy

To scatter, to disperse. Used of the people's abandoning their superiors. V. iv. 1; VI. ii. 1; X. xxix. 5.

澤  
tsih

(1) 瑣澤, a city,—probably the same as 沙澤; see 沙. (2) 雞澤, a city of Tsin,—in the pres. dep. of Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. IX. iii. 5.

澶  
shen

澶淵,—see 淵.

濟  
tse

A river. See on the Shoo, III. i. Pt. i. 20. III. xviii. 2. It was part of the boundary between Loo and Ts'e. Hence we have 魯濟, the country on the Loo side of the Tse. III. xxx. 6. 濟西田 is a name for a tract on the west of the river. V. xxxi. 1; VII. i. 8; x. 2.

濤  
t'au

濤塗,—see 塗.

濫  
lan

A city of Choo. X. xxxi. 6.

濮  
puh

(1) The name of a city of Ch'in, near the river Puh. I. iv. 6. (2) 城濮,—see 城. (3) 曲濮,—see 曲.

潞  
luh

A place near the river so named, between Loo and Ts'e. II. xviii. 1.

## THE 85th RADICAL. 火

火  
ho

To be set on fire. VII. xvi. 2.

災  
tsae

To take fire;—suddenly, and as if by the act of Heaven. II. xiv. 4; III. xx. 2; V. xx. 3; VIII. iii. 4; IX. x. 1; xxx. 3; X. ix. 3; xviii. 2; XII. iii. 3; iv. 8.

烝  
ching

To offer the winter sacrifice in the ancestral temple. II. viii. 1, 3.

焚  
fun

To burn,—to hunt, burning the country to drive the animals from their coverts. II. vii. 1.

無  
woo

(1) The impersonal verb;—there is, was, &c., no. III. vii. 3; xxviii. 5; VIII. i. 3; IX. xxviii. 1. (2) In names. 無駭, a prince of Loo. I. ii. 3; viii. 10.

無知, a scion of the ruling House of Ts'e. II. viii. 5; ix. 1. 無野, a marquis of Ts'e. VIII. ix. 7. 無咎,—see 咎.

**咎** 無平, —see 平. (8) A city of Keu or of K'e. VII. xv. 7.

**楊**  
yang

Honorary title of the second duke of Loo, long before the Ch'un Ts'ew period. XI. i. 6.

**熊**  
hêng

The name of a great officer of Ts'oo. X. xii. 6.

**燕**  
yen

There were two States called Yen:—the Southern Yen, which appears simply as Yen, a small earldom, held by K'eih's (姑),—in the pres. dis. of Keih, dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. II. xii. 3; and the Northern Yen,—see 北.

**燬**  
wei

Name of a marquis of Wei. V. xxv. 1, 2.

**燮**  
sêh

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Tsin. VIII. viii. 9, 10; xv. 10; 2d, of a prince of Ts'ae, IX. xx. 5.

### THE 87TH RADICAL. 父

**父**  
foo

(1) Used after the clan-name, and being the designation. II. viii. 2; xv. 1.

(2) Forming part of the designation. I. i. 2 (儀父); II. ii. 1 (孔父). (3)

In names. 考父, a marquis of Ts'ae. I. viii. 4. 祿父, a marquis of Ts'e. II. xiv. 6. 慶父,—see 慶. 茲父, a duke of Sung. V. xxiii. 2. 處父, a great officer of Tsin. VI. ii. 3; iii. 7; vi. 4. 行父, a grandson of Ke-y'ew the ancestor of the Ke-sun clan in Loo. VI. vi. 2, 3; xv. 1, 9; xvi. 1; et saepe. His death is recorded in IX. v. 13. 鄭父, a great officer of Tsin. VI. ix. 6. 甲父, a great officer of Tsin. VII. i. 5. 林父, 1st, a great officer of Tsin, VII. ix. 8; xii. 3; 2d, a great officer of Wei, VIII. vii. 9; xiv. 2; et saepe. The last notice of him is in IX. xxvi. 1. 歸父, 1st, a minister of Ts'e, V. xxxiii. 2; 2d, a grandson of duke Chwang of Loo, the Kung-tsze Suy, and styled Tsze-k'ea (子家), VII. x. 10, 13, 16; xiv. 6; xviii. 6, 8. (4) In names of places. 武父,—see 武. 雞父, a place in Ts'oo,—in present Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. X. xxiii. 7. 黃父, another name for 黑壤 in III. vii. 5;—see 壤. X. xxv. 2.

### THE 90TH RADICAL. 𠂔

**𠂔**  
tsang

A viscount of T'un. XI. xiv. 3.

### THE 92D RADICAL. 牙

**牙**  
ya

A son of duke Hwan of Loo. III. xxii. 3.

### THE 93D RADICAL. 牛

**牛**  
nêw

The cow kind. Always masculine,—a bull. VII. iii. 1; VIII. vii. 1; XI. xv. 2; XII. i. 3.

(1) A small attached State,—in pres. dis. of Lae-woo, dep. T'ae-gan. II. xv. 8; V. v. 3. (2) 牟婁, a city of K'e,—in pres. dis. of Choo-shing, dep. Tsing-chow. I. iv. 1; X. v. 4. (3) 根牟,—see 根. (4) 牟夷,—see 夷.

**牟**  
mow

(1) 蟲牟, a city of Ch'ing,—in pres. dis. of Sung-k'ew, dep. K'ae-fung. VIII. v. 7. (2) 虎牟, a city of Ch'ing, held for a time by Tsin,—in pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy, dep. K'ae-fung. IX. ii. 9; x. 9.

In a name. 仇牧,—see 仇.

A victim, an animal to be used in sacrifice. III. xxv. 3, 5; xxx. 5; V. xxxi. 3; VI. xv. 5; IX. vii. 2.

A viscount of Choo. IX. xvii. 1.

A city of Wei,—probably in pres. dis. of Seun, dep. Wei-hwuy. XI. xiv. 7.

祁犁, an officer of Sung. XI. vi. 5.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi. 14; xvii. 13.

A viscount of Keu. XII. xiv. 8.

(1) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. vi. 7. (2) 令狐,—see 令.

(1) To hold the winter hunting. II. iii. 1; III. iv. 7; XII. xiv. 1. (2) To hold a court of inspection. Used of the king. V. xxviii. 17.

(1) The general name for the wild tribes of the north. III. xxxii. 7; IV. ii. 7; V. viii. 4; x. 2; xiii. 1; xiv. 4; X. i. 6. We have 赤狄, the Red Teih, in VII. iii. 6; iv. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 8; and 白狄, the White Teih, who occupied about the pres. dep. of Yen-gan, Shen-se, in VII. viii. 6; VIII. ix. 11; IX. xviii. 1. (2) 狄泉,—see 泉.

A viscount of Keu. XII. xiv. 8.

(1) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. vi. 7. (2) 令狐,—see 令.

(1) To hold the winter hunting. II. iii. 1; III. iv. 7; XII. xiv. 1. (2) To hold a court of inspection. Used of the king. V. xxviii. 17.

(1) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. vi. 7. (2) 令狐,—see 令.

(1) To hold the winter hunting. II. iii. 1; III. iv. 7; XII. xiv. 1. (2) To hold a court of inspection. Used of the king. V. xxviii. 17.

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(1) To hold the winter hunting. II. iii. 1; III. iv. 7; XII. xiv. 1. (2) To hold a court of inspection. Used of the king. V. xxviii. 17.

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(1) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. vi. 7. (2) 令狐,—see 令.

(1) To hold the winter hunting. II. iii. 1; III. iv. 7; XII. xiv. 1. (2) To hold a court of inspection. Used of the king. V. xxviii. 17.

(1) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. vi. 7. (2) 令狐,—see 令.

**猛**  
mǎng

A son of king King of Chow. In X. xxii. 7, 8, 9, he is mentioned as 王猛.

Mǎng, the king, but he died so soon after his father that he can hardly be said to have reigned.

Still, but still. V. xxxi. 3; VI. vi. 8; VII. iii. 2; viii. 4; VIII. vii. 4.

**猶**  
yêw

A marquis of Tsin. VIII. x. 5.

**獮**  
now

To take, to capture; to be taken. V. i. 9; xv. 13; X. xx. iii. 7; et al.

**獲**  
hwook

A great officer of Ts'ae, grandson of one of its marquises. XII. iii. 7.

**獵**  
lêh

(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (4) 獻舞, a marquis of Ts'ae. III. x. 5.

**獻**  
hêen

(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (4) 獻舞, a marquis of Ts'ae. III. x. 5.

(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (4) 獻舞, a marquis of Ts'ae. III. x. 5.

(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (4) 獻舞, a marquis of Ts'ae. III. x. 5.

(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (4) 獻舞, a marquis of Ts'ae. III. x. 5.

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(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (4) 獻舞, a marquis of Ts'ae. III. x. 5.

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(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (4) 獻舞, a marquis of Ts'ae. III. x. 5.

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### THE 100TH RADICAL. 生

**生**  
sāng

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 9. (2) In names. 終生, an earl of Ts'au. II. x. 1. 寤生,—see 寤. 申生, a prince of Tsin. V. v. 1. 彭生,—see 彭. 歸生,—see 歸. 陽生, a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

(1) To

X. v. 2; 4th. of a great officer of Wei, X. xxxii. 4; 5th. of another marquis of Ts'ae, XII. xi. 1; of a third great officer, a prince, of Ts'oo, XII. xiii. 5. (5) In names. 申生,—see 生. 宜申,—see 宜. The fifth or lowest title of nobility;=baron. I. viii. 5; V. iv. 12; *et saepe*.

(1) To give to. V. xxviii. 4. (2) 界我,—see 我.

(1) A prince of Ch'in. X. viii. 5. (2) 留吁,—see 吁.

A *mow*;—a Chinese acre. VII. xv. 8.

To lay out the boundaries of lands. X. i. 9.

The 104TH RADICAL. 疒.

(1) Illness. 有疾, to be taken ill. X. xxiii. 10. (2) In names. 去疾,—see 去 and 去. 棄疾,—see 棄. A prince of Sung. IX. xxvi. 6.

THE 105TH RADICAL. 癸.

A calendaric stem-character. II. xi. 2; III. viii. 5; *et saepe*.

The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, IX. v. 2; x. 8; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'e, X. xix. 4.

THE 106TH RADICAL. 白.

(1) White. 白狄,—see 狄. (2) 小白,—see 小. (3) 白羽, called also 析, a city of Ts'oo,—in pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. In X. xviii. 5, Heu appears moving its capital to this place.

(1) A city of the royal domain,—in pres. dis. of Kung, dep. Ho-nan. X. xxii. 7. (2) A clan-name in Sung. XII. vii. 1; ix. 2.

THE 108TH RADICAL. 皿.

A city of Sung,—in the pres. Suy Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. V. xxi. 4.

(1) The name:—1st, of an officer of Ts'in, IX. xxi. 4; xxiii. 7, 12; 2d, of another officer of Ts'in, IX. xxix. 5.

益  
yih

(1) A viscount of Choo. XII. vii. 4; viii. 4; x. 1. (2) 益師,—see 師. 益姑,—see 姑.

A robber, ruffians. IX. x. 8; X. xx. 3; XI. viii. 16; XII. xiii. 11; *et al.*

To covenant, a covenant. I. i. 2, 5; ii. 4, 6; iii. 7; vi. 2; II. i. 4; *et passim*.

葛盧, the chief of one of the wild tribes of the east. V. xxix. 1, 5.

THE 109TH RADICAL. 目.

The name of a minister of Ts'in. VI. viii. 5; xiv. 5; VII. i. 11; ii. 4; vi. 1.

Inadvertent offences. III. xxii. 1.

The name of a minister of Sung. III. xxii. 1.

Name of an earl of Ch'ing. IX. ii. 4.

THE 111TH RADICAL. 矢.

無知,—see 無.

THE 112TH RADICAL. 石.

(1) A stone, stones. V. xvi. 1. (2) The name of an officer of Sung. VIII. xv. 9; xviii. 5. (3) A clan-name in Wei. IX. xvii. 3; xviii. 2; xxvii. 2; xxviii. 1; XI. x. 12. Also a clan-name in Chow. XI. xiv. 9. (4) 石門, a city of Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Ch'ang-ts'ing, dep. Tse-nan. I. iii. 6.

THE 113TH RADICAL. 示.

祁犁,—see 犁.

The sacrifice at the altar of the Spirits of the land. III. xxiii. 3; xxv. 3, 5; xxx. 5; VI. xv. 5; XII. iv. 8.

To sacrifice to. XI. viii. 15.

A city and lands adjacent, originally assigned to Ch'ing, near mount T'ae,—in pres. dis. of Pe, dep. Yen-chow; afterwards assigned by Ch'ing by contract to Loo. I. viii. 2, 3.

祝丘,—see 丘. 祝柯,—see 柯.

祝  
chuh

祝祥, a city of Loo,—probably in pres. dis. of Tsze-yang, dep. Yen-chow. X. xi. 6.

盾  
tun

盾  
säng

督  
tuh

輪  
kwän

知  
che

石  
shih

祁  
k'e

社  
shay

祀  
sze

祔  
päng

祝  
chuh

祥  
ts'ang

男  
nan

界  
pe

留  
liew

畝  
mow

疆  
k'ang

疾  
tsih

瘁  
tsu

癸  
kwei

發  
jah

白  
pih

皇  
hwang

孟  
yu

盈  
ying

祭  
chae

(1) An earldom, held by descendants of the duke of Chow. It is generally referred to the pres. Ch'ing Chow, dep. K'ae-fung. But there must have been an older Chae, which had disappeared from the States before the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and the descendants of whose lords were transferred to the royal domain, and employed in the service of the court. I. i. 6; II. viii. 6; III. xxiii. 2. (2) A city of Ch'ing,—probably in the pres. district of Chung-mow, dep. K'ae-fung. II. xi. 4. (3) 餘祭, the name of a viscount of Woo. IX. xxix. 4.

祫  
t'sin

祫  
te

祫祥,—see 祥.

祫父,—see 父.

The name of certain great sacrifices.

We have 吉禘, the sacrifice offered when the period of mourning for a king or the ruler of a State was completed, and his Spirit-tablet was introduced, in its proper place, into the temple of ancestors, IV. ii. 2; and the *te* sacrifice *par excellence*, offered once in 3 or once in 5 years, to the remote ancestor to whom the kings of Chow, or the king to whom princes of the Chow surname, traced their lineage, V. viii. 4.

A city on the western border of Ts'e, III. ii. 4; iv. 7.

禘  
choh

禾  
ho

秋  
ts'ew

秦  
ts'in

THE 115TH RADICAL. 禾.

Paddy. III. xx. viii. 6.

Autumn, in autumn. I. i. 4; ii. 4; iii. 5; *et passim*.

(1) A place in Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Fan, dep. Ts'au-chow. III. xxxi. 5. (2) The great State of Ts'in, which ultimately wrested the kingdom from the kings of Chow. Its lords were earls, Yings, claiming to be descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-h'eh, through Shun's minister Pih-e. Its commencement dates from B. C. 908, when its seat was in the pres. Ts'in Chow, Kan-suh. Its chiefs gradually extended their sway eastwards, and when they appear in the classic, their chief city was Yung, in pres. dep. of Fung-ts'ang, Shen-se. V. xv. 13; *et saepe*.

To tax, to lay a tax on. VII. xv. 8.

A city of Sung,—K'ang Yung thinks in pres. dep. of Kwei-tih. II. ii. 3.

稅  
shouy

稷  
tseih

穀  
kuh

(1) An earldom, held by Yings,—in the pres. dis. of Kuh-shing, dep. S'ang-yang, Hoo-pih. It is mentioned in II. vii. 2; but had perhaps already fallen under the power of Ts'oo. (2) A city of Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep.

稻  
taou.

穆  
muh

穿  
ch'uen

突  
tuh

竊  
ts'eh

立  
leih

章  
chang

童  
t'ung

笙  
säng

筐  
k'wang

簣  
ke

築  
chuh

簡  
k'een

簫  
yoh

Yen-chow. III. vii. 4; xxiii. 6; V. xxvii. 8; VI. xvii. 3, 5; *et al.* (3) The name of an earl of S'eh. X. xxxi. 3. (4) In name of places. 穀丘,—see 丘. 小穀,—see 小. 陽穀, a city of Ts'e, which has left its name in the district so called, dep. Yen-chow. V. iii. 6; xi. 2; VI. xvi. 1.

An earl of Ts'in. VII. iv. 2.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a duke of Sung. I. iii. 8; 2d, of a baron of Heu, V. iv. 8; 3d, of an earl of Ch'ing, VII. iii. 9; 4th, of a marquis of Wei, VIII. iii. 2; 5th, of a marchioness of Loo, IX. x. 4.

THE 116TH RADICAL. 穴.

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'in. VII. i. 13; 2d, of another great officer of Ts'in. VIII. viii. 1; 3d, of a viscount of Choo. XI. iii. 2.

(1) The name of a prince, afterwards earl, of Ch'ing. II. xi. 5; xv. 4, 9; III. xxi. 2. (2) 子突, the name or designation of a king's officer. III. vi. 1.

To steal. XI. viii. 16.

THE 117TH RADICAL. 立.

To set up. VIII. vi. 2; XI. i. 6.

章羽, a viscount of Seu. X. xxx. 4.

The name of a great officer of Ts'in. VIII. xviii. 1.

THE 118TH RADICAL. 竹.

A place on the eastern border of Loo,—probably in the north of dep. Ts'au-chow. VII. xviii. 8.

承筐,—see 承.

(1) A place in Ts'in,—in pres. dis. of T'ae-kuh, dep. T'ae-yuen, Shan-se. V. xxxiii. 8. (2) A clan-name in Ts'in. VI. ix. 7.

(1) To build; to make an enclosing wall for a park. III. i. 4; xxviii. 4; xxxi. 1, 3, 5; VIII. xviii. 10; X. ix. 4. (2) 新築,—see 新.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of one of the kings of Chow, IX. ii. 1; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X. xii. 5.

A musical instrument;—a kind of flute. VII. viii. 4; X. xv. 2.



## THE 110TH RADICAL. 米

粟  
muh  
糴  
tehA species of millet or maize. XI. v. 2. Perhaps it means *grain* generally.

To buy grain. III. xxviii. 7.

## THE 120TH RADICAL. 糸

糾  
kēw

(1) 伯糾, —see 伯. (2) 糾, a prince of Ts'e. III. ix. 3; —called 子糾, as being the eldest, in par. 7.

紀  
keA small State, a marquise held by Kéangs, the chief city of which was in the pres. dis. of Kwang, dep. Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung. It was extinguished by Ts'e in the 4th year of duke Chiwang of Loo. I. ii. 5, 6; II. vii. 6; *et al.*紅  
hung

A tract of Loo, which it is impossible to determine with any certainty. X. viii. 6.

納  
heih

The name of a great officer of Loo. IX. xxiii. 11.

終  
chung

(1) To present, to offer. III. xxii. 6; VI. ii. 8; VIII. viii. 5. (2) To in-state; sometimes—to restore. III. ix. 3; V. xxv. 5; VI. xiv. 7; X. xii. 1.

終  
chung

終生, see 生.

結  
kēh

The name:—1st, of a prince of Loo, III. xix. 3; 2d, of a great officer of Wei, XI. vii. 4; xiv. 4; 3d, of a prince of Ts'oo, XI. xiv. 3; XII. x. 11; 4th, of a viscount of T'ang, XII. iv. 9.

綏  
suy

The name of an earl of Kuh. II. vii. 2.

綏  
suy

A city of Sung, in the pres. dis. of Kin-häng, dep. Yen-chow. V. xxiii. 1; xxvi. 7.

緣  
yuen

緣陵, a city to which the capital of K'e was moved,—in the pres. dis. of Chang-loh, dep. Ts'ing-chow. V. xiv. 1. see 杞.

綸  
seu

履綸,—see 履.

敷  
huoh

The name of a great officer of Ts'in. VI. ii. 4; ix. 6; VII. xiii. 4.

熱  
chih

An elder brother of a marquis of Wei. X. xx. 3.

績  
tseih

Merit, service. Always in the phrase 敗績;—see 敗.

繹  
yih

(1) To repeat a sacrifice on the day after its first and great celebration. VII. viii. 4. (2) A city of Choo,—in the present dis. of Tsow, dep. Yen-chow. VII. x. 13. (3) 句繹,—see 句.

## THE 121ST RADICAL. 缶

缺  
keueh  
榮  
ying

The name of a great officer of Ts'in. VI. xi. 2; xv. 7; VII. ix. 12.

The name:—1st, of an earl of Ts'in, VI. xviii. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'in, VIII. xvii. 7; IX. i. 7; ii. 6, 9; iii. 9.

## THE 122ND RADICAL. 网

罕  
han  
罷  
p'e  
羈  
ke

A clan-name in Ch'ing. X. i. 2; xi. 7; XI. xv. 6.

The name of a great officer of Ts'oo. IX. xxx. 1; X. vi. 7.

A prince of Ts'au. III. xxiv. 8.

## THE 123RD RADICAL. 羊

羯  
kēh

The name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan in Loo. IX. xxiv. 2; xxviii. 5; xxix. 11.

## THE 124TH RADICAL. 羽

羽  
yu

(1) The long feathers of a bird. As they were carried in the hand by dancers or pantomimes, we have the term used for a row of pantomimes. I. v. 4. (2) 白羽,—see 白. (3) 章羽,—see 章.

翟  
teih

翟泉,—see 泉.

翟  
houy

A prince of Loo. I. iv. 5; x. 2; II. iii. 5.

## THE 125TH RADICAL. 老

老  
考

The name of an officer of Loo. IX. xiv. 1; xvi. 7; xx. 7; xxii. 3.

(1) To finish, to complete I. v. 4. (2) 考父,—see 父.

## THE 126TH RADICAL. 而

而  
urh

And.—In what in Index III. to vol. III. I have called its idiomatic use. VI. viii. 6; VII. viii. 10.

## THE 128TH RADICAL. 耳

耳  
urh

重耳, the name of a marquis of Ts'in. V. xxxii. 5. 諸耳, the name of a marquis of Ts'e. III. viii. 5.

聘  
p'ingThe term used to describe a complimentary or friendly mission,—to go on such a mission. I. vii. 4, 6; II. iii. 9; viii. 2; *et saepe*.聞  
wān

To hear, to be informed. IX. xix. 9.

聲  
shing

The honorary title of a duchess of Loo. VI. xvii. 2.

蒯  
wue

蒯聚, the name of a prince of Wei. XI. xiv. 11; XII. ii. 5; xvi. 1.

聚  
nēh

聚北,—see 北.

## THE 129TH RADICAL. 聿

肆  
sze

To pardon, to remit. III. xxii. 1.

## THE 130TH RADICAL. 肉

肯  
k'ang

To be willing. VII. iv. 1.

肱  
kuang

黑肱, the name of an officer of Choo. X. xxxi. 6.

肱  
heih

The name:—1st, of a marquis of Ts'ae, V. xiv. 5; 2d, the name of a brother of duke Seuen of Loo. VII. xvii. 7. See on 叔.

背  
pei

黑背, the name of a prince of Wei. VIII. x. 1.

胡  
hoo

A small State held by Kweis (歸), viscounts,—the chief city of which was in the north-west of Ying-chow dep., Gan-hwuy. It was extinguished by Ts'oo in the 15th year of duke T'ing. X. iv. 2; XI. iv. 2.

胥  
seu

(1) Mutually, each other. II. iii. 2. (2) A clan-name in Ts'in. VII. i. 5; VIII. xviii. 1.

脈  
shin

(1) Flesh used in sacrifice, and afterwards sent by the king to the feudal nobles of his surname. XI. xiv. 10. (2) 狸脈, the name of a place, site unknown. VIII. xvii. 10.

臀  
t'un

黑臀, the name of a marquis of Ts'in. VII. ix. 3.

## THE 131ST RADICAL. 臣

臣  
chin

The name of a great officer of Sung. IX. xvii. 6. In names. We have 新臣,—see 新; 得臣,—see 得; 商臣,—see 商; 王臣,—see 王.

臧  
tsang

(1) The name of a prince, afterwards marquis, of Wei. VII. xviii. 1; VII. xiv. 6. (2) 臧孫, a clan-name of Loo.

The Tsang-auns, or Tsangs, if the 孫 be omitted, were descended from a Tsze-tsang, a son of duke Hëaou, who appears in the Chuen of I. v. as Tsang He-pih (臧僖伯), III. xxviii. 7; VI. x. 1; VIII. i. 5; ii. 3; iv. 4; IX. xxiii. 11.

## THE 132ND RADICAL. 自

自  
tsze  
皇  
kaouFrom. II. ii. 9; iii. 8; xvi. 3; xvii. 5; *et saepe*.

More properly 臬. (1) 夷臬—a name; see 夷. (2) In names of places. 皇陂, a city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. dis. of Lin-ying, Heu Chow, Honan. XI. iv. 4. 臬皇,—see 臬.

## THE 133RD RADICAL. 至

至  
che(1) To come to, or as far as. V. xxvi. 2; VI. viii. 6; VII. viii. 2; xvii. 6; *et al.* 至于=until. VI. x. 4. The term is frequently used of the return of the dukes of Loo to their capital, after having been absent on business of the State, and has reference to a ceremony then performed in the ancestral temple. II. ii. 9; iii. 8; xvi. 3; xviii. 3; *et saepe*. We have the same usage in the case of great officers returning from other States where they had been kept as prisoners. X. xiv. 1; xxix. 3. There is a difficulty with VI. xv. 6. (2) The name of a great officer of Ts'in. VIII. xvii. 13.致  
che

Apparently meaning—to complete. We have 致夫人, to complete the position of a deceased marchioness by placing her tablet in the temple, V. viii. 5; and 致女, to complete the position of a daughter, who has been married three months and is acceptable to her husband, by a mission from her parents. III. ix. 5.

臺  
t'ae

A tower. III. xxxi. 1, 3, 5; VI. xvi. 5; xviii. 1.

## THE 134TH RADICAL. 白

白  
k'ew

杵白,—see 杵.

與  
yu

(1) And. II. xviii. 1. (2) 與夷,—see 夷.

與  
yu

To be present at, to take part in. X. xiii. 6.

舉  
keu

柏舉,—see 柏.

## THE 135TH RADICAL. 舌.

舍  
shay

(1) To place or lodge. VIII. xvi. 12.  
(2) The name:—1st, of a marquis of Ts'e, VI. xiv. 7; 2d, of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-sun clan, called 諾 by Tso-she, X. vii. 3; x. 5; xxiii. 1, 8; xxiv. 2; xxv. 1, 7. (2) 舍之,—see 之.

舍  
shay  
舒  
shoo

To dispense with, to disband. X. v. 1.

(1) A small State, held by Yens, viscounts,—in the pres. dis. of Shoo-shing, dep. Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. V. iii. 3. In the Chuen on VI. xii. 4, we read of the seizure of a viscount of Shoo by a general of Ts'oo, and we may suppose that Shoo was then extinguished; but we meet with a 舒蓼, in VII. viii. 7, extinguished then by Ts'oo; a 舒庸, extinguished by Ts'oo, in VIII. xvii. 4; and a 舒鳩 also extinguished by Ts'oo, in IX. xxv. 8. All these are placed, like Shoo, in the same dep. of Leu-chow. They were no doubt a confederacy of small States, somehow linked together. (2) 徵舒,—see 徵. 追舍, a great officer of Ts'oo. IX. xxii. 6. (3) 舒州,—see 州.

## THE 136TH RADICAL. 舛

舞  
woo

獻舞,—see 獻.

## THE 137TH RADICAL. 舟

般  
pan

The name:—1st, of a son of duke Chwang, III. xxxii. 5; 2d, of a prince, afterwards marquis, of Ts'ae, IX. xxx. 2; X. xi. 2.

## THE 138TH RADICAL. 艮

良  
leang

(1) A clan-name in Ch'ing. IX. xi. 10; xxvi. 5; xxvii. 2; xxx. 7. (2) 良夫,—see 夫.

## THE 140TH RADICAL. 艸

艾  
gae

(1) The name of a hill in Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Mung-yin, dep. E-chow. I. vi. 2; II. xv. 7. (2) 艾陵, the scene of a battle between Loo and Ts'e,—in the pres. dis. of Ts'ae-gan, dep. Ts'ae-gan. XII. xi. 4.

芻  
ts'oo

負芻, name of an earl of Ts'au. IX. xviii. 5.

苕  
t'eaou

苕丘,—see 丘. VIII. xvi. 12.

苗  
meaou

Growing grain,—in the blade. III. vii. 3.

英  
ying

英氏,—see 氏.

茅  
maou

茅戎,—see 戎.

茲  
tsze

(1) Name of a grandson of duke Hwan of Loo, father of the first of the Shuh-sun chiefs. V. iv. 8; v. 3; xvi. 4.

(2) 茲父,—see 父. (3) A city of Keu,—in pres. dis. of Chow-shing, dep. Ts'ing-chow. X. v. 4.

(1) The earlier name of the State of Ts'oo,—see 楚. III. x. 5; xiv. 3; xviii. 5; xxviii. 3.

Grass. V. xxiii. 12.

草  
ts'au

A clan-name in Tsin. N. x. 3; VII. ix. 8; xii. 3; VIII. iv. 1; viii. 4; et sepiissime.

荀  
seun

Name of a marquis of Ts'e. XII. vii. 8.

茶  
t'oo

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of an earl of Ch'ing, II. xi. 3; 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in, III. ii. 1; 3d, of a duke of Sung, III. iii. 2; 4th, of an earl of Ts'au, III. xxiv. 2; 5th, of a marquis of Loo (giving its title to Book. III.), IV. i. 3; ii. 2; 6th, of a viscount of Choo, VI. iv. 4.

A State, the name of which remains in the present Keu Chow, dep. E-chow. Its chiefs were viscounts, claiming to be descended from the prehistoric Shaou-haou, with the surname of Sze (巳) or Ying (贏). I. ii. 2, 6; IV. ii. 5; V. xxvi. 1; et passim.

莘  
sin

A place in Ts'ae,—in the border of the pres. dis. of Joo-yang, dep. Joo-ning. III. x. 5.

菅  
kwan

A place in Sung,—probably in the south-west of the pres. dep. of Yen-chow. I. x. 3.

菑  
tsze

捷菑,—see 捷.

華  
hwa

(1) The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, V. vii. 4; 2d, of a viscount of Choo, X. i. 5.  
(2) A clan-name in Sung. VII. ii. 1; VIII. iv. 1; viii. 4; xv. 9, 10; xvi. 8; IX. i. 1; et sepiissime. Instead of 華 we have

華孫 in VI. xv. 2.

Pulse. XI. i. 7.

A small State, held by Kēangs, with the title of viscount,—in the dis. of Hwang, dep. Tāng-chow, Shan-tung. VII. vii. 2, 8; ix. 4; IX. vi. 8. It was extinguished in Sēang's 6th year by Ts'e.

菽  
shuh  
萊  
lui萬  
wan

(1) An officer of Sung. III. xii. 3, 4.  
(2) Dancers, pantomimes. VII. viii. 4.

落  
loh

落姑,—see 姑.

葉  
sheh

A city of Ts'oo, to which Heu removed its capital, in VIII. xv. 11. It was in the pres. dis. of Sheh, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan.

(1) A small earldom, held by Yings,—in the present dis. of Ning-ling, dep. Kwei-tih. II. xv. 8. (2) 長葛, a city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang-koh, Heu Chow, Ho-nan. I. v. 8; vi. 4.

(3) 葛盧, the name of a chief of the State of Kēae. V. xxix. 1, 5.  
To bury. I. ii. 7; iii. 8; v. 2; II. v. 4; et sepiissime.

葬  
tsang

垂蔭,—see 垂.

蔭  
k'eu

蔭丘,—see 丘.

葵  
k'wei

The name of the spring hunting. Used for—to hold a military review. X. viii. 6; xi. 5; xxii. 3.

蒐  
soo

遽除, name of a viscount of Choo.

蔭  
seu

渠蔭, see 渠.

蒯  
k'wai

蒯聵,—see 聵.

蒲  
poo

(1) A city of Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang-yuen, dep. Ta-ming. II. iii. 2; VIII. ix. 2. (2) 比蒲,—see 比.

(3) 州蒲,—see 州.

蓼  
leuou

舒蓼,—see 蓼.

蔕  
k'e

A city of Loo,—in pres. dis. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow. III. ix. 2.

蔕  
m'eh

(1) A place in Loo,—in pres. dis. of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow. I. i. 2. (2) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Tsin, VI. vii. 6; 2d, of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan in Loo, VII. ix. 3; xv. 7; VIII. v. 2; vi. 8; et sepe.

A marquissate, held by Kes. Its capital at first was 上蔡, which is still the name of one of the districts of Joo-ning, dep. Ho-nan. Subsequently it was moved to 新蔡, which is the name of another dis. in the same dep. In the 11th year of duke Ch'au of Loo, Ts'oo extinguished it; and though it was soon restored, it finally became a portion of that great State. I. iv. 4; viii. 4; et passim.

A clan-name in Sung. V. xxv. 3.

蕩  
t'ang

(1) A small attached State of Sung, afterwards incorporated as a city with it. Its name remains in the dis. of Sēaou, dep. Seu-chow, Kēang-soo. V. xxx. 6; VII. xii. 5; XI. xi. 1, 3; xiv. 13. (2) 蕭魚, a city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. Heu Chow. Ho-nan. IX. xi. 8.

蕭  
seuou薄  
poh

A city of Sung,—in the pres. dis. of Shang-k'ew, dep. Kwei-tih. V. xxi. 7.

薛  
s'eh

(1) A State,—in the pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. In I. xi. 1, we have the marquis of S'eh, but afterwards its lords appear with the title of earl only. They were Jins (任), and claimed to be descended from Hwang-te. I. xi. 1; III. xxxi. 2; et sepe. (2) A city of Loo, but it is not known where situated. III. xxxi. 3.

薨  
hung

The term appropriate to narrate the death of the ruler of a State, or of his wife; but confined in the text to the de-cease of the marquises and marchionesses of Loo. I. xi. 4; II. xviii. 2; III. xxi. 3; xxxii. 4; IV. ii. 3; V. i. 5; et sepiissime.

A clan-name in Ts'oo. IX. xxx. 1; X. vi. 7.

A State in the royal domain,—in the pres. dis. of Wan, dep. Hwae-k'ing. VI. x. 6.

蕪  
wei

See 蔭.

蘧  
soo

Name of an earl of Ch'ing. VII. iii. 8.

蘧  
k'eu

THE 141ST RADICAL. 虍.

虎  
hoo

(1) The name:—1st, of a royal prince, VI. iii. 1; 2d, of a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxxiii. 6; 3d, of a great officer of Ch'ing, X. i. 2; xi. 7. (2) 虎牢,—see 牢.

虞  
k'eu

The name (assumed by himself) of one of the viscounts or kings of Ts'oo. X. xi. 2; xiii. 2.

處  
ch'oo

處父,—see 父.

虛  
heu

(1) A city of Sung,—perhaps in pres. Suy Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. II. xii. 5. (2) 虛村,—see 村.

虞  
yu

(1) A small dukedom, held by Kes,—descended from Chung-yung, second son of king Tae, the grandfather of king Wan. Its chief city was in the pres. dis. of Ping-luh, Kēae Chow, Shan-se. V. ii. 3; v. 9. It was extinguished by Tsin in the 5th year of duke He of Loo. (2) 鮮虞, the territory occupied by a tribe of the White Teih, whose chiefs were Kes,—in the pres. dis. of Chin-ting, Chih-le. X. xii. 10; xv. 5; XI. iv. 12; v. 6; XII. vi. 2. (3) 虞母,—see 母.

虢  
kwoh

A city of Ch'ing,—probably the chief city of the State of the Eastern Kwoh, extinguished by Ch'ing before the Ch'un Ts'aw period,—in the pres. dis. of Fan-shwuy, dep. K'ae-fung. Xi. 2.

THE 142<sup>nd</sup> RADICAL. 虫.

蚋泉, —see 泉.

蛇淵, —see 淵.

A city of Loo, —in pres. dis. of T'ae-gan, dep. T'ae-gan. VIII. ii. 9, 10.

Probably a kind of locust. III. xxix. 3.

Probably a kind of fly, produced in the water, and inflicting a painful bite. III. xviii. 3.

Larvæ of locusts. VII. xv. 9.

A locust. II. v. 8; V. xv. 7; VI. iii. 5; viii. 7; VII. vi. 3; xiii. 3; xv. 6; VIII. vii. 6; XII. xii. 6; xiii. 9, 12.

Grubs that eat the heart of grain. I. v. 6; viii. 9; III. vi. 4.

蟲牢, —see 牢.

The name: —1st of a grandson of one of the earls of Ch'ing, IX. xiv. 1, 3, 7; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 2.

戎蠻, —see 戎.

THE 144<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 行.(1) 行人, a messenger from one State to another. IX. xi. 16; xviii. 2; X. vii. 4; xxiii. 3; *etal.* (2) 行父, —see 父.

The name of a marquis of Wei. IX. xxvi. 3; xxix. 3.

The name of a great officer of Tsin. VI. xii. 6.

彭衙, —see 彭.

A marquise, held by Kes, descendants of K'ang-shuh, one of the sons of king Wán. Its chief city was at first Chaou-ko (朝歌), in the pres. dis. of K'e, dep. Wei-hwuy. It was subsequently changed to Ts'oo-k'ew (楚丘), in dis. of Hwah, same dep; and afterwards to Te-k'ew (帝丘), in pres. K'ae-chow, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. I. ii. 9; iv. 4; III. xxxviii. 1; *et passim.*

衡雍, a city of Ch'ing, —in pres. dis. of Yuen-woo, dep. Hwae-k'ing. VI. viii. 4.

THE 145<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 衣.

(1) A clan-name in Chin. IX. iii. 6, 7. Should be 輶. (2) 袁婁, —see 婁.

豪  
ch'e裏  
seang樣  
suy  
襲  
shih西  
se見  
k'een見  
h'een視  
she觀  
teih觀  
kwan角  
k'eh言  
yen許  
heu

A city of Sung, —in the pres. Suh Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. II. xv. 10. The Kang-he dictionary gives the pronunciation in this case as e; but ch'e is that of Luh Tih-ming.

The honorary or sacrificial title: —1st of a marquis of Ts'e, III. ix. 5; 2d, of a marquis of Tsin, VI. vi. 5; 3d, of one of the kings of Chow, VI. ix. 3; 4th, of an earl of Ch'ing, VIII. iv. 6; 5th, of a marquis of Loo (giving its title to Book IX.), IX. xxxi. 4; 6th, of a marquis of Wei, X. vii. 8; 7th, of an earl of S'eh, XI. xii. 2. Clothes presented to be used in the burial of the dead, grave-clothes VI. ix. 13.

To surprise, to attack by surprise. IX. xxiii. 13.

THE 146<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 而.The west, western. III. xviii. 2; xix. 5; V. xx. 3; xxvi. 2; *et saepe.* 濟西, —see 濟.THE 147<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 見.

To see; to admit to an interview, or to have an interview with. VIII. xvi. 8; IX. vii. 10.

To be visible. III. vii. 2.

In the phrase 視朔, used of a ruler giving audience to his ministers on the first day of the moon. VI. xvi. 2.

To have an official interview with, an audience of. III. xxiv. 6.

(1) To see, to look at. I. v. 1; III. xxiii. 3. (2) The side tower at a gate. XI. ii. 1, 4.

THE 148<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 角.

A horn. VIII. vii. 1.

THE 149<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 言.

To speak about. VIII. viii. 1.

(1) A small State, the lords of which were K'angs and barons. Its chief city at first was Heu-ch'ang (許昌), in the pres. Heu Chow, Ho-nan. It was afterwards moved to Sheh (See 葉); then to 夷 (See 夷); then to Suh (析 or 白析); and finally to Yung (容). Feeble as Heu was, it outlasted the Ch'un Ts'ew period, and was ultimately extinguished

by Ts'oo. I. xi. 3; II. xv. 6; *et saepissime.*

(2) 許田, some lands originally granted to Loo, near the first capital of Heu. II. i. 3. (3) The name of one of the chiefs of the Tsang-sun clan in Loo. VIII. i. 5; ii. 3; iv. 4.

嘗婁, —see 婁.

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing. III. xvii. 1, 3.

The name of one of the chiefs of the Shuh clan in Loo. X. xxv. 2; xxiv. 3.

詭諸, name of a marquis of Tsin. V. ix. 5.

To beguile, to inveigle. X. xiv. 2.

Name of a prince of Ch'ing. II. xvi. 3.

御說, —see 御.

(1) In the phrase 諸侯, —see 侯.

(2) A city in Loo, —in the pres. dis. of Choo-shing, dep. Ts'ing-chow. III. xxix. 5; VI. xii. 8. (3) 諸耳, —see 耳.

(4) 詭諸, —see 詭.

A small State, whose lords were Tszes (子) and viscounts, —in the pres. dis. of Leih-shing, dep. Tse-nan. It appears in the text only once, when it was extinguished by Ts'e. III. x. 6.

A city of Loo, —in the pres. dis. of Fei-shing, dep. T'ae-gan. II. iii. 6, 8; XI. x. 5; viii. 3, 7.

THE 150<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 谷.

A valley. 夾谷, —see 夾.

乾谿, —see 乾.

THE 151<sup>st</sup> RADICAL. 豆.

The name of a great officer of Ch'in. XII. xiv. 6, 13.

THE 153<sup>rd</sup> RADICAL. 豸.(1) The name of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-sun clan. IX. ii. 8; iii. 7; iv. 2; v. 3; xiv. 3; *et saepe.* His death is mentioned in X. iv. 8. (2) A viscount of Hoo. XI. xv. 3.

厥貉, —see 厥.

狸  
le  
狸  
k'eh

狸脈, —see 脈.

(1) The name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan. X. ix. 4; x. 3; xi. 6; xxiv. 1. (2) 獲且, —see 且.

THE 154<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 貝.

The name of a prince of Tsou. IX. v. 10; vii. 8; x. 3, 8, 10; xii. 5; xiv. 6.

負芻, —see 芻.

A city of Sung, —in the pres. dis. of Ts'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow. V. ii. 4. But this identification proceeds on the supposition of 貫's being for 賁, in which case the pronunciation should be different.

The name: —1st, of a prince of Loo, a son of duke Chwang, V. xxviii. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Wei, IX. xvii. 3; xviii. 2; 3d, of a baron of Heu, X. xix. 2; 4th, of a great officer of Ch'in. XII. xiv. 14.

(1) The name of an earl of Ch'ing. VIII. vi. 7. (2) A city of Loo, —in the pres. dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. It was the principal city of the Ke-sun clan. IX. vii. 4; X. xiii. 1; XI. xii. 5.

To levy or collect taxes. 田賦, a certain contribution levied for military purposes from the land in Loo. XII. xii. 1.

To give to, to confer on. VIII. viii. 7.

A small State, whose lords were viscounts, surname unknown, —in pres. dis. of Shang-shing, Kwang Chow, Ho-nan. It was extinguished by Ts'oo, in X. iv. 6.

Presents for the burial of the dead; —especially of carriages and horses. I. i. 4; VI. v. 1.

Presents or contributions of money for the burial of the dead. I. iii. 4.

THE 155<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 赤.赤  
ch'ih

(1) Red. In the name 赤狄, —see 狄.

(2) The name: —1st, of a prince, perhaps an earl, of Ts'aou, III. xxiv. 8; 2d, of a viscount of the Jung-man, XII. iv. 6. (3) 赤棘, —see 棘.

THE 156<sup>th</sup> RADICAL. 走.起  
k'e

The name of a minister of Tsin. X. ii. 1; xi. 7.

越  
yueh

(1) The name of a city in Wei, or, acc. to others, in Ts'aou. If not identical with 垂, it was near it; —see 垂. II. i. 4.





was K'e-yang (啟陽).—in the pres. dep. of E-chow. X. xviii. 3.

A city of Loo.—in the pres. dis. of E-shway, dep. E-chow. But this city sometimes appears as belonging to Keu. VI. xii. 8; VIII. ix. 10; IX. xii. 2; *et sepe*. There appears to have been another Yun in Loo.—in pres. dis. of Wän-shang. VIII. iv. 8, and perhaps some other places.

(1) A city of Ke,—in pres. dis. of Chang-yih, dep. Ts'ing-chow. III. i. 8. (2) A place in Loo,—somewhere in Yen-chow dept. III. xi. 2.

A city of Wei,—in the pres. dis. of Joo-kaou, Tung Chow, Këang-soo. XII. xii.

4. It was also called 發陽.

Border, frontier. III. ix. 5; V. xxvi. 2, 5; VI. vii. 7; *et al*.

(1) A small State, an attached territory of Loo,—perhaps in the pres. dis. of T'an-shing, dep. E-chow. VIII. vi. 3. (2)

鄆陵. A city, site unknown; by some said to be the same as the preceding. X. xxvi. 4.

A city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. dis. of Yen-ling, dept. K'ae-fung. I. i. 3. Later on, Yen received the name of 鄆陵 and gave its name to one of the famous battles between Tsin and Ts'oo. VIII. xvi. 6.

A small attached State, held by Këangs,—in the pres. Tung-p'ing Chow, dep. T'ae-gan. III. xxx. 3.

(1) A marquisate held by Mans (曼),—probably in the pres. Täng Chow, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. II. vii. 3. (2) A city of Ts'ae,—in the pres. dis. of Yen-shing, Heu Chow. II. ii. 6.

(1) A small State, held by Szes (姒), viscounts, descendants of Yu,—in the pres. dis. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow. It was extinguished by Keu in the 6th year of duke Sëang, but came in the 4th year of Ch'au into the possession of Loo. V. xiv. 2; xv. 9; xvi. 3; xix. 3, 4; VII. xviii. 4; *et al*. (2) A city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. Suy Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. IX. i. 3. A place in Ch'ing. No more is known of it. IX. vii. 9.

(1) An earldom, held by Kes, descended from a son of king Le. The investiture of the first earl was in B.C. 805, and the seat of the territory was then in the present Hwa Chow, dep. Tung-chow, Shen-se. His successor moved to the east, and settled in what he called 'New Ch'ing,' still the name of a district in K'ae-fung dep. I. i. 3; ii. 9; iii. 7; iv. 4; x. 6; xi. 3; *et passim*. (2) The name of a marquis of Wei. VII. ix. 10. (3) 鄭

父.—see 父.

A place in Ch'ing. No more is known of it. IX. vii. 10.

鄭  
mung  
鄆  
he

鄆  
le

西  
yëw

釋  
shih

里  
le

重  
ch'ung  
野  
yay

釐  
le

金  
kin

錫  
seih

鉞  
k'ëen

鍾  
chung

鐵  
t'ëeh

長  
ch'ang

鄭  
ts'au

A city of Ts'au,—in the pres. dep. of Ts'au-chow. X. xx. 2.

(1) A city of Ke,—in the pres. dis. of Lin-tsze, dep. Ts'ing-chow. III. iii. 4; xii. 1. (2) A city of Ts'e,—in pres. dis. of Tung-o, dep. T'ae-gan. V. xxvi. 2.

Name of a place in Loo. V. i. 9.

THE 164TH RADICAL. 酉.

A calendaric branch-character. I. vi. 2; III. ix. 5; xxi. 2; *et passim*.

THE 165TH RADICAL. 采.

To liberate. V. xxi. 7.

THE 166TH RADICAL. 里.

(1) A neighbourhood, a district. 南里.—see 南. (2) A clan-name in Tsin. V. ix. 6; x. 5.

重耳.—see 重. 重丘.—see 丘.

(1) The name of a son of duke Sëang of Loo. IX. xxxi. 3. (2) 無野.—see 無. 野井.—see 井.

郁釐.—see 郁.

THE 167TH RADICAL. 金.

Metal, the precious metals;—may be translated by money. VI. ix. 1.

The name of a great officer of Tsin. VIII. xiii. 1; xvii. 13.

(1) To confer on, to give to. III. i. 6; VI. i. 5. (2) 錫我.—see 我.

(1) A clan-name in Ch'in. IX. xxiv. 11. (2) The name of a prince of Ts'in. X. i. 4.

(1) 夫鍾.—see 夫. (2) 鍾離, a city of Ts'oo,—in pres. dis. of Fung-yang, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. xv. 10.

And 鐵上, a hill,—in the pres. K'ae Chow, dept. Ta-ming. XII. ii. 6.

THE 168TH RADICAL. 長.

In names of places. 長葛.—see 葛.

長勺.—see 勺. 長檣.—see 檣.

長岸.—see 岸.

THE 169TH RADICAL. 門.

門  
mun

(1) A door or gate,—double-leaved. III. xxv. 5; V. xx. 1. 雉門, the name of the south gate of the ducal palace of Loo. XI. ii. 1, 4. (2) To attack a gate. IX. xxv. 10. (3) 石門.—see 石.

Intercalary. VI. vi. 8; XII. v. 6.

昌間.—see 昌.

閭丘.—see 丘.

(1) To examine the carriages of a State;—to hold a military review. II. vi. 3. (2) The name of a great officer of Sung. IX. xiv. 7.

A gate-keeper, a porter. IX. xxix. 4.

A city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Wän-shang, dep. Yen-chow. II. xi. 9; X. xxxii. 1.

A city of Loo,—in pres. dis. of Nng-yang, dep. Yen-chow. XII. xiii. 3. 7.

THE 170TH RADICAL. 阜.

防  
fang

(1) A city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. I. ix. 6; III. vii. 1; xxii. 5; xxix. 5; V. xiv. 2; IX. xiii. 4; xvii. 4. (2) A city of Sung. I. x. 4. (3) A city of Keu,—in pres. dis. of Gan-k'ëw, dep. Ts'ing-chow. X. v. 4. To surrender. III. viii. 3. To reduce. III. xxx. 3.

降  
hëang

陞  
hing

陰  
yin

陳  
ch'in

陵  
ling

陸  
luh

陽  
yang

(1) A place in Ts'oo,—in pres. dis. of Yen-shing, Heu Chow, Ho-nan. V. iv. 1. (2) 升陞.—see 升.

龜陰, a city of Loo,—in the borders of the present dep. of T'ae-gan. XI. x. v.

A marquisate, held by Kweis (嬌), claiming to be descendants of the ancient Shun. Its capital was Yuen-k'ëw (宛

邱).—in the pres. dis. of Hwaë-ning, dep. Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan. I. iv. 4; II. 3; *et passim*.

In names of places. 召陵.—see 召. 緣陵.—see 緣. 馬陵, a city of Wei,—in pres. dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le. VIII. vii. 5. 鄆陵.—see 鄆. 柯

陵.—see 柯. 鄆陵.—see 鄆. 艾

陵.—see 艾.

陸渾.—see 渾.

(1) A marquisate, held by Kes,—in the pres. dis. of E-shway, dep. E-chow. We hear nothing about it after the notice

in IV. ii. 1. (2) A city of North Yen,—in pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Paou-ting, Chih-le. X. xii. 1. (3) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. iii. 7; vi. 6. (4) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Wei. XI. xiv. 2; 2d, of an earl of Ts'au, XII. viii. 1. (5)

下陽.—see 下. 陽穀.—see 穀.

河陽.—see 河. 平陽.—see 平.

汶陽.—see 汶. 偃陽.—see 偃.

晉陽.—see 晉. 啟陽.—see 啟.

陽生.—see 生. 陽州.—see 州.

To fall. III. vii. 2; V. xvi. 1; xxxiii. 12; XI. i. 7.

(1) A marquisate, held by Kes,—in the pres. Suy Chow, dep. Tih-gan, Hoo-pih. V. xx. 6. (2) 沙隨.—see 沙.

The honorary title of a marquis of Loo, giving its title to Book I. XI. xi. 6.

垂隴.—see 垂.

THE 172D RADICAL. 隹.

雉門.—see 門.

(1) 衡雍.—see 衡. (2) 雍丘.—see 丘. 雍榆.—see 榆.

雒戎.—see 戎.

雞澤.—see 澤. 雞父.—see 父.

吾離.—see 吾. 鍾離.—see 鍾.

THE 173D RADICAL. 雨.

Rain, there was rain. I. ix. 2; III. vii. 2; xxxi. 6; V. ii. 5; iii. 1, 2, 4; *et al*.

To rain,—followed by an object. I. ix. 2; II. viii. 5; V. x. 7; VI. iii. 5; X. iii. 6.

Snow. I. ix. 2; II. viii. 5; V. x. 7.

A sacrifice for rain; to offer that sacrifice. II. v. 7; V. xi. 3; xiii. 4; VIII. iii. 10; vii. 8; IX. v. 5; xvi. 9; xvii. 5; xxviii. 4; X. iii. 5; vi. 6; viii. 8; xvi. 5; xxiv. 4; xxv. 1; XI. i. 5; vii. 6, 8; xxii. 6; XII. iv. 4.

Hail. V. xxix. 4; X. iii. 6; iv. 1.

Lightning; to lighten. I. ix. 2.

(1) To thunder. I. ix. 2. The thunder struck..... V. xv. 10. (2) To shake, to quake. In the phrase 地震; see 地.

隕  
yun

隨  
suy

隱  
yin

隴  
lung

雉  
che

雍  
yung

雒  
loh

雞  
ke

離  
le

雨  
yu

雪  
seuh

雲  
yu

電  
poh

震  
teen

地  
chin

霄  
sē'au

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing. IX. xi. 10; xxvi. 5; xxvii. 2; xxx. 7.

霍  
hoh

The name of a grandson of one of the marquises of Ts'ae. XII. iv. 5.

霜  
sēang

Hoarfrost. V. xxxiii. 12; XI. i. 7.

露  
loo

The name of an earl of Ts'au XI. viii. 5.

靈  
ling

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, VII. xii. 1; 2d, of a marquis of Ts'e, IX. xix. 13; 3d, of a baron of Heu, IX. xxvi. 10; 4th, of a marquis of Ts'ae, X. xiii. 10; 5th, of a marquis of Wei, XII. ii. 7.

## THE 174TH RADICAL 青.

靖  
tsing

The honorary or sacrificial title of an earl of Ts'au. XI. viii. 11.

## THE 177TH RADICAL. 革.

鞅  
yangThe name:—1st, of a great officer of Tsin, IX. xxix. 6; X. xxi. 2; *et al.*, down to XI. viii. 10; 2d, of another great officer of Tsin, X. xxv. 2; XI. x. 4; *et al.*, down to XII. xv. 5; 3d, of a great officer of Loo, X. xxii. 5; xxiii. 2.

A place in Ts'e,—the scene of a great battle and the defeat of the forces of Ts'e. It was, probably, in the pres. dep. of Tse-nan. VIII. ii. 3.

峯  
gan

## THE 178TH RADICAL. 韋.

韓  
han

(1) A place in Tsin, the scene of a battle between Tsin and Ts'in,—in P'ing-yang dep., Shan-se V. xv. 13. This place, called the plain of Han, ought to be distinguished from the State of Han, which was in Shen-se. (2) A clan-name in Ts'in,—derived from the name of the old State. VIII. viii. 1; IX. i. 3; X. ii. 1.

## THE 181ST RADICAL. 頁.

頃  
k'ing

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Ts'e, VIII. ix. 9; 2d, of a viscount of T'ang, XII. iv. 11.

The name of a small State,—in the pres. dis. of Hēang-shing, dep. Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan. V. xvii. 2. It appears there as extinguished by Loo, but it was afterwards territory of Ts'oo.

(1) The name of an earl of Ts'au. X. xviii. 1. (2) 須句.—see 句.

A small State, whose lords were Kēs, and viscounts. Its chief city was, probably, in the pres. dis. of Shang-shwuy, dep. Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan. V. xxv. 5; IX. iv. 7; X. iv. 2; XI. iv. 2 (extinguished by Ts'oo).

須  
seu頃  
tun頗  
p'o

Name of a great officer of Ch'in. XII. xi. 2.

頤  
hwan

髡頤, the name of an earl of Ch'ing. IX. vii. 10.

頤  
keun

Name of a marquis of Ts'e. VI. i. 10.

## THE 182D RADICAL. 風.

風  
fung

The surname of the rulers of Jin (任) and some other States, who claimed to be descended from the ancient T'ae-haou. VI. iv. 7; v. 2; ix. 13.

## THE 183D RADICAL. 飛.

飛  
fei

To fly. V. xvi. 1.

## THE 184TH RADICAL. 食.

食  
shih

(1) To eat;=to nibble away. VIII. vii. 1; XII. 1, 3. (2) In the phrase 日有食之, descriptive of an eclipse;—see 日.

餘  
yu

(1) 餘祭.—see 祭. (2) 於餘丘.—see 丘.

餘  
ke

A lodging or reception house. III. i. 4.

館  
kuan饑  
ke

A famine; there was a famine. VII. x. 18; xv. 10; IX. xxiv. 13; XII. xiv. 16.

## THE 185TH RADICAL. 首.

首  
show

(1) The name:—1st, of a prince of Ts'au, VIII. ii. 3; 2d, of a great officer of Tsin, VIII. v. 3. (2) 首止.—see 止.

## THE 187TH RADICAL. 馬.

馬  
ma

(1) 司馬, minister of War. VI. viii. 8; xv. 2. (2) 馬陵.—see 陵.

The name of a duke of Sung. III. ii. 5.

(1) A clan-name in Ch'ing. XII. vii. 6. (2) Name of a prince and great officer of Ts'ae. XII. ii. 9.

無駭.—see 無.

馮  
p'ing駟  
sze駭  
hēae駢  
fei

The name of a prince of Ch'ing. IX. x. 8.

驩  
hwan

The name of a marquis of Tsin. VI. vi. 4.

## THE 189TH RADICAL. 高.

高  
kaou(1) A clan-name in Ts'e. III. xxii. 5; IV. ii. 6; VII. v. 3, 5; xv. 7; VIII. xv. 10; *et al.* (2) 高寢.—see 寢.

## THE 190TH RADICAL. 髡.

髡  
kuān

(1) The name:—1st, of a viscount of Hoo, X. xxiii. 7; 2d, of a great officer of Sung, XII. iii. 5.

## THE 194TH RADICAL. 鬼.

魑  
t'uy

The name of a great officer of Sung. XII. xiv. 7, 9.

魍  
wei

A clan- or sur-name in Tsin. XII. vii. 2; xiii. 7. The origin of the surname is to be found in the Chuen introduced after IV. i. 5.

## THE 195TH RADICAL. 魚.

魚  
yu

(1) Fish. = fishermen. I. v. 1. A clan-name in Sung. VIII. xv. 9; xviii. 5. (2) 蕭魚.—see 蕭.

魯  
loo

The State of Loo, having for its capital K'ēuh-fow (曲阜), in the pres. dis. so named in the dep. of Yen-chow. It occurs in the text only in the combination 魯濟.—see 濟.

鮒  
fang

The name of a great officer of Tsin. VIII. xviii. 13; IX. xii. 3.

鮑  
paou

The name:—1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, II. v. 1; 2d, of a duke of Sung, VIII. ii. 5.

鮑  
ts'ew

The name of a prince of Ch'ing. VIII. xv. 16.

鮮  
sēn

鮮虞.—see 虞.

鯁  
chuen

The name of a prince of Wei. IX. xxvii. 4.

## THE 196TH RADICAL. 鳥.

鳩  
k'ew

舒鳩.—see 舒.

鸚  
yuh

鸚鵡, the grackle. X. xxv. 3.

鵠  
yih

A kind of fish-hawk. V. xvi. 1.

鵠  
k'eu

See 鵠 above.

鵠  
k'eu

## THE 197TH RADICAL. 鹵.

鹵  
loo

大鹵,—see 大. K'uh-lēang observes that this was the name given to the place by the barbarous tribes, while the Chinese called it 大原.

鹹  
hēen

(1) A city in Wei,—in the pres. K'ae Chow, dep. Ta-ming. V. xiii. 3; XI. vii. 3. (2) A place in Loo, site unknown. VI. xi. 6.

## THE 198TH RADICAL. 鹿.

鹿  
luh

(1) Deer. VIII. xviii. 10. (2) 鹿上,—see 上. (3) 沙鹿.—see 沙.

麋  
keun

(1) The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. X. i. 11. (2) A small State, ruled by viscounts. Its chief city was called 錫穴,—in the pres. dis. of Yun, dep. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. VI. xi. 1. Some critics wrongly assign it to the dep. of Pih-ho, Hing-gan Chow, Shen-se.

麋  
me

Probably the red deer. III. xvii. 4.

麟  
lin

The female of the K'ē-lin, a fabulous animal; but probably founded on some animal of the deer tribe. XII. xiv. 1.

## THE 199TH RADICAL. 麥.

麥  
mih

Wheat. III. vii. 3; xxviii. 5.

## THE 201ST RADICAL. 黃.

黃  
hwang

(1) A city of Ts'e,—perhaps in the pres. dis. of Poh-hing, dep. Ts'ing-chow. II. xvii. 1; VII. viii. 2; XI. xii. 7. (2) A small State, held by Yings,—in the pres. dis. of Shang-shing, Kwang Chow, Ho-nan. V. ii. 4; iii. 5; iv. 5; v. 7; xi. 4; xii. 2. (3) The name of a prince of Ch'in. IX. xx. 6; xxiii. 6. (4) 黃父,—see 父. 黃池,—see 池.

## THE 202D RADICAL. 黎.

黎  
le

黎來.—see 來.



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[illegible][illegible]

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| 171 | 隸 | 隸 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 172 | 隸 | 隸 | 雅 | 集 | 雄 | 雁 | 隸 | 隸 |
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| 173 | 隸 | 隸 | 電 | 需 | 霆 | 實 | 霖 | 霖 |
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| 174 | 青 | 青 | 靜 |   |   |   |   |   |
| 175 | 非 | 非 | 靡 |   |   |   |   |   |
| 176 | 面 | 面 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 177 | 革 | 革 | 斬 | 鞞 | 鞞 | 鞞 | 鞞 | 鞞 |
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| 178 | 韋 | 韋 | 韋 | 韋 | 韋 | 韋 | 韋 | 韋 |
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| 182 | 風 | 風 | 風 | 飧 | 飧 | 飧 | 飧 | 飧 |
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|     | 驅 | 驅 | 驅 | 驅 | 驅 | 驅 | 驅 | 驅 |
| 188 | 骨 | 骨 | 骸 | 骼 | 體 |   |   |   |
| 190 | 髟 | 髟 | 髦 | 髮 | 鬣 | 鬣 | 鬣 | 鬣 |
|     | 鬚 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 191 | 鬥 | 鬪 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 192 | 鬯 | 鬯 | 鬱 |   |   |   |   |   |
| 193 | 鬲 | 鬲 | 鬲 | 鬲 | 鬲 |   |   |   |
| 194 | 鬼 | 鬼 | 魁 | 魂 | 魅 | 魄 |   |   |
| 195 | 魚 | 鮒 | 鮮 | 蛟 | 鯀 | 鯀 | 鯀 | 鯀 |
|     | 鯀 | 鱗 | 鱗 |   |   |   |   |   |
| 196 | 鳥 | 鳥 | 鳳 | 鳴 | 鳴 | 鵠 | 鴈 | 鴈 |
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| 197 | 鹵 | 鹽 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 198 | 鹿 | 麗 | 麗 | 麗 | 麗 | 麗 | 麗 | 麗 |
| 199 | 麥 | 麴 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 200 | 麻 | 麻 | 磨 |   |   |   |   |   |
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| 210 | 齊 | 齊 |   |   |   |   |   |   |
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| 212 | 龍 | 龍 |   |   |   |   |   |   |

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